A typological perspective on nominal concord

Notes, data, and references

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Author's note

Typological studies are an important part of linguistic research, but typological research often reports primarily numbers: numbers of languages with property x, numbers of languages with property y. In better cases, a list of languages is given with their associated property, and in even better cases, a source and page number for that claim is also given.

The purpose of this document is to go one step further than that by providing the actual examples as well as their associated references with page numbers. In a perfect world, this would be a beautifully edited document, but it is first and foremost a collection of notes to myself. With that in mind, I present these caveats.

1. These are **notes**: My methodology for record-keeping evolved as the project picked up steam, and so you might notice that some entries are better organized or more complete than others. I noticed this, too, and I'm working to correct it, but for now, I want the data associated with my 2019 LSA proceedings article to be accessible in the state they were in when the article was prepared.

2. The sources indicated have more complete information on Glottolog. In some cases, there are several versions of roughly the same project (e.g., Thesis and Published Version of Thesis); I have tried to ensure that I have the correct one, but I may be wrong at points.

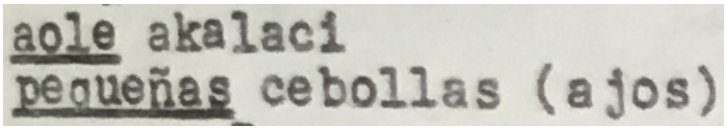
3. If you are a language expert on any of the languages herein and you have noticed an error, please do contact me so that I can correct it.

4. At various points, this document has also involved conversations between me and my research assistants. I have not checked all of those interactions for glib or otherwise unprofessional statements. If you encounter anything unappealing therein, I apologize. If you let me know, I'll remove it from future versions of this document.

With these caveats in mind, I hope you are able to make use of the data given herein, and I hope you'll keep me informed of whatever projects you do on the basis of the the data gathered here.

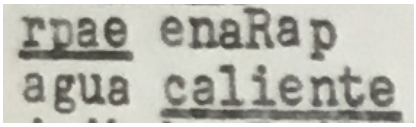
abi - Abipón (Najlis 1966)

Gender: appears to have masc/fem distinction
Number: WALS says pl suffix
p82: according to the dictionary, this is the plural form of *aole*; the singular form is *aolk.* *Aole* is listed in the dictionary as ‘pequeños, pequeñas’

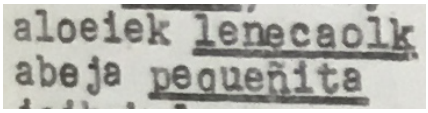

aole akalaci
pequeñas cebollas (ajos)

p82: no separate forms listed for *rpae*
Case: WALS says no case

Adjectives:

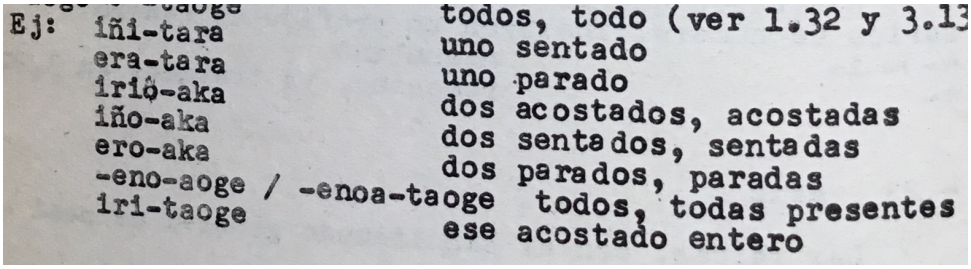

rpae enaRap
agua caliente

P82: here the form *lenecaolk* is closest to *leneciolek/leneciaoalk* (p64 of dictionary volume), which is listed as *pequeñito*, so I’m guessing *aloeiek* is masculine in Abipón.

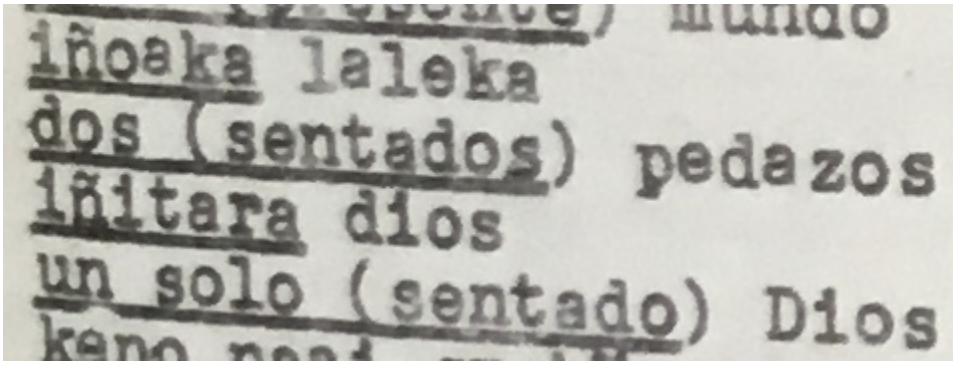

aloeiek lenecaolk
abeja pequeñita

There are plural forms of adjectives mentioned on p.62, but I didn’t have a lot of examples in attribution. I do have two, though!

Numerals: numerals are suffixes, basically? So then some sort of classifiery something?

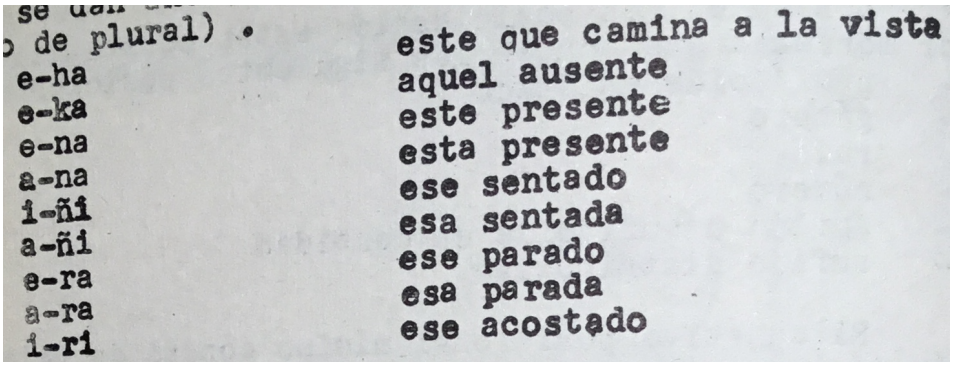

Ej: iñi-tara — todos, todo (ver 1.32 y 3.13
era-tara — uno sentado
irió-aka — uno parado
iño-aka — dos acostados, acostadas
ero-aka — dos sentados, sentadas
-eno-aoge / -enoa-taoge — dos parados, paradas
iri-taoge — todos, todas presentes
ese acostado entero

P.82 here are some in context.

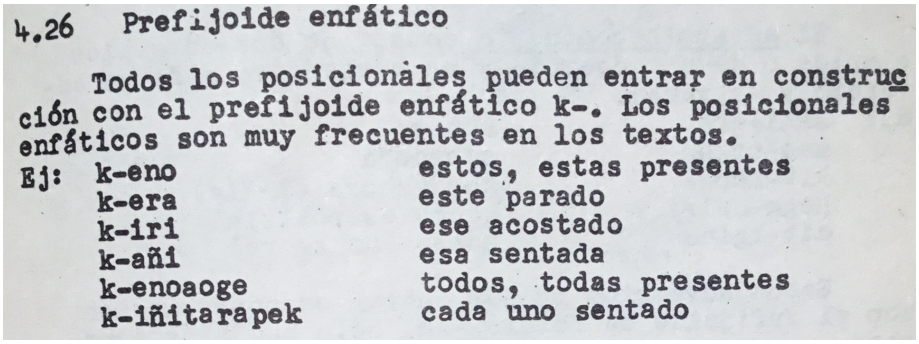

iñoaka laleka
dos (sentados) pedazos
iñitara dios
un solo (sentado) Dios

Iñ-oaka lalek-a
Seated-two piece-PL
Iñi-tara dios
Seated-one god

Demonstratives: there is a masculine / fem distinction for attributive demonstratives
Here are some paradigms--- full examples follow. (pp68-69)



de plural) •	este que camina a la vista
e-ha	aquel ausente
e-ka	este presente
e-na	esta presente
a-na	ese sentado
i-ñi	esa sentada
a-ñi	ese parado
e-ra	esa parada
a-ra	ese acostado
i-ri	

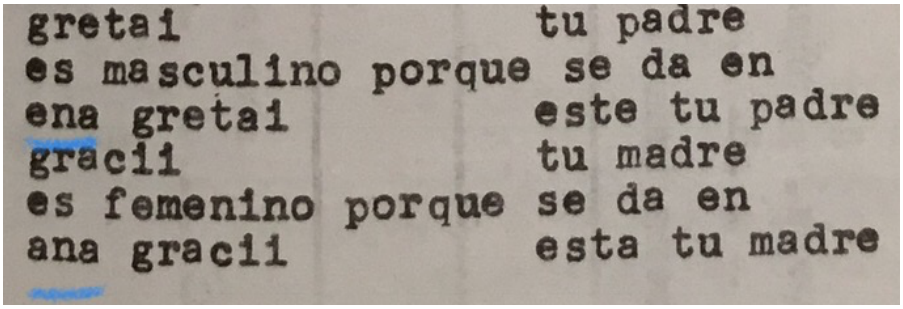


4.26 Prefijoide enfático

Todos los posicionales pueden entrar en construcción con el prefijoide enfático k-. Los posicionales enfáticos son muy frecuentes en los textos.

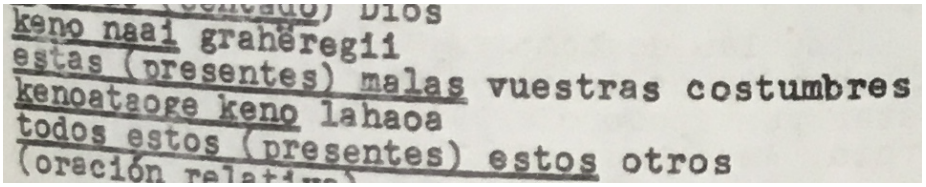
Ej:	k-eno	estos, estas presentes
	k-era	este parado
	k-iri	ese acostado
	k-añi	esa sentada
	k-enoaoge	todos, todas presentes
	k-iñitarapek	cada uno sentado

p43: difference between *ena gretai* and *ana gracii*



gretai	tu padre
es masculino porque	se da en
ena gretai	este tu padre
gracii	tu madre
es femenino porque	se da en
ana gracii	esta tu madre

P82 Also plural? *Keno* vs. *ena/ana*? The *k-* is the "emphatic prefix" mentioned above



keno naai	grahëregii
estas (presentes) malas	vuestras costumbres
kenoataoge keno	lahaoa
todos estos (presentes) estos	otros

abk - Abkhaz

Here's something from Chirikba (2003:58)

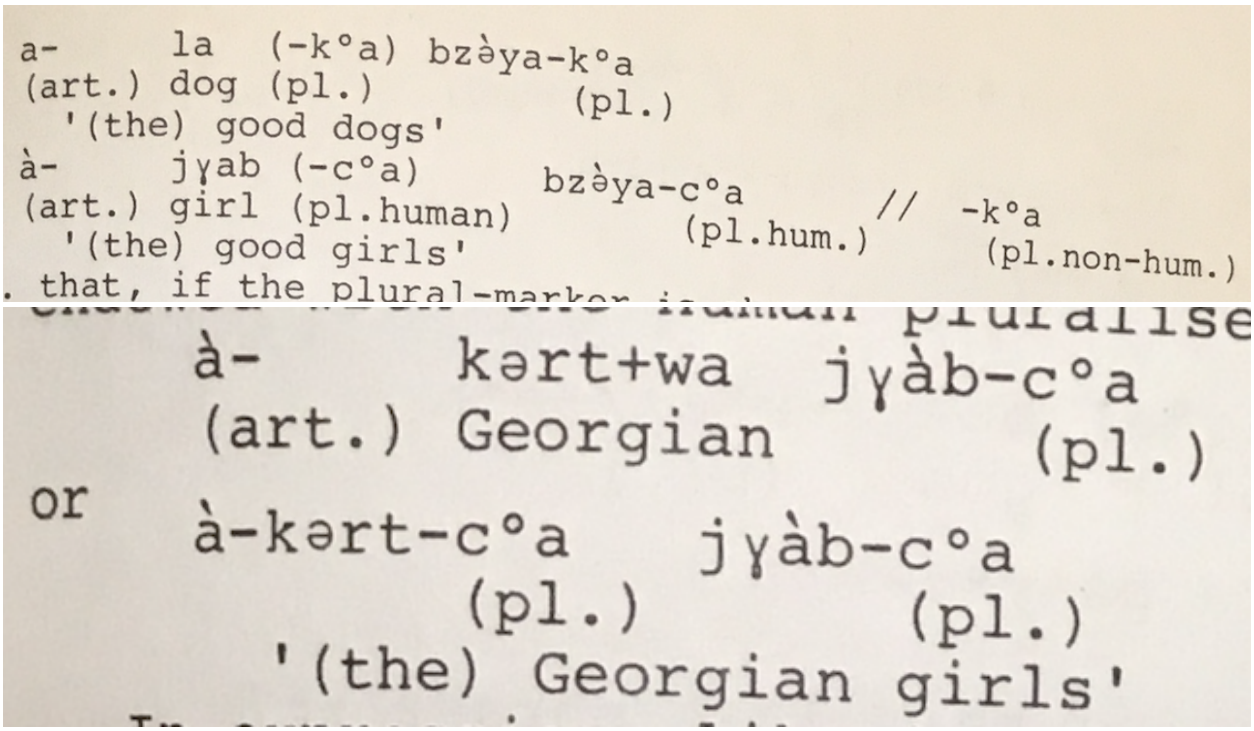
6.1.5. Number, Class/gender and Article Agreement within NP.
If the head noun belongs to the class of non-humans, it is only the second member of the NP that takes the plural marker, irrespective of the position of the head: *á-my°a dów-k°a* 'big roads', *a-t°ám bəzš°a-k°á* 'foreign languages'. If the head noun is human, both adjective and the head are usually marked for number: *a-c'aj°-c°á bzəja-k°a* 'ART-pupil-PL good-PL = good pupils' (cf. Grammatika 49).

The modifier agrees in class/gender with the head noun: *a-ph°ás lə-š°q°ó* 'woman her(H:F)-book', *á(-)rbay' a-c'áx°a* 'rooster its(NH)-tail'.[59]

Also some stuff from Hewitt 1989
Gender: human/nonhumana
Number: Sg/Pl
Case: none

Adjectives: if rightmost in NP, they must bear plural-marking, but the noun still can in these contexts, so we would have to say concord. Basically, concord with "some degree of optionality"

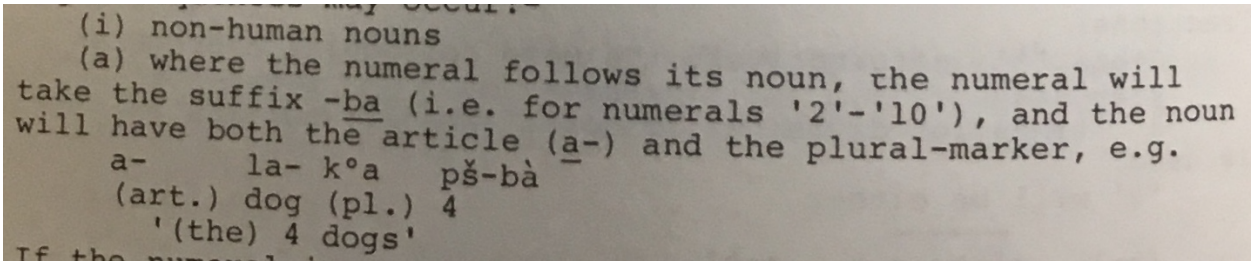
Hewitt 223



Note that the human adjective can take either human or non-human suffix; non-human adjective must take non-human suffix. Hewitt indicates a preference for human with human if the noun is not marked for plural.

Numerals: Numerals have non-human and human suffixes. There are complex interactions with numeral placement that I won't get into that affect whether concord takes place.

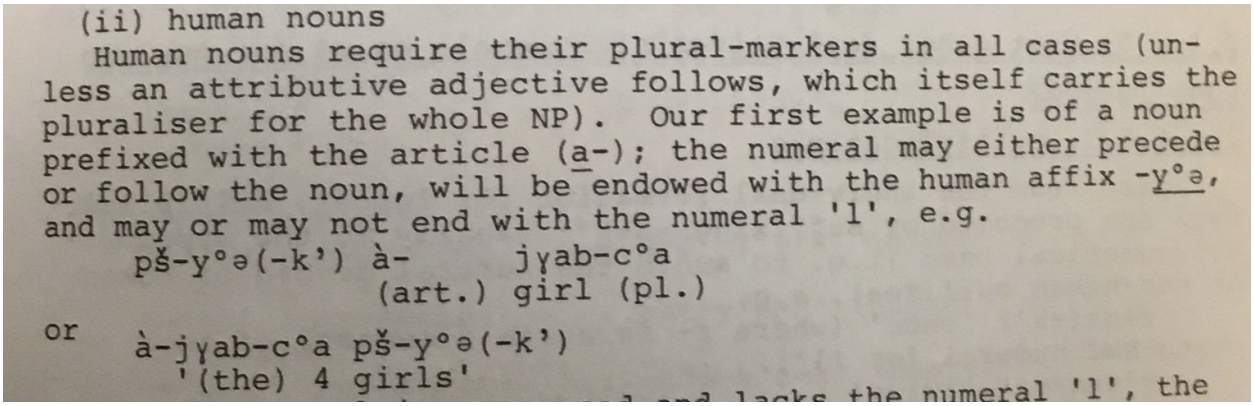
Hewitt pp 236-237



(i) non-human nouns

(a) where the numeral follows its noun, the numeral will take the suffix -ba (i.e. for numerals '2'-'10'), and the noun will have both the article (a-) and the plural-marker, e.g.

a- la- k°a pš-bà
(art.) dog (pl.) 4
'(the) 4 dogs'



(ii) human nouns

Human nouns require their plural-markers in all cases (unless an attributive adjective follows, which itself carries the pluraliser for the whole NP). Our first example is of a noun prefixed with the article (a-); the numeral may either precede or follow the noun, will be endowed with the human affix -y°ə, and may or may not end with the numeral '1', e.g.

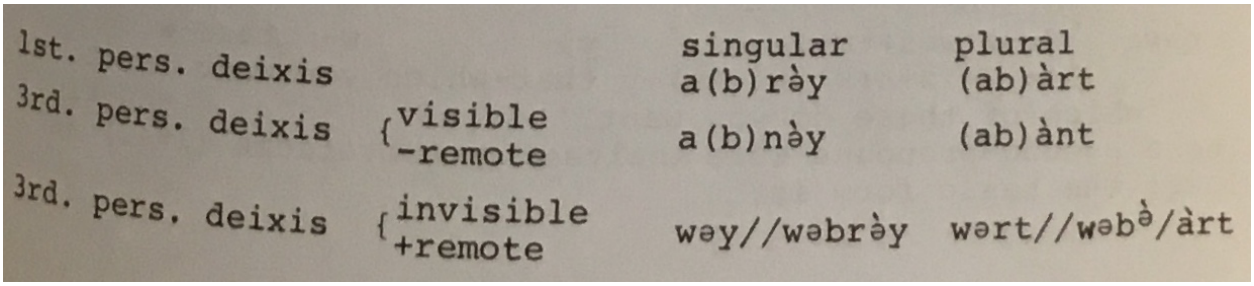
pš-y°ə(-k') à- jɣab-c°a
(art.) girl (pl.)

or

à-jɣab-c°a pš-y°ə(-k')
'(the) 4 girls'

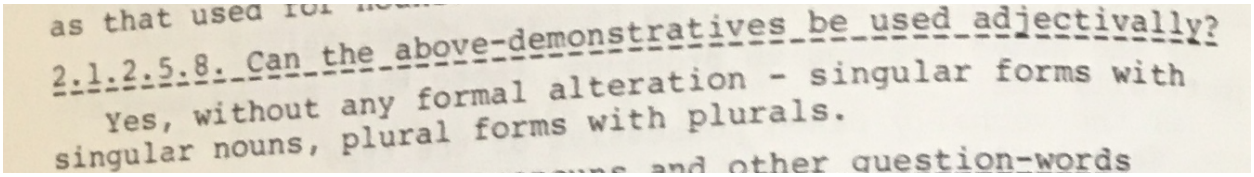
Demonstratives: demonstratives show concord for number.

Paradigm (Hewitt 163)



		singular	plural
1st. pers. deixis		a(b)rèy	(ab)àrt
3rd. pers. deixis	{visible -remote	a(b)nèy	(ab)ànt
3rd. pers. deixis	{invisible +remote	wəy//wəbrèy	wərt//wəbᵊ/àrt

Statement (Hewitt 164)



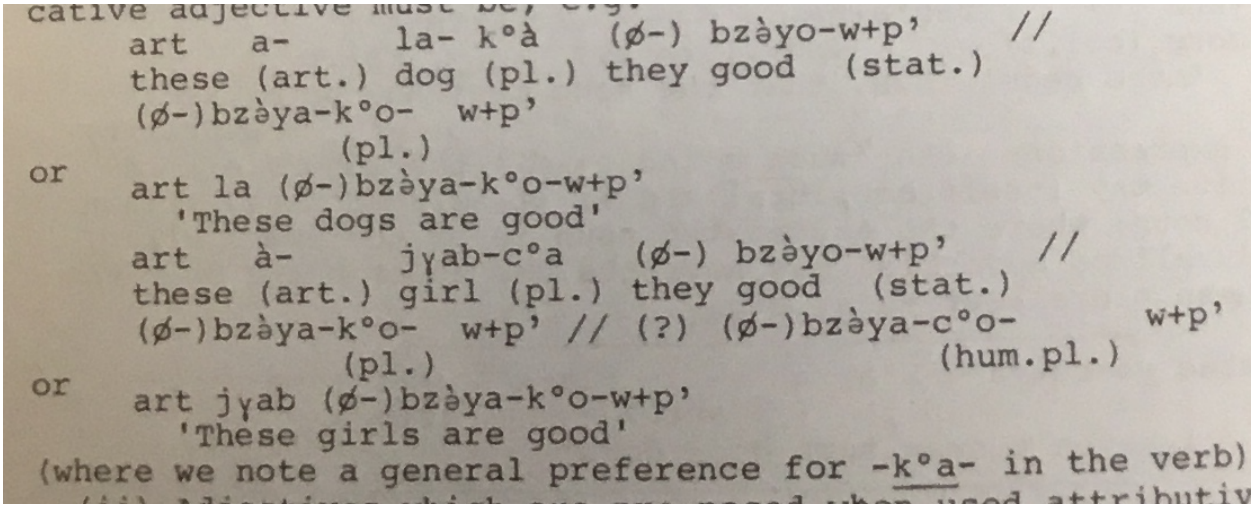
as that used for

2.1.2.5.8. Can the above-demonstratives be used adjectivally?

Yes, without any formal alteration - singular forms with singular nouns, plural forms with plurals.

and other question-words

Examples (Hewitt 224)



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cative adjective must be, e.g.:
     art   a-     la- k°à    (ø-) bzàyo-w+p'     //
     these (art.) dog (pl.) they good  (stat.)
     (ø-)bzàya-k°o-  w+p'
               (pl.)
or   art la (ø-)bzàya-k°o-w+p'
       'These dogs are good'
     art   à-     jɣab-c°a   (ø-) bzàyo-w+p'     //
     these (art.) girl (pl.) they good  (stat.)
     (ø-)bzàya-k°o-  w+p' // (?) (ø-)bzàya-c°o-      w+p'
               (pl.)                    (hum.pl.)
or   art jɣab (ø-)bzàya-k°o-w+p'
       'These girls are good'
(where we note a general preference for -k°a- in the verb)
```

Ignore the second examples in each case-- we have *art* (the plural form of the demonstrative) with plural nouns in both cases.

aco – Acoma

No examples; must have looked at this earlier in the project when we were not saving examples of “no concord”

ain - Ainu

Gender: none (p31)
Number; sg/pl; optional (p32)

> The noun does not change its form to indicate plural number, i.e. there is no number agreement within a noun phrase (*sine aynu* ‘one man’, *tu aynu* ‘two men’, etc.), and there is no grammatical category of number for full nouns. However, a suffix *-utar* can be added to indicate plurality as in *aynu-utar* ‘men’ and *cip-utar* ‘ships’. This suffix also expresses the meaning ‘X and others’. The distinction

Case: no case-marking (p31)

Examples from Shibatani 1990.

Adjectives: Adjectives are actually verbs; they do not appear to have concord (pg 17). Need to find examples!

> postpositional particles or by means of applicative affixes. Attributive verbs (adjectives) also appear to be incorporable into the head nouns within noun phrases. And finally, there is an instance of the incorporation of an attributive verb into another attributive verb. This extensive incorporation and concentration of various mor-

Numerals: No concord for number on numerals (almost no plural-marking)
There is almost no plural marking, and there is no concord for number on numerals.

Demonstratives: no plural-marking on demonstratives even when the optional plural marker for nouns is used, as can be seen below.

Pg. 53

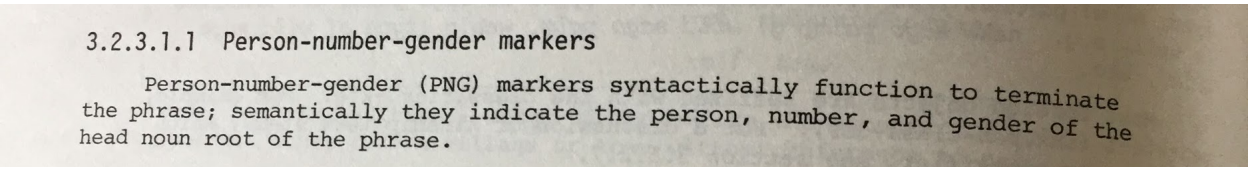
c. *Nean henke . . . pooho-hcin kira-re-hci.* (Sakhalin)
that old man kid-PL escape-CAUS-PL
'That old man let the kids escape.'
d. *Nean orohko-utah nean tumi ki-hci kusu . . .* (Sakhalin)
those Orokko-PL that war do-PL in order to
'In order for those Orokkos to start that war . . .'

The same demonstrative *nean* is used with both the singular *henke* 'old man' and the plural *orohkoutah* 'Orokkos'. There is therefore no number concord.

ala - Alamblak (Bruce 1984)

Gender:
Number:
Case:

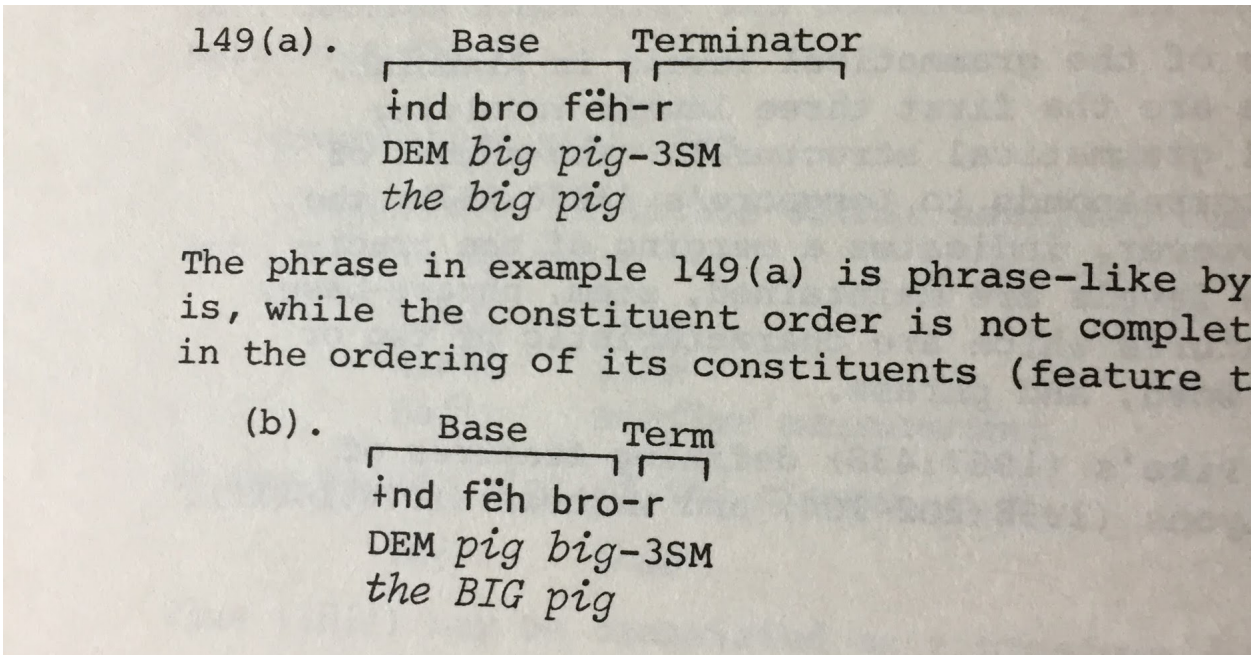
P96: Marking happens phrase finally, not on any one piece of the noun phrase.



3.2.3.1.1 Person-number-gender markers

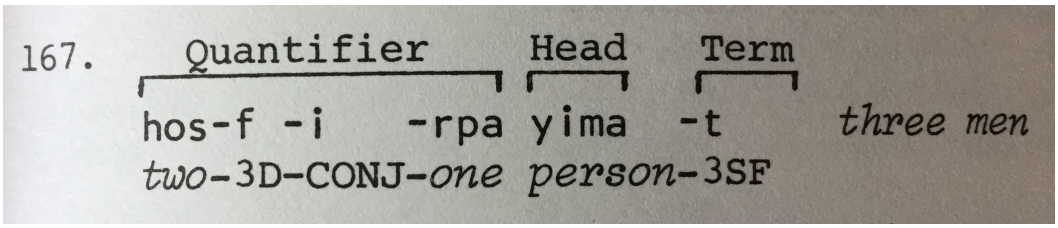
Person-number-gender (PNG) markers syntactically function to terminate the phrase; semantically they indicate the person, number, and gender of the head noun root of the phrase.

(p90) Compare the following two examples:

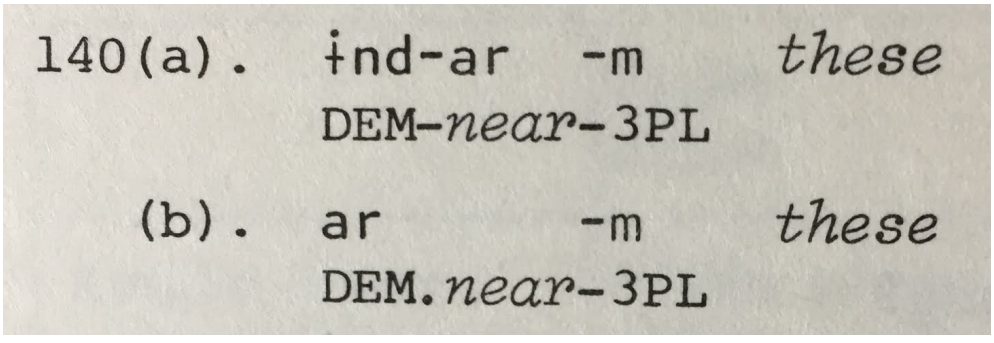


Word order is somewhat flexible in Alamblak. In 149a, the person/number/gender (gender is marked only for the third person singular) marker seems to attach to the noun *feh* ‘pig’. In 149b, it seems to attach to *bro* ‘big’. Thus we see that, rather than attaching to one syntactic unit, these markers attach to the end of the noun phrase as a whole.

Numerals; Numeral does not bear gender/number --- just the entire phrase (although what’s this 3D marker..?) p103



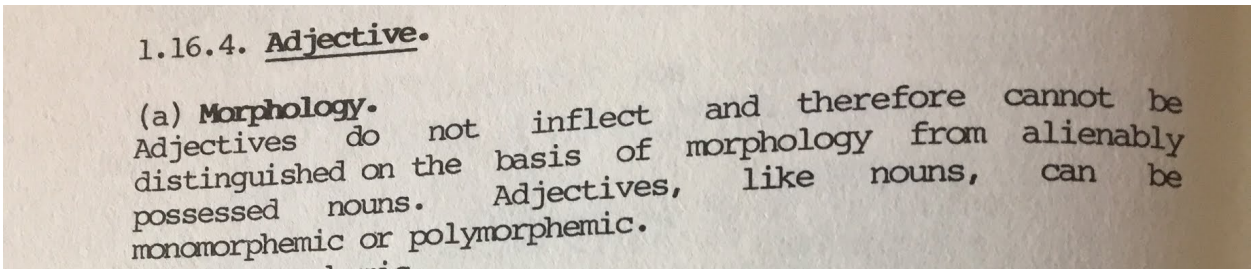
Demonstratives: Only examples involve demonstratives in isolation rather than attributive (p82). Thus, we cannot tell whether they would inflect in attributive position:



ame - Amele (Amele, John Roberts, 1987)

Gender: doesn't exist? Or isn't marked?
Number: sg/du/pl; unclear where it is marked
Case: None (p216)

Adjectives: Adjectives do not inflect in Amele. Due to this claim, the author does not provide minimal pairs proving a lack of inflection/concord.

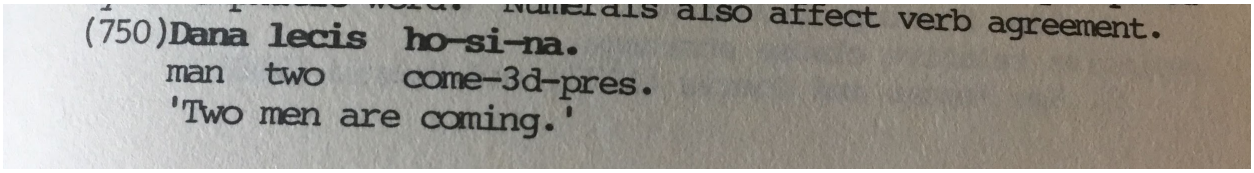


1.16.4. **Adjective.**

(a) **Morphology.** Adjectives do not inflect and therefore cannot be distinguished on the basis of morphology from alienably possessed nouns. Adjectives, like nouns, can be monomorphemic or polymorphemic.

(p 154)

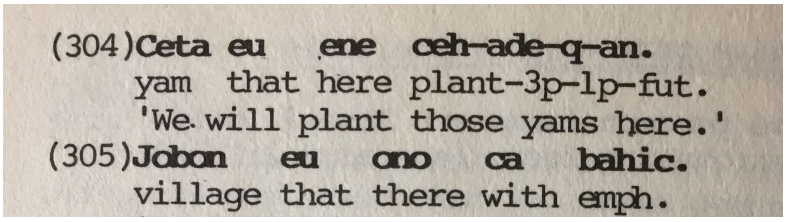
Numerals: Numerals do not mark for anything. See the lack of inflection of the base form of 'two' in the below example (p157).



also affect verb agreement.

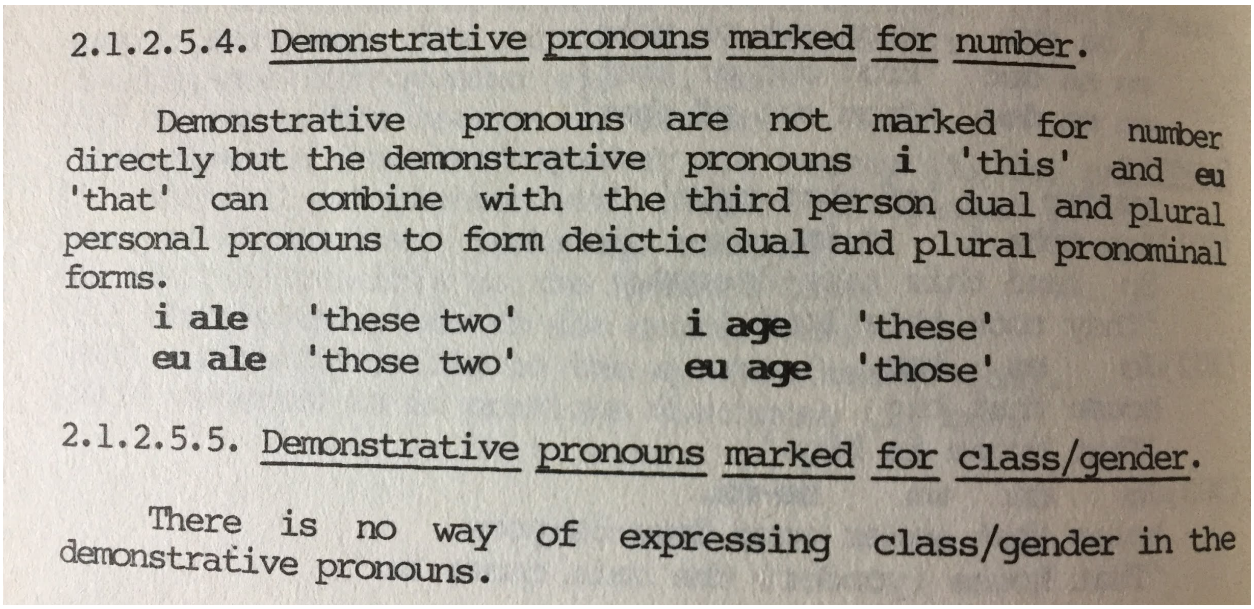
(750) **Dana lecis ho-si-na.**
man two come-3d-pres.
'Two men are coming.'

Demonstratives: Demonstratives do not mark for number, but 'this' and 'that' can combine with 3p dual and plural but possibly only when they are used as independent pronouns. Compare the uninflected /eu/ 'that' from (304-305) to the inflected /eu ale. 'those two' and /eu age/ 'those' from section 2.1.2.5.4.



(304) **Ceta eu ene ceh-ade-q-an.**
yam that here plant-3p-1p-fut.
'We will plant those yams here.'
(305) **Jobon eu ono ca bahic.**
village that there with emph.

(p 216)



2.1.2.5.4. Demonstrative pronouns marked for number.

Demonstrative pronouns are not marked for number directly but the demonstrative pronouns **i** 'this' and **eu** 'that' can combine with the third person dual and plural personal pronouns to form deictic dual and plural pronominal forms.

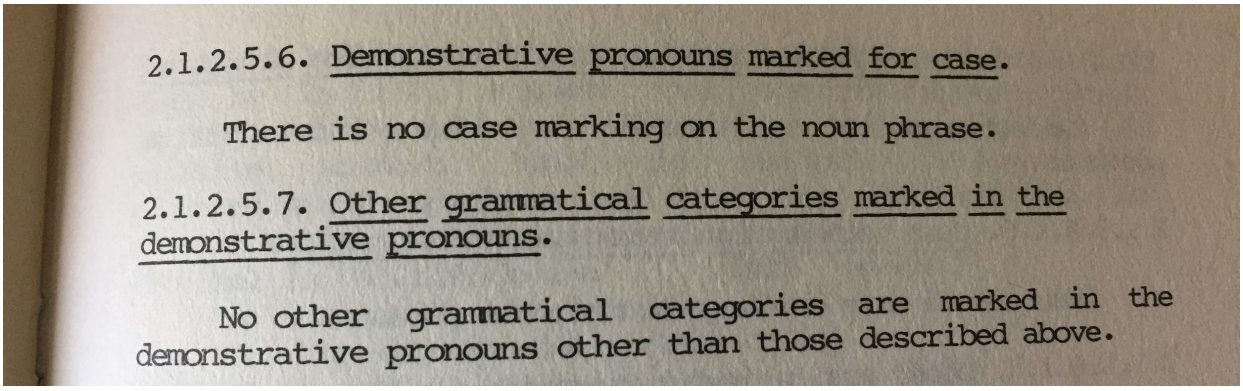
i ale	'these two'	**i age**	'these'
eu ale	'those two'	**eu age**	'those'

2.1.2.5.5. Demonstrative pronouns marked for class/gender.

There is no way of expressing class/gender in the demonstrative pronouns.

(p 216)

As the text goes on to say, demonstratives are not marked for class or gender, case, or any other grammatical category (including definiteness) (p217).



2.1.2.5.6. Demonstrative pronouns marked for case.

There is no case marking on the noun phrase.

2.1.2.5.7. Other grammatical categories marked in the demonstrative pronouns.

No other grammatical categories are marked in the demonstrative pronouns other than those described above.

ana - Araona (Emkow 2006)

Gender: There does not appear to be any gender (e.g., pp164-165)
Number: p372 number marked with enclitics; du and PL/COLL enclitics (no examples of complex NPs). p203 “Number marking is not obligatory in Araona”.
Case: p202 “Case-markers are cltiics as they occur on the last word of an NP rather than on the head noun.”
Iconicity of distance in nominal affixes (2.4.2.2)

Adjectives: p390 There are very few attributive adjectives in the language (5: big, small, old, young, new), N-Adj. Other adjectives are verbs and can only be used attributively if

relativized predicates. Here is an example of some of the actual adjectives. PL-marking is enclitic

13 - (61) *Towāi babakana* *towāi tsīdikana* .
towāi baba ~kana towāi tsīdi ~kana
star big ~COLL star little ~PL.COLL
shāmalelahai.
shāma -lelahai
watch -HAB.CUSTOM
'(We) always watch the big and the little stars.'

Number-marking as an enclitic.

pp389-390 At least some adjectival functions expressed through N-N compounds

13 - (57) *watsi baōda*
watsi baōda
toe bigness
'big toe'

13 - (58) *pia halīdya*
pia halīdya
spear length
'a long spear'

Numerals: different syntactic behavior depending on numeral being used.

P377: N-Num no number-marking, Num-N no number-marking (always Num-N if numeral is from Spanish); Also always Num-N if head noun is from Spanish (p333)

13 - (26) *Hāe betakata pitaiki.*
hāe betakata pi -ta -iki
fish two kill -3A-O.DEF -ANT
'(He/She) killed two fish.'

13 - (28) *Siete badīme batāwe mābe* .
siete bādi ~me batāwe mābe
seven moon ~during like pregnancy
pōmane
po ~mane
AUX.COP ~HAB
'The pregnancy is always about seven months.'

P333 Plural-marking possible, but this is an example with a Spanish head noun

11 - (32)	*Mānōpale*	*bēnehe*		*betakata*	*misionēlokana*		
	Mānōpale	bene	~e	betakata	misionēlo	~kana	
	Manopale	side	~PERL	two	missionary	~PL	
	nae	*pōti*					
	nae	po	-ti				

Demonstrative: All Araona demonstratives can be used both attributively and pronominally (p293) No reference is made to plural forms and no examples involving demonstratives in plural DPs are given.

10 - (1)	*Oho*	*kanawa*	*ahāikata.*		
	[oho	kanawa]$_{CS}$	a-	hāi	~kata
	DEM.POINT	boat	COP-	good	~very
	'This boat is nice.'				

apu - Apurinã (Facundes 2000)

Gender: M/F
Number: plural
Case: only peripheral

P365: here are some nice examples showing maximal concord

15a.	*i-ye*	*hāt-u*	*hātako-ru*	16a.	*i-ye*	*epi*	*hātako-ru*
	M-DEM	one-M	youth-M		M-DEM	two	youth-M
	'this one boy'				'these two boys'		
b.	*o-ye*	*hāt-o*	*hātako-ro*	b.	*oye*	*epi*	*hātako-ro*
	M-DEM	one-F	youth-F		F-DEM	two	youth-F
	'this one girl'				'these two girls'		

Adjectives: Facundes (2000:346-347) claims that adjectives per se don't exist, their functions being taken by "classificatory nouns" and verbs.

P179: classificatory nouns. These are not the best examples but this *ke* thing means "stick of" but it can also mean "long and thin" basically

34a.	*yomēti-ke* large-stick.of	NRt+CN_2	'harpoon'
b.	*kano-ke* arm.of-stick.of	NRt+CN_2	'arm of'
c.	*tapi-ke* foot.of-stick.of	NRt+CN_2	'leg of'

P184 this story about how a speaker of Apurinã was adding *ke* to the end of the linguist's name to denote thinness.

with. When I asked another speaker why I was being called *yowuka-ke*, instead of simply *yowuka*, by the other speaker, I was told (after a few laughs) that "It's because you are skinny and tall [of course, within the Apurinã standards]." That is, CN_2s are also

P348 verb examples

b. *katsopu-ru* *hīwu*
be.white-3M.O flower
'The flower is white.' (3,18:C)

c. *pomama-ru* *māka-txi*
be.black-3M.O clothes-UNPOSS
'The clothes are black.' (3,18:C)

d. *mita-ru* *aiko*
be.big-3M.O house
'The house is big.' (3,18:C)

Numerals:

P. 267 Plural-marking is possible with numerals but not obligatory

119a.	*epi* *hātako-ru$_1$(-wako-ru$_1$)* two youth-M-(PL-M)		'two boys'
b.	*epi* *hātako-ro(-wako-ro)* two youth-F-(PL-F)		'two girls'

P. 268

120a. *epi* *aiko(-nu-ru$_1$)* 'two houses'
two house(-PL-M)

b. *epi* *serepi-txi(-nu-ru$_1$)* 'two arrows'
two arrow-UNPOSS(-PL-M)

P. 364 numeral *one* shows concord but two doesn't (as seen above)

14a. *hāt-u* *kuku*
one-M man
'one man.'

b. *hāt-o* *suto*
one-F woman
'one woman.'

Demonstratives: show concord for gender (p362)

10a. *u-kira* *hātako-ru*
M-DIST youth-M
'that boy'

b. *o-kira* *hātako-ro*
F-DIST youth-F
'that girl'

p361

9a. *i-ye* *hātako-ru*
M-PROX youth-M
'this/the boy'

b. *o-ye* *hātako-ro*
F-PROX youth-F
'this/the girl'

No plural per se, but can use masculine forms with plural feminine

11a. *u-ye* *hātako-ro-wako-ro*
M-PROX youth-F-PL-F
'these girls'

b. *o-kira* *hātako-ro-wako-ro*
F-DIST youth-F-PL-F
'those girls'

arm - Armenian (Eastern)

Gender: “MEA has no gender distinction” p60; natural gender derivational suffix
Number: sg/pl (p63)
Case: Some cases, yeah

Adjectives: p364, no agreement in case/number

> Adjectives and words functioning like adjectives usually precede the noun they modify, without any agreement in case/number.

And here’s an example showing no number agreement; guessing the nominative form is because it is the citation form (p116)

(163) Արամը իր մորը նվիրում է կարմիր վարդեր

Aram-ě	*ir mor-ě*	*nvir-um*	*ē*	*karmir*	*vard-er.*
Aram.NOM-the	his mother-DAT-the	give-PTCP.PRES.	he is	red.NOM	rose-PL.NOM

“Aram gives red roses to his mother.”

Numerals: p118 never agree in case

> Cardinal numbers never agree with the head noun in case, and always precede the head noun. As shown in chapter 2.1.1.2. “ Number” p. 63f., a countable noun does not show

Demonstratives: it looks like no concord for attributive demonstratives
P131: no dative case on *ays*.

(194) Այս տանը մի ժամանակ գրադարան կար:

Ays	*tan-ě*	*mi*	*žamanak*	*gradaran*	*ka-r.*
This	house-DAT-the	INDEF	time.NOM	library.NOM	exist-PAST.3.SG

“Once there was a library in this house.”

P114 another caseless dem

(156) Ես ինքս երկար տարիներ փորձում եմ գտնել այն հարցի պատասխանը: (Hetk’ 26.02.2007)

es	*ink’-s*	*erkar*	*tari-ner*	*p’orj-um*	*em*	*gtn-el*
I.NOM	myself	long	year-PL.NOM	try-PTCP.PRES.	I am	find-INF

ayn	*harc’-i*	*patasxan-ě.*
that	question-DAT	answer.NOM-the

“I myself have been trying to find the answer to that question for long years.”

P315: unmarked demonstrative with a plural-marked noun

(11) a. Այն երեք աշակերտները գնում են տուն:

ayn erek' ašakert-ner-ě gn-um en tun.
that three pupil-PL.NOM-the go-PTCP.PRES. they are house.NOM
"Those three pupils are going home."

P381 another unmarked dem with plural noun

(196) իմ առողջությունը շատ լավ է և ավելի առողջ եմ, քան բոլոր այն մարդիկ, ովքեր փորձում են շահարկել դա: (Armenpress 21.01.2006)

im arołǰut'yun-ě šat lav ē ew aveli aṙołǰ em kʻan bolor
my health.NOM-the INT good it is CONJ more healthy I am COMP all
ayn mard-ik ov-kʻer pʻorj-um en šahark-el da.
that person-PL.NOM who-PL.NOM try-PTCP.PRES. they are profit-INF that.NOM
"My health is very good and I am healthier than all those people, who try to profit fromit."

arp - Arapesh (Mountain) (Conrad 1991)

Gender: noun class system
Number: sg/pl
Case: adjectives and demonstratives mark for number (with noun class agreement).

Adjectives: show concord in class and number (p58)

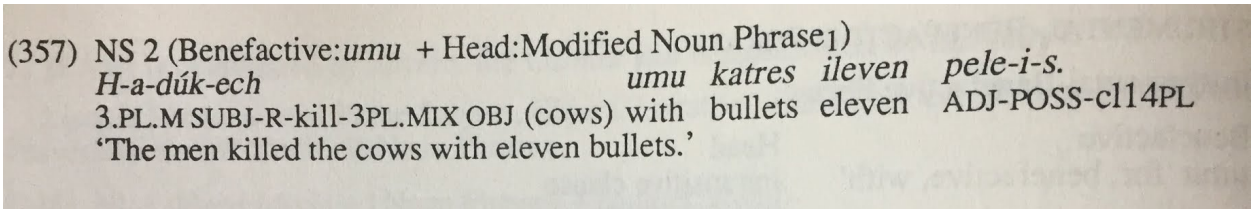
(304) NK 10 (Modifier$_1$:demonstrative + Modifier$_2$:adjective$_2$ + Head:noun)
Égú-dak nebe-gali trag.
cl3SG DEM-this big-cl3SG truck
'This big truck.'

Numerals: have the same concord in class and number (p59).

(315) NA 2 (Modifier$_1$:numeral stem + Head:noun)
bwi-yogw betogw
two-cl11PL beds
'two beds'

(316) NA 2 (Modifier$_1$:numeral stem + Head:noun)
bwi-yech lowas
two-cl13PL trees
'two trees'

Borrowed numerals might not inflect directly but they take an adjectivalizing suffix which then shows concord like normal (p68)


(357) NS 2 (Benefactive:*umu* + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$)
H-a-dúk-ech *umu katres ileven pele-i-s.*
3.PL.M SUBJ-R-kill-3PL.MIX OBJ (cows) with bullets eleven ADJ-POSS-cl14PL
'The men killed the cows with eleven bullets.'

asm - Asmat

No examples; tagged as "no concord"

awp - Awa Pit

No examples; tagged as "no concord"

aym - Aymara (Central)

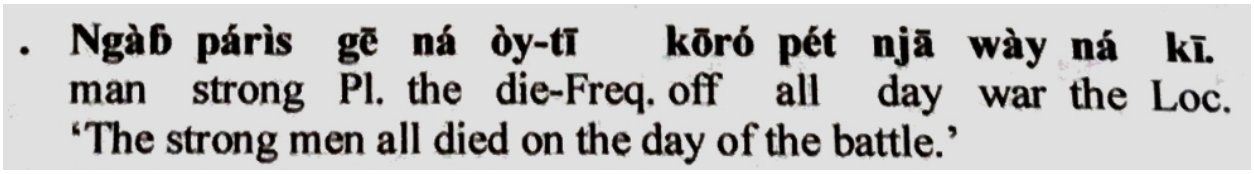
No concord. Noun phrase are usually very small, meaning they are not generally large enough to be able to see concord. (p196)

bag - Bagirmi (Keegan and Idriss Djibrine 2016)

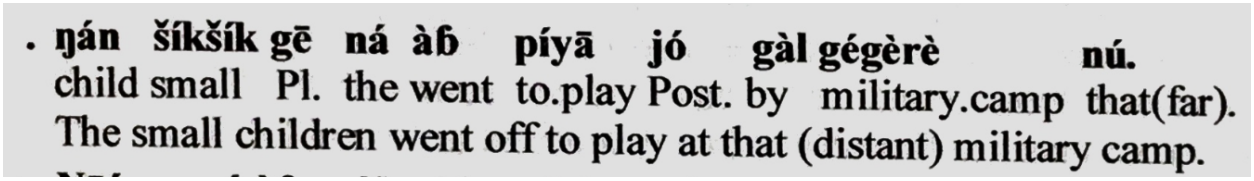
No concord.

Adjectives: a few examples of adjectives in plural DPs and there is no special plural-marking on the adjective

P. lost: here's an example of an adjective in a plural DP; no special marking on the adjective


. **Ngàb pàrìs gē ná òy-tī kōró pét njā wày ná kī.**
man strong Pl. the die-Freq. off all day war the Loc.
'The strong men all died on the day of the battle.'

P. lxix another example of an adjective


. **ŋán šíkšík gē ná àb píyā jó gàl gégèrè nú.**
child small Pl. the went to.play Post. by military.camp that(far).
The small children went off to play at that (distant) military camp.

Numerals: p. xxxi There is this table of numerals and no mention in text of different forms. Since the language does not otherwise have concord, I assume that numerals also do not participate.

kédē	**1**
sàbì	**2**
mìtá	**3**
só	**4**
mí	**5**
mìká	**6**
cìlí	**7**
mārtā	**8**
dōosō	**9**
dòkkèmè	**10**

Demonstratives: P. xxvi-xxv no number concord for definite article.

No distinction is made for number with the definite article:

. **àsàmà ná njāníkī àk yár.**
sky the today is.clear perfectly.
'The sky is perfectly clear today.'

Nēé gē ná èt pát wā sè ālgápā.
woman Pl. the are winnowing millet with straw.plate.
'The women are winnowing the millet with a straw plate.'

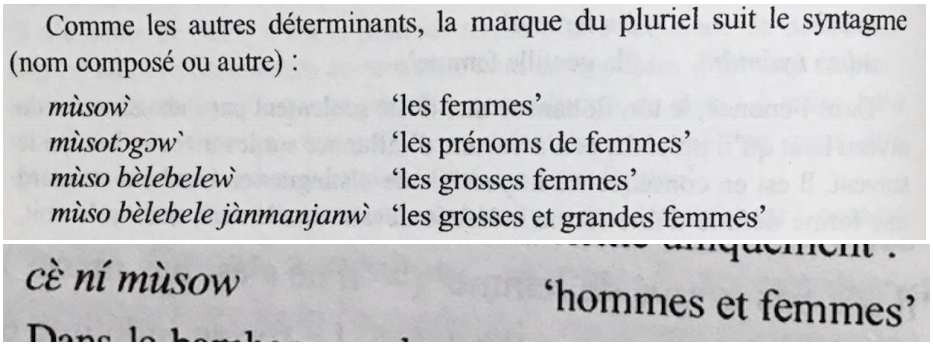
P. xxix: demonstratives (at least one, here *gà*) not marked for number. Also there was no mention of number forms for demonstratives

. **Jā gà èt ènn ná cūŋō-ɲ́ nòkó.**
Meat that is here the bones-its are.many.
'I took this one.'

. **Kàɓ kīnjá gē gà èt ènn ná písà èlí.**
Egg chicken Pl that is here the good not.
'These eggs are not good.'

bam - Bambara (Dumestre 2003)
Gender: none? Small classifier system?

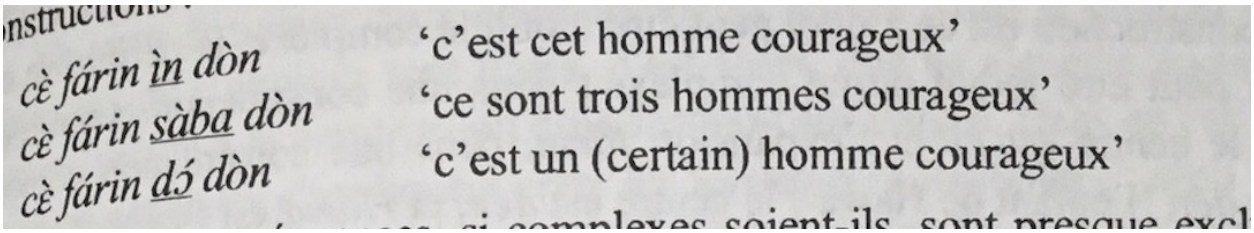
Number: edge-marked (p138)



Comme les autres déterminants, la marque du pluriel suit le syntagme (nom composé ou autre) :

mùsoẁ	'les femmes'
mùsotɔgɔẁ	'les prénoms de femmes'
mùso bèlebeleẁ	'les grosses femmes'
mùso bèlebele jànmanjanẁ	'les grosses et grandes femmes'
cè ní mùsow	'hommes et femmes'

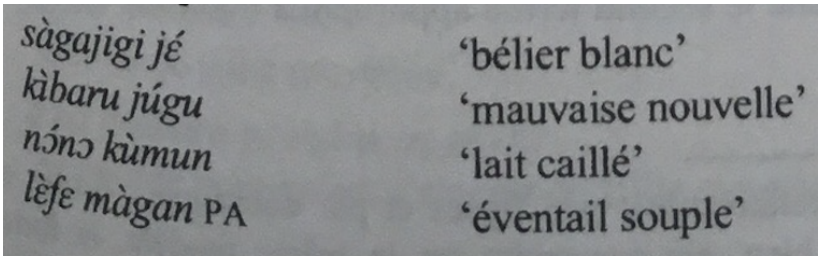
I think the answer is almost no. There are maybe There's the one demonstrative example that is a bit confusing.



cè fárin ìn dòn	'c'est cet homme courageux'
cè fárin sàba dòn	'ce sont trois hommes courageux'
cè fárin dɔ́ dòn	'c'est un (certain) homme courageux'

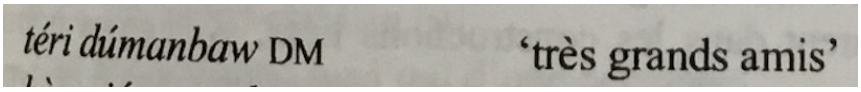
cE fárin ìn dòn = man courageous dem exist(?)

Adjectives: here are some examples. I don't think they change at all
P115 N + Adjective



sàgajigi jé	'bélier blanc'
kàbaru júgu	'mauvaise nouvelle'
nɔ́nɔ kùmun	'lait caillé'
lèfɛ màgan PA	'éventail souple'

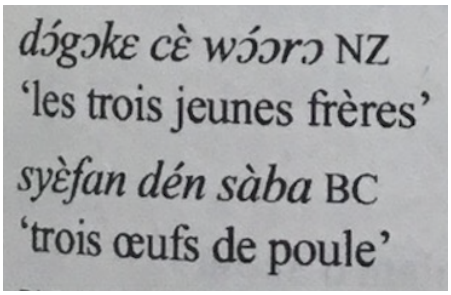
p175: adjective with a peripheral plural marker

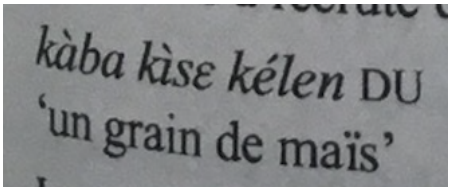


téri dúmanbaw DM	'très grands amis'

See also above! Only last adj gets plural

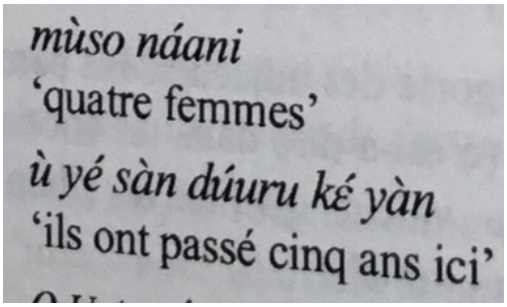
Numerals: maybe classifier things? Some of these look like classifiers but others just look like pseudopartitives.
P121





cE as classifier; means 'man', also wÓOrO = 'six', not 'three'
Dén as classifier, means 'child'
kìsE means grain

p158 more forms



Sàn dúuru = year five. No classifier

Demonstratives:

mùso	'femme'
mùso + `	'la femme'
mùso + *ìn*	'cette femme'

ò mùso`	cette femme'
ò mùso sàba`	'ces trois femmes'
ò mùso sàba nìnnu	'ces trois femmes-ci'

p144: talking about *ìn* and *nìn*, both of which lack plural forms

2.3.1.2. Utilisé derrière un nominal ou derrière un déterminant, sous la forme *ìn*, sans forme pluriel, c'est un démonstratif faible qui tend à prendre la valeur d'un article ('le','la', 'les'), simple référence à quelque chose ou quelqu'un dont il a déjà été question :

mùso ìn fána
'la femme aussi'

kàna sɔ̀n ò gáran ìn kɔ̀ni ká sé í mà TA
'surtout ne laisse pas cette entrave te toucher'

ní í yé à nyìninka nègɛ ìn ná... GE
'si tu l'interroges à propos de l'anneau...'

2.3.1.3. Utilisé derrière un nominal, sous la forme complète *nìn* très accentuée, sans forme pluriel, il correspond à un démonstratif fort, le plus souvent topicalisé avec le nominal :

mùso nìn, à ká júgu dɛ́ !
'cette femme-ci, elle est très mauvaise !'

On trouve cette forme forte également derrière le pronom emphatique *é* :

à kó é nìn... JO
'il dit : « toi que voici... »'

p145 there's a sort of discontinuous dem where the postnominal form can show concord

nìn mùso ìn
'cette femme-ci'

nìn mùso nìnnu
'ces femmes-ci'

I think because this self-same dem can appear in other positions and doesn't agree, maybe we should say no? But then I wonder about Basque! And Palauan.

bej - Beja (Vanhove 2014:11)

The definite article is proclitic. It consists of a single vowel for the masculine (which amalgamates with case, see below section 3.1.6.1), e.g. *i=ˈdʊra* 'the uncle', which is preceded by *t* for the feminine, e.g. *ti=ˈdʊra* 'the aunt'.
The indefinite article is enclitic. It is *=t* for all feminine nouns for all cases. For masculine, it is overtly marked with *=b* only for masculine nouns ending in a vowel, a portmanteau morpheme which also marks ACC (and the citation form). It is covert for all other syllabic types.

(Ibid. 50)

billɛ:=t ribɑ:=t-i gɛ:b <flat=INDF.F mountain=INDF.F-GEN.SG beside> 'next to a flat mountain' (BEJ MV NARR 05 ERITREA 321)
dabalɔ:=t ʔɔɪr 'a small girl' (BEJ MV NARR 03 CAMEL 022)

RK- On the other hand, consider these examples from Wedekind, Wedekind, & Musa (2004), page numbers based on the Google Drive PDF. The examples are in semi-orthography; glottal stop is represented with <'>, postalveolar fricative is represented with <sh>, and /j/ is represented with <y>. Order is adjective-noun in indefinite NPs and noun-adjective in definite NPs. Basic word order is SOV (based on the evidence at hand and confirmed by WALS). The adjective being given twice in #2 (almost definitely) marks two ways the adjective could appear, not that it actually appears twice for this phrase. I added hyphens at morpheme boundaries in nouns and adjectives to make analysis clearer.

1. Uu-sh'a w-hamish eeya. 'The brown ox came.' p. 66
   the.nom.Sg-ox def.sg-brown came

2. Aa-sh'a y-hamish-a, y-hamsh-a eeyaan. 'The brown oxen came.' p. 66
   the.nom.pl-ox def-brown-pl Came

3. Hamish sh'a eeya. 'A brown ox came.' p. 64
   Brown ox came

4. Hamish-t sh'a eeta. 'A brown cow (F) came.' p. 65
   brown-F cow came

5. Oo-sh'a w-hamish rhan. 'I saw the brown ox.' p. 66
   The.acc.sg def.sg-brown saw

6. Ee-sh'a y-hamish-a rhan. 'I saw the brown oxen.' p. 66
   The.acc.pl-cow def-brown-pl saw

7. Hamish sh'a rhan. 'I saw a brown ox.' p. 64
   Brown ox saw

8. Hamish-t sh'a rhan. 'I saw a brown cow.' p. 65
   Brown-fem cow saw

Comparing 1-4 to 5-8, we can see that the same forms are used on the adjective whether it is in the nominative or accusative case. For a particularly clear comparison, compare *uu-sh'a w-hamish* 'the brown ox, nominative' in #1 to oo-sh'a w-hamish 'the brown ox, accusative' in #5. From these, we can see the noun *sh'a* 'ox, cow' taking a different prefix/proclitic to mark case, but the adjective *hamish* 'brown' takes the same

morphology in both cases. This seems to be the case for all adjectives with examples given, in all genders, numbers, and states of definiteness.

However, we can see clear morphological contrasts in all categories other than case. Comparing #3 and #4, we can see a clear gender contrast, with a feminine marker -t being added for concord (even when the noun is identical; note that the verb is also changed by this change in the gender of the noun). Comparing #1 and #3, we can see a clear definiteness contrast, both in the syntax (change in word order, as mentioned above) which does not (to my mind) count as concord and in the morphology (as #3 does not take w-) which looks like pretty standard definiteness concord. Comparing #5 and #6 we can see a clear number contrast, with the noun changing from oo-sh'a to ee-sh'a and the adjective changing from w-hamish to y-hamish-a.

As such, if we trust these examples and this author (which, for all that it is largely for non-linguists, I do), we must conclude that Beja has concord in gender, number, and definiteness, but not case.

Now considering demonstratives, this chart is provided on pages 50 and 51.

Table 16: Demonstratives Near and Far

NEAR SUBJ:		
Uun / tuun	This (M) / (F)	أُون / تُون
Aan / taan	These (M) / (F)	آن / تان
NEAR OBJ:		
Oon / toon	This (M) / (F)	ون / تون

Een / teen	These (M) / (F)	ين / تين
FAR SUBJ:		
Been / beet	That (M) / (F)	بين / بيت
Baliin / baliit	Those (M) / (F)	بَلِين / بَلِيت
FAR OBJ:		
Been / Beet	That (M) / (F)	بين / بيت
Baliin / baliit	Those (M) / (F)	بَلِين / بَلِيت

Their usage is described a few paragraphs earlier on page 50:

In Beja, only those items can be pointed to which are considered definite. Therefore, demonstratives can only be attached to pronouns, since they are considered definite (e.g. uun-baruuh 'this-he'), or to names (e.g. uun-Ali 'this Ali'), or to nouns which have a definite article (uun-uu-tak 'this-the-man').

However, as far as I can tell, the only examples of demonstratives being used 'adjectivally' (they seem to act as proclitics) are these, from page 54 (glosses are mine, based on the general information in the grammar):

Oon- oo- tak aab eeyadna?
this.acc.m- the.acc.m-man what (call; unspecified morphology)
What do they call this man? Wedekind 2004, p. 54

Oot- tu- takat aab eeyadna?
this.acc.f-the.acc.f-woman what (call; unspecified morphology)
What do they call this woman? Wedekind 2004, p. 54

From these, we can clearly see a gender distinction in the 'adjectival' demonstratives. However, no examples in the nominative case or the plural can be found.

Finally, numerals. Their usage is slightly described with this paragraph on page 100:

The numerals are different for gender and case. When the numerals are used in the subject case, the gender / object suffix -b will not be expressed, and the final vowels of numerals like malоo- / asaramaa- 'two / seven' will be reduced phonologically: malu / asarama (aa > a, ee > i, oo > u). The smaller numbers behave like adjectives, and the larger ones like nouns.

What is really notable here is the first sentence, which pretty clearly states that numerals change for gender and case. However, the only good examples ever shown are from a chart on page 102 called "Numerals with plurals of 'man' / 'woman'". It shows the forms for 'x men' and 'x women' for all the numerals from 1-12, but I will here show it for number six (as all lower numbers have slightly unclear, probably optional, morphemes/phonemes shown in parentheses).

asagwir da
six.m men
'six men' p. 102

asagwitt m'a
six.f women
'six women'

This shows a relatively clear gender contrast, but in isolation; I cannot find good examples of this in actual phrases, and can find no way to contrast numerals by case.

bma - Berber (Middle Atlas)

Adjectives: Mourigh (2015:207)
Still trying to find information on Middle Atlas Berber, but I found some data from Ghomara Berber which is closely related and has adjectives that can agree in gender/number

(6) *deɣya h-tɛellay g ya tg̱ig̱et muqqṛ-eṯ*
quickly 3FS-go.up:I in one:F tree:EA big-FS
'She quickly climbs a big tree.'

(7) *i-kkrez s žuž n iɛebbaz muqqṛ-eṯ*
3MS-plough:I with two of oxen big-PL
'He ploughs with two big oxen.'

(8) *ttawi-n=d yah lgayza, ya usɣaṛ ɣliṭ*
take-3PL=DC one:F stick one:M stick:EA thick:MS
'They bring a stick, a thick stick.'

Numerals: (Abdel-Massih 1971:24)

Examples:

yun + n + lʿil ⟶ yul:ʿil	a boy (one boy)
yut + n + tad:art ⟶ yut ntad:art	a house (one house)
sin + n + lk:isan ⟶ sil:k:isan	two glasses
snat + n + tad:rwin ⟶ snat ntad:rwin	two houses
šrad + n + lk:isan ⟶ šrad l:k:isan	three glasses
šrat: + n + tad:rwin ⟶ šrat: ntad:rwin	three houses

Here we can see ordinal numbers used attributively and changing with gender. Here's the table from pg. 22 explaining it:

II.1 Cardinal Numerals

A. 1 - 3 (The Berber Numerals)[1] (for Comparative Notes on this chapter see p. 33)

yun	one (m)
yut	one (f)
sin	two (m)
snat	two (f)
šrad	three (m)
šrat:	three (f)

Demonstratives show concord in Ghomara Berber (Mourigh, p. 242)

(40) *amaleḥ=a-ḏ u-ha*
fish:EL=S:PRX MS-PRX
'This fish!'

(41) *tameṭṭuṯ=a-n t-an*
woman=S-DIST FS-DIST
'That woman!'

(42) *lxeddama=i-n w-ini*
workers=PL-DIST PL-DIST:PL
'Those workers!'

brh - Brahui (Andronov 1980)

Gender: none
Number:
Case:

Discusses position relative to the noun as possibly affecting ability to agree (pp96-97):

Depending on their position in relation to the word they qualify, Brahui attributes fall into prepositive and postpositive, and depending on the type of their connection with that word they fall into attributes with agreement and attributes without agreement. Prepositive attributes never agree with the word they qualify, whereas postpositive attributes either agree with that word or do not.

A prepositive attribute may be:
(a) an adjective in the indefinite or definite form, e.g. *juānō inām-as* 'a good present'; *juānō ʾullī* 'good horses'; *juāntirō ʾullī-as*

(c) a cardinal or ordinal numeral, e.g. *irā mār* 'two sons'; *iraT-Tangā māk* 'both sons'; *panc-as dē* 'about five days'; *musiTTimīkō dē* 'the third day';

(d) a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *dā zāīfa* 'this woman';

Adjectives, cardinal numbers, and demonstrative pronouns do not show any kind of agreement with number or case (and gender doesn't exist) in Brahui, as can be seen above. They are prepositive attributes, which means they don't have this agreement.

Adjectives: do agree in definiteness with the noun.

Pg. 43-44

An adjective in the indefinite form is generally used as a prepositive (and if special emphasis is to be expressed, postpositive) attribute of a substantive, which in this case is invariably in the singular and (except when it denotes several objects) takes on the indefinite particle *-as* 'one', 'some', e.g. *balunō inām-as* 'a big present'; *cunō cukk-as* 'a small bird'; *ē kul juānō 'ullī ō* 'these are all good horses'. Not infrequently such an adjective is used as an attribute of

The adjective has two forms, definite and indefinite, and the noun has its standard definite form and the suffix -as added to form the indefinite.

The definite form of a number of adjectives can be formed by means of both the suffix *-(ang)ā* and the suffix *-(ī)kō*, e.g. *buRz* 'high'—*buRzkō, buRzīkō, buRzangā.*

Adjectives in the definite form are generally used as a prepositive (and if special emphasis is to be expressed, postpositive) attribute of a substantive, e.g. *marghunā kasar* 'long road'; *saxtangā laT* 'strong stick'; *rāstīkō dū* 'right hand'.

Here are adjectives in the definite form. They have a different set of suffixes, and they are used attributively with nouns in their base form.

When used with indefinite nouns, the noun has the indefinite suffix -as and the adjective has the suffix -o. When used attributively with definite nouns, the noun has no special marking and the adjective has two possible definite suffixes, -(ang)a or -(i)ko.

bri - Bribri (Jara Murillo & Garcia Segura 2009)

These examples are all from a language learning textbook, but I have also e-mailed Haakon Krohn, a Norwegian who teaches at the University of Costa Rica

Gender: none (classifiers)

Number: none on nouns
Case: none mentioned

Adjectives: a small number of adjectives show plural concord (Krohn says there are actually a few more than this, but it's a small number)

éköl	tsée
bua' *bueno*	**bua'bua** *buenos*
buáala *bonito*	**buàmbuáala** *bonitos*
bërie *grande*	**bulùbulù** *grandes*
tsìr *pequeño*	**tsìrtsir** *pequeños*

Krohn (2016) shows that these plural forms can be used attributively; some degree of optionality (p135)-- the other plural marked thing is a "positional"-- a word indicating body position, basically. Adjective can't be singular UNLESS there is a numeral

(31) a. *Chìchi tsìrtsir tchètẽn ĩs kĩ.*
perro pequeño-PL echado.PL suelo en
'Los perros pequeños están echados en el suelo.'

b.* *Chìchi tsìr tchètẽn ĩs kĩ.*
perro pequeño echado.PL suelo en

c. *Chìchi tsìr tchètẽn bòtöm ĩs kĩ.*
perro pequeño echado.PL dos-CLALA suelo en

d. *Chìchi tsírtsir tër bòtöm ĩs kĩ.*
perro pequeño-PL echado dos-CLALA suelo en

Some examples showing "grande" (p129)

(15) a. *dù bulùbulù*
pájaro grande-PL
'pájaros grandes'

b. *ák buàmbuáala*
piedra bonita-PL
'piedras bonitas'

Numerals: "classifier system" (p78)

Numeral	Clases			
	humana (**-l**)	*redonda* (**-k**)	*plana** (**-t**)	*alargada* (**-töm**)
1	**èköl**	**èk**	**èt**	**ètöm**
2	**ből**	**bök**	**bòt**	**bòtöm**
3	**mãñál**	mãñál	**mãñàt**	**mãñàtöm**
4	**tchél**	tchél	tchél	**tchètöm**
5	**skél**	skél	skél	**skètöm**
6	**tèröl**	tèröl	tèröl	**tèktöm**
7	**kúl**	kúl	kúl	**kùktöm**
8	**pàköl**	pàköl	pàköl	**pàktöm**
9	**sũlìtu**	sũlìtu	sũlìtu	**sũlìtöm**
10	**dabòm**	dabòm	dabòm	dabòm

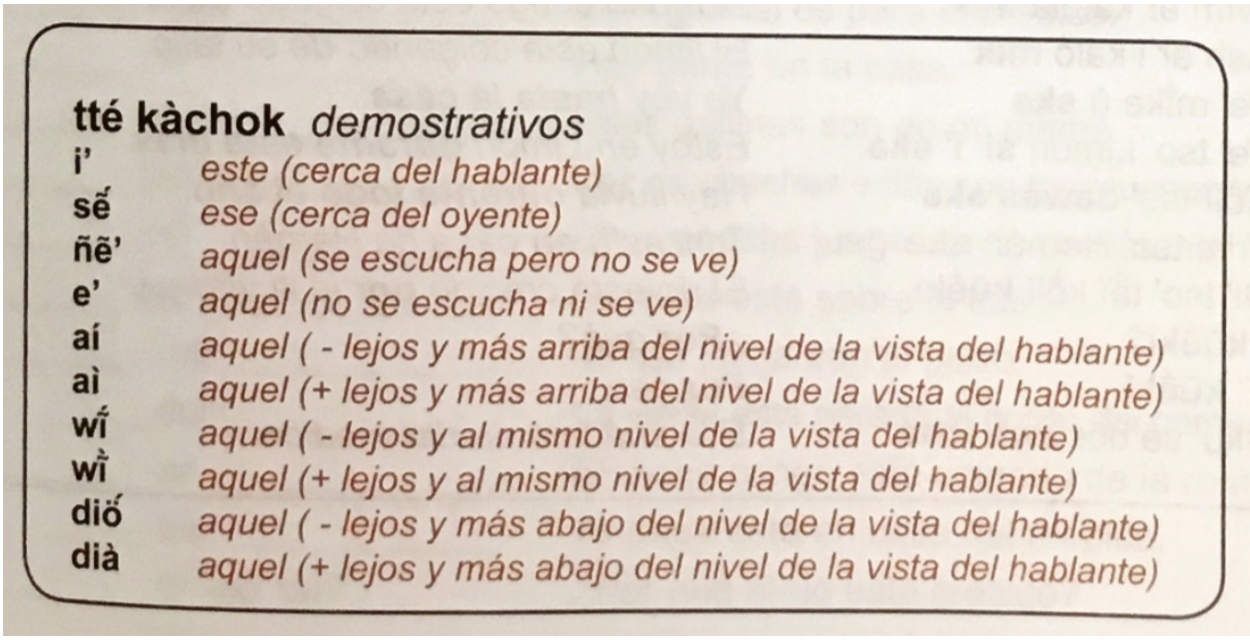
*Para contar en abstracto se usa la clase plana.

wém **èköl** ***un*** *hombre (clase humana)*

ák **èk** ***una*** *piedra (clase redonda)*

ák **bök** ***dos*** *piedras*

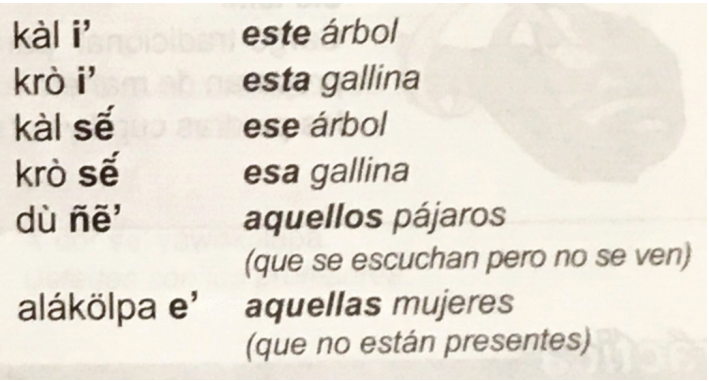
Demonstratives: no concord.
A list of demonstratives from p. 37



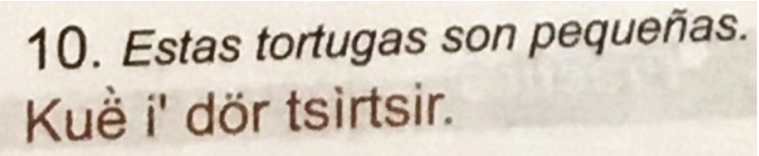
tté kàchok *demostrativos*

i'	*este (cerca del hablante)*
sẽ́	*ese (cerca del oyente)*
ñẽ'	*aquel (se escucha pero no se ve)*
e'	*aquel (no se escucha ni se ve)*
aí	*aquel (- lejos y más arriba del nivel de la vista del hablante)*
aì	*aquel (+ lejos y más arriba del nivel de la vista del hablante)*
wĩ́	*aquel (- lejos y al mismo nivel de la vista del hablante)*
wì̃	*aquel (+ lejos y al mismo nivel de la vista del hablante)*
dió	*aquel (- lejos y más abajo del nivel de la vista del hablante)*
dià	*aquel (+ lejos y más abajo del nivel de la vista del hablante)*

And these examples showing a singular/plural noun with invariant demonstrative from (p.23, p. 173)



kàl **i'**	***este*** *árbol*
krò **i'**	***esta*** *gallina*
kàl **sẽ́**	***ese*** *árbol*
krò **sẽ́**	***esa*** *gallina*
dù **ñẽ'**	***aquellos*** *pájaros* (que se escuchan pero no se ven)
alákölpa **e'**	***aquellas*** *mujeres* (que no están presentes)



10. *Estas tortugas son pequeñas.*
Kuë̀ i' dör tsìrtsir.

Turtle DEM be small.PL

brm - Burmese

No examples collected, apparently

brs - Barasano (Smith 1976:74-75) (Jones and Jones, 1991)

Gender: 3
Number: sg/pl
Case: 2 (Nom, Acc)

Adjectives:

2.9. Modifiers in noun phrases. Barasano is a verb-adjective language. The verbal equivalent of a modifying adjective is a predicate verb in a nonrelative construction. That is, a single set of roots may take either regular verbal inflection and serve as predicates, or may take nominalizers, participials, and classifiers and serve as modifiers in noun phrases. Compare (84), in which *bʉti* 'to be hard' serves as a modifier with (85), in which it serves as a predicate.

Pg. 29

Should we classify Barasano an 'adjectives are verbs' language?

(86) *wʉ-ri-ka* *bãa* *yoa-ri-bãa* *yi-to* *bãdi*
fly-PTCPL-hollow path long-PTCPL-path do-~2IMPV 1i
Let's make a long airstrip.

Pg. 29

In this example, the adjective 'long' has a classifier 'bãa' attached to match the head noun which is also 'bãa.' Adjectives can be said to agree in class with inanimate nouns.

Numerals:

With animate nouns, numerals agree in number and gender. A list of numerals for animate nouns is given in (162). The gender suffixes *-ʉ* (masculine), and *-o* (feminine) follow all the numbers except *hʉa* 'two' and *idia* 'three' which are the only numbers marked with *-rã* (plural). If a group is mixed according to gender, the *-ʉ* (masculine) suffix is used. Number-agreement marking with numerals is strictly adhered to for animate nouns, e.g., *hʉa-rã* (two-anp) 'two living things'.

(162) *sĩg-ʉ/o* 'one-(m/f)'
hʉa-rã 'two-(anp)'
idia-rã 'three-(anp)'
babarirãk-ʉ/o 'four-(m/f)'
kohobõkãrãk-ʉ/o 'five-(m/f)'
kohobõkãrãk-ʉ 'five-(mf)'

Pg. 60

From this passage, we know numerals with animate nouns hypothetically ought to agree in number and gender, but I looked through the whole grammar and could not find an example with a numeral modifying an animate noun.

With inanimate nouns numerals agree in class and number. For example, the number *hʉa* 'two' followed by the class marker *-hãi* 'flat, thin objects' produces the *hʉahãi* 'two flat, thin objects', which may modify any object in the *-hãi* class, e.g., *hʉa-hãi sudi-hãi* (two-flat^thin cloth-flat^thin) 'two pieces of cloth'.

The number 'one' has a different form when referring to inanimate nouns. The inanimate form is *koho-*, e.g., *koho-rũbʉ* 'one day'.

By contrast to animate nouns, for which number agreement is rigidly adhered to, with inanimate nouns there is a certain amount of variation: *hʉa* 'two' is rarely marked as plural, *idia* 'three' is optionally marked as plural, and numbers above four are usually marked as plural. For example, 'two days' is *hʉa-rũbʉ* (two-day); 'three days' may be *idia-rũbʉ* (three-day) or *idia-rũbʉ-ri* (three-day-P); and 'four days' is *babari-rũbʉ-ri* (four-day-P).

Pg. 60

Jones and Jones say that inanimate nouns are going to agree in class and number. They give an example in the text that says "hʉa-hãi sudi-hãi" and is glossed as (two flat^thin cloth-flat^thin), demonstrating the agreement in class the numeral has with the noun.

(139)	*hũʉ-re*	*hʉ-ʉ-re*	*ãbo-a-ha*	*yʉ*
	hammock-O	two-hammock-O	want-PRES-3	1S
	I want two hammocks.			

Pg. 50

This example shows a numeral matching its noun for object (Accusative), so inanimate numerals can also be said to agree in case.

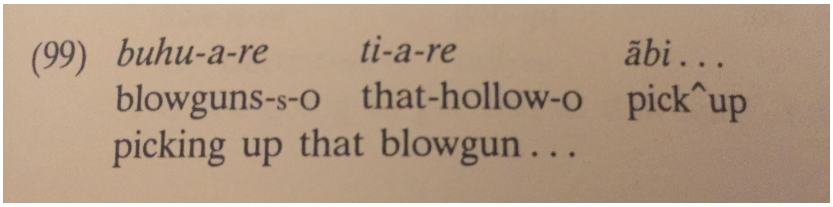
Demonstratives:

2.14. Demonstrative pronouns. Demonstrative pronouns distinguish animate and inanimate, and are inflected for number, and gender or class. The pronouns for animate referents distinguish two degrees of distance—proximate and distal; those for inanimate have an additional medial degree of distance.

Pg. 32

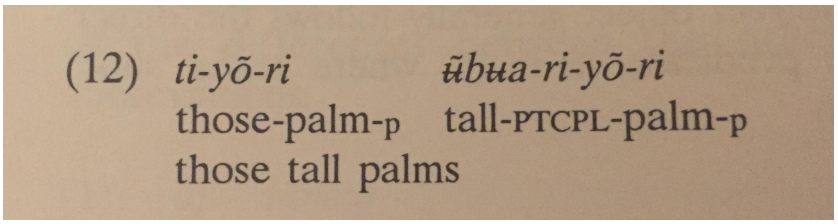
Demonstratives will agree in number, and depending on animacy, will also agree in either gender or class. I found examples for inanimate nouns, but like the numerals, I

looked through the whole grammar and was unable to find any demonstratives next to animate nouns.



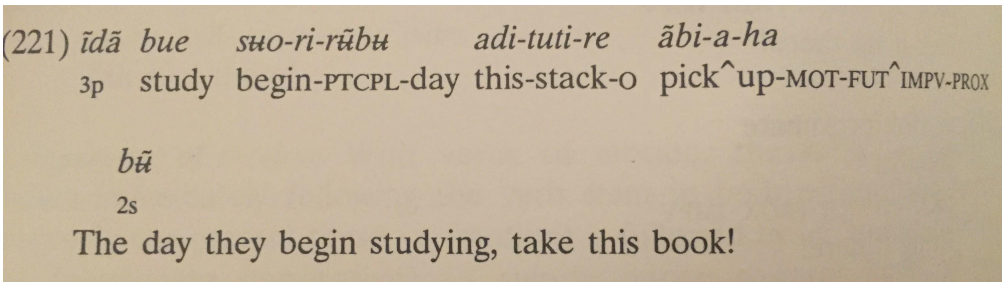
(99) *buhu-a-re* *ti-a-re* *ãbi . . .*
blowguns-S-O that-hollow-O pick^up
picking up that blowgun . . .

Pg. 33
Here is an example of a demonstrative agreeing in class and case with an inanimate noun. Both the noun and the demonstrative are marked with the classifier ‘a.’ Both are also marked as being objects, so the demonstrative agrees with accusative case.



(12) *ti-yõ-ri* *ũbʉa-ri-yõ-ri*
those-palm-P tall-PTCPL-palm-P
those tall palms

Pg. 4
Here is an example of a demonstrative agree in number with its noun. Both are marked with the plural marker ‘ri.’



(221) *īdã* *bue* *sʉo-ri-rũbʉ* *adi-tuti-re* *ãbi-a-ha*
3P study begin-PTCPL-day this-stack-O pick^up-MOT-FUT^IMPV-PROX

bũ
2S
The day they begin studying, take this book!

Pg. 78
Sometimes the demonstrative appears by itself with a classifier, and it seems this is enough to be translated as having the noun be present.

bsq - Basque (Laka n.d. “A BRIEF GRAMMAR OF EUSKARA, THE BASQUE LANGUAGE”)

Adjectives; Adjectives do not show concord. Observe the adjective /eder/ ‘beautiful’ in the first example. This adjective is modifying a plural noun.

ehun etxe eder one hundred beautiful houses
ehun etxe ederrak the hundred beautiful houses

(de Rijk 2007: 27)

In this example, /eder/ (with the definite plural suffix /-a(k)/) has the same form as the /eder/ above, although this /eder/ is modifying a singular noun while the first one was modifying a plural noun.

Miren sorgin ederra da.
Mary is a beautiful witch. (de Rijk 2007: 37)

Numerals: Numerals can only modify nouns marked with definite marker. It seems like they don't have any special marking in either case. Examples from Laka pp53-54

ehun etxe eder one hundred beautiful houses
ehun etxe ederrak the hundred beautiful houses

Determiner category and it is morfologically inseparable from it. Therefore, determinerless Noun Phrases cannot be marked for number even if they are semantically plural (63c). Only Noun Phrases that are headed by an overt determiner can have plural marking on them (63 b,d).

(63)

a. txakurr-a c. lau txakur
dog-det four dog
'the dog' 'four dogs'

b. txakurr-ak d. lau txakurr-ak

---

dog-det$_{pl}$ four dog-det$_{pl}$
'the dogs' 'the four dogs'

Cardinal numbers don't agree with case in Basque. The case is marked at the end of the noun phrase as a whole; that is, each constituent is not marked (Laka, p64).

(1)

a. hamaika pausok
eleven step-E
'eleven steps (ergative'

b. hamaika pausori
eleven step-D
'eleven steps (dative)'

c. hamaika pauso
eleven step-A
'eleven steps (absolutive)'

Demonstratives: Demonstratives agree in number (singular/plural) (Laka, p51). The key one here is *hura/haiek* because it is not just the demonstrative + ordinary plural marker *ek*

zuhaitz hau 'this tree'
zuhaitz hori 'that tree'
zuhaitz hura 'that tree (farther)'

The plural forms of the demonstratives are:

zuhaitz hauek 'these trees'
zuhaitz horiek 'those trees'
zuhaitz haiek 'those trees (farther)'

bur - Burushaski (Anderson 2007:1246-7)

Proximal and distal demonstrative show forms for all four noun classes in both the singular and the plural (40).

(40) Proximal demonstrative

	I	II	III	IV	I.PL	II.PL	III.PL	IV.PL
ABS[a]	*kʰin(é)*	*kʰin(é)*	*gusé*	*guté*	*kʰu(e)*	*kʰu(e)*	*guce*	*guke*
GEN	*kʰin-e*	*kʰine-mo*	*kʰu-e*	*kʰu-e*				

Distal demonstrative

	I	II	III	IV	I.PL	II.PL	III.PL	IV.PL
ABS	*in(é)*	*in(é)*	*isé, es*	*ité, et*	*u(e)*	*u(e)*	*ice, ec*	*ike, ek*
GEN	*in-e*	*ine-mo*			*u-e*	*u-e*		

e.g., *kʰin hin ǰaa o-os b-o* — this.II one.II I.GEN 1-wife be-II — 'this one is my wife'

ǰa kʰine e-ei — I-GEN this.I 1-son — 'this son of mine'

(Klimov and Edel'man 1970: 52)

Yoshioka (2012), p 51, shows gender, number; demonstrative is marked for case, but it is not being used adnominally here. It's a full NP

(66) Noun in vocative use

icée	*úmie*	*uskó*	*jóṭišo*	*urkái*
icé-e	u-mí-e	uskó	jóṭ-išo	urk-ai-Ø
those:X-GEN	3PL.X:I-mother-ERG	three:X	small-PL.X	wolf-PL-ABS[†22]

mópačiar	*qáo*	*étumo*	*dáa*
mu-pá-či-ar	qáo-Ø	i-t-m-o	dáa
3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT	cry-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF	again

ósumo:	*"áskumuc,*	*guté*	*khéen*	*bilá*
u-s-m-o	a-sk-muc	guté-Ø	khéen-Ø	b-il-Ø
3PL.X:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HF	1SG:I-child-PL	this:Y-ABS	time-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS

ke ...
ké
LINK

'The mother called the three little wolves around her and said, "My children, it is time that ...".' (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #2)

Worth noting that some cases do not show case concord on demonstratives, e.g., essive (Yoshioka p125) and ablative (I later learned that there just is no case concord on attributive demonstratives)

khutó	*hóparo*
khuté	hópar-e
this:Y	Hopar-ESS

Adjectives: some agree optionally in number, but that's it
Anderson 2007:1246-7

(41) a. *ǰot-išo čiš-ko* b
small-PL mountain-PL
'small hills, mountains'
(Klimov and Edel'man 1970: 44)

Yoshioka 2012 p86

(122)	*isée*	*búṭan*	*báarčuko*	*ke*	*ṣikárkaro*	*íiṭ*
	isé-e	búṭ-an	báard-čuko	ké	ṣikárk-aro	íiṭ-Ø
	that:X-ERG	much-INDEF.SG	red-PL	LINK	yellow-PL	brick-ABS

icéer *uúmi.*
icé-ar u-ú́-m-i
those:X-DAT 3PL.X:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.X

'It gave them lots of red and yellow bricks.' (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #5)

Numerals: (Yoshioka 2012 p95)

Table 31. Cardinal numerals

	h	x	y	z
1	*hin*	*han*		*hik*
2	*altán*	*altá(c)*	*altó*	
3	*iskén*	*uskó*		*iskí*
4	*válto*			*válti*
5	*chundó*			*chindí*
6	*mišíndo*			*mišíndi*
7	*thaló*			*thalé*
8	*áltambo ~ álthambo*			*alt(h)ámbi*
9	*hunčó*			*hunṭí*
10	*tóorumo*			*tóorimi*

	z
11	*turmahík*
12	*turma-altó*[†32]
20	*áltar ~ álthar*
30	*ált(h)ar tóorimi*
40	*altó ált(h)ar*
60	*iskí ált(h)ar*
100	*hik tha*
101	*hik tha ke hik*
200	*altó tha*
1000	*hik hazáar*

P63

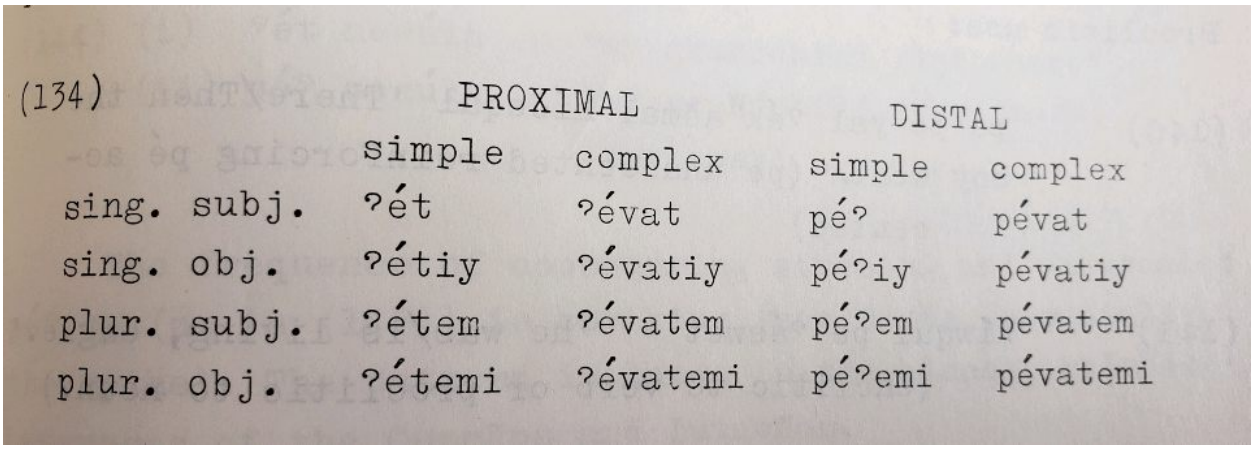
dáa	*uskó*	*jóṭišo*	*urkáie*	*uúi*	*icé*
dáa	uskó	jóṭ-išo	urḱ-ai-e	RDP-u-í-e	icé
again	three:X	small-PL	wolf-PL-ERG	EMPH-3PL.X:I-self-ERG	those:X

íiṭaṭe *háan* *désmanimien.*
íiṭ-aṭ-e há-an-Ø d-i-s-mań-m-ien
brick-INS-ESS house-INDEF.SG-ABS TEL-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-become-NPRS-3PL.X

'So the three little wolves built themselves a house of bricks.' (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #6)

Cah - Cahuilla (Ivilyuat)

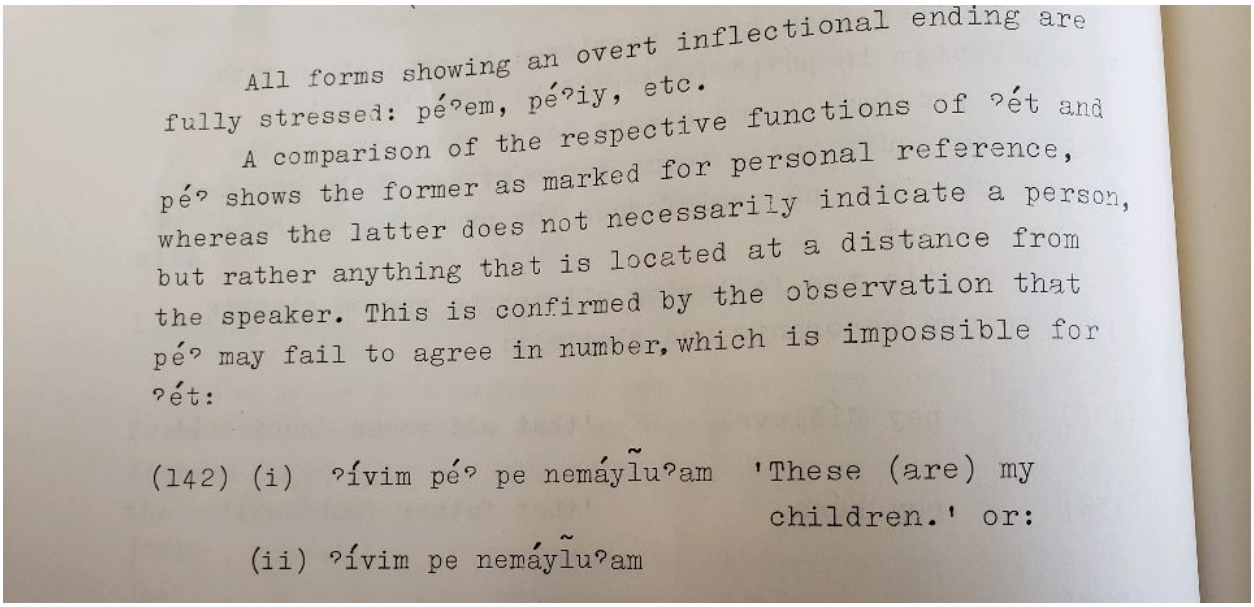
Cahuilla has concord between plurality and demonstratives. This chart from (Seiler 1977) demonstrates the plural agreement between demonstratives



(134)

		PROXIMAL		DISTAL	
		simple	complex	simple	complex
sing.	subj.	ʔét	ʔévat	péʔ	pévat
sing.	obj.	ʔétiy	ʔévatiy	péʔiy	pévatiy
plur.	subj.	ʔétem	ʔévatem	péʔem	pévatem
plur.	obj.	ʔétemi	ʔévatemi	péʔemi	pévatemi

It should be noted that these demonstratives can be used in either attributive or pronominal forms with no real differences aside from phonological ones. Seiler implicitly confirms the agreement between attributive demonstratives in the following example by noting that the proximal demonstrative never fails in agreement, though the distal one can.



All forms showing an overt inflectional ending are fully stressed: péʔem, péʔiy, etc.

A comparison of the respective functions of ʔét and péʔ shows the former as marked for personal reference, whereas the latter does not necessarily indicate a person, but rather anything that is located at a distance from the speaker. This is confirmed by the observation that péʔ may fail to agree in number, which is impossible for ʔét:

(142) (i) ʔívim péʔ pe neméylũʔam 'These (are) my children.' or:

(ii) ʔívim pe neméylũʔam

I'm confused-- in the above examples (142), where is the demonstrative? And where is the plural marking? Is *pé?* The demonstrative? If so, where is it in (142ii)? (MN)
In the above examples, /peʔ/ is the distal demonstrative. The plural marking should be /em/ or /emi/, but as Seiler notes, it has failed to agree in number. This leads me to believe that the 'elsewhere' scenario is that demonstratives DO agree in number.

Furthermore, Seiler similarly implicitly states that long-form adjectives (which can be used predicatively or attributively) take plural and objective case suffixes by stating that, in contrast, short-form adjectives (which are only used predicatively) do not receive this ending.

The longer forms are nominal insofar as they take the plural and the objective case suffixes.

They deviate from the properties of nouns in that they may alternatively take either P_2 or P_1 in the same position:

(148) (i) né? hen-túlekiš 'I'm black.' (P_2)
(ii) né? ne-túlekiš 'id.' (P_1)

The shorter forms, on the other hand, show only P_1 prefixes. They do not take plural nor objective case suffixes:

(149) (i) né? ne-sámatnek 'I'm slim.' (P_1)
(ii) čém čem-sásmatnek 'We are slim.' (with stem reduplication)

It's not clear if this indicates that it is the shape of the long-form adjectives that allows agreement, or if agreement occurs necessarily as a part of the attributive structure. At any rate, it looks like concord. As for numerals, there doesn't appear to be anything substantial in the grammar I have on numeral usage at all. (CC).

Does Seiler give any examples where the adjectives are actually used attributively? Because these are all predicates and we don't know anything about concord based on predicate adjective behavior… (MN)

Here is an example of attributive adjective 'good, fine' changing with number:

(153) (i) ?áča?e 'fine' used attributively in
(ii) ?áča?e ?ék^{W}ašmal 'the good boy'
(iii) ?á?čam ?é?k^{W}ašmalem 'the good boys'
(reduplication and nominal plural ending!)

Seiler does not mention grammatical gender.

cha - Chamorro

I know this (per Chung 1998)

chk - Chukchi (Dunn 1999:129)

035 [...] ətla ŋangen ɬɣen kolo wetəwetə n-ə-ɣəntew-qin
mother.3sgABS DEM.3sgABS really INTS definitely HAB-E-run.away-3sg
... that mother would definitely run away *[aa2.30]*

036 q-ik-wi ŋaangen qaa-jŋ-ə-n ŋaj-ecɣ-etə
INT-say-TH DEM.3sgABS reindeer-AUG-E-3sgABS hill-fall-ALL
q-ə-n-cejw-ee-rkən ŋacɣə-kemce-rpʔo-corm-ə-jaal-kena-lʔ-ə-n
INT-E-CS-wander-CS-PROG left-curly-[fur?]-EDGE-E-rear-REL-NMZR-E-3sgABS
Say "Drive yonder big reindeer with the leftside curly back fringe lower down on the hill" *[kr187]*

(Dunn 1999: 129)

Demonstratives can be seen matching the case of the head noun here. -IW Looks good! I wonder why they mark them as "3sg" in addition to ABS??

Adjectives agree in person and number.

6.1 Person-number agreement

All adjectives have the prefix **n-** and a suffix for person and number agreement (in first and second person singular **i** after a consonant alternates with **j** after a vowel):

1sg	**n-ə-teŋ-j-ɣəm**	1pl	**n-ə-teŋ-muri**
2sg	**n-ə-teŋ-j-ɣət**	2pl	**n-ə-teŋ-turi**
3sg	**n-ə-teŋ-q-in**	3pl	**n-ə-teŋ-q-inet**

(Dunn 1994: 122)

Examples showing person-number agreement, no case/definiteness agreement:

Discontinuous NP with indefinite determiner:

(7.11) neme qol ejmin-nin **evičɣə-n,** n-əmejŋ-qin evičɣə-n
again PCL take-3sgA.3sgO knapsack-ABS ADJ-big-3sg knapsack-ABS
'Again she took out a knapsack, a big knapsack' (J:29)

(Dunn 1994: 117)

020 ənŋe ik-we "cam?am" wajənre jʔelɣ-etə q-ə-lqət-ɣi
NEG.HORT say-NEG unable.MOD yonder moon-ALL INT-E-set.off-TH
ŋenku nəlɣi-n-ə-teŋ-qinet ŋewəcqet-ti wa-rkət
there INTS-ADJ-E-good-3pl woman-3plABS be-PROG.3pl
Don't say "I can't"; you set off yonder to the moon, there are really good women there. *[cy165]*

(Dunn 1999: 165)

Dunn says that adjectives can only explicitly modify nouns like this in the absolutive case, which may explain why case is not marked on adjectives (Dunn 1999: 291).

Demonstratives seem to mark for person, number, and case, though the only examples I could find were for the absolutive (much like adjectives. perhaps there is a similar restriction for demonstratives? but if so, why mark for case at all?)

035	[...]	**ətla**	**ŋanqen**	**ləɣen**	**kolo**	**wetəwetə**	**n-ə-ɣəntew-qin**
		mother.3sgABS	DEM.3sgABS	really	INTS	definitely	HAB-E-run.away-3sg

... that mother would definitely run away *[aa2.30]*

036	**q-ik-wi**	**ŋaanqen**	**qaa-jŋ-ə-n**	**ŋaj-ecɣ-etə**
	INT-say-TH	DEM.3sgABS	reindeer-AUG-E-3sgABS	hill-fall-ALL

q-ə-n-cejw-ee-rkən **ŋacɣə-kemce-rpʔo-corm-ə-jaal-kena-lʔ-ə-n**
INT-E-CS-wander-CS-PROG left-curly-[fur?]-EDGE-E-rear-REL-NMZR-E-3sgABS

Say "Drive yonder big reindeer with the leftside curly back fringe lower down on the hill"[1] *[kr187]*

(Dunn 1999: 129)

Not many examples exist of numerals greater than one modifying an explicit noun in the grammars I could find. The best one was this one:

021	**ewət**	**ənnen**	**ənneen**	**re-piri-rkən=ʔm**	**ratan**	
	so	one	fish.3sgABS	FUT-take-PROG=EMPH	enough	

It's enough if you catch one fish. *[jo069]*

022	**jilɣ-ə-n**	**tʔer**	**ɣala-ɣʔe=ʔm**	/	[...]
	month-E-ABS	so.many	pass-TH=EMPH		

A number of months passed ... *[ka07]*

(Dunn 1999: 167)

/t?er/ 'a number of' is, per Dunn, analyzed as a numeral. Neither /t?er/ nor /enneen/ 'one' have any additional markers at all, suggesting that numbers do not have concord in Chuchki.

Demonstrative: mostly only ever used in absolutive NPs but there was at least one example of ergative dem WITH GENDER (p104)

005	**ənqena-cək**	**remk-e**	**ɣe-piri-lin**	/	**uŋet-lʔ-ə-n**
	that-ANpl.ERG	folk-ERG	PF-take-3sgO		collect.firewood-NMZR-E-3sgABS

ɣa-n-rayt-at-len
PF-CS-go.home-CS-3sgO

Those folk kidnapped the firewood-collector and took her home. *[ot006]*

And here's some plural (p171)

039	**ənqena-t**	**raj**	**Wareeŋ-tanŋ-ə-ŋaw-ə-t**	**ləɣen**	**teŋ-ʔetki-jŋ-ə-t**
	this-3plABS	DEICT	Vaegi-stranger-E-woman-E-3plABS	really	INTS-bad-AUG-E-3plABS

Those stranger women from Vaegi are very, very bad. *[ot050]*

I think this counts as a failure of number concord (p373)

118	ecɣi	ra-ɣt-ə-ŋŋo-ɣʔa-t=ʔm	/	qətləɣi	waj	/	cəmqək			
	no.sooner	house-go.to-E-INCH-TH-3pl=EMPH		however	DEICT		other.ADV			
	ŋan	miŋkə	n-ə-twa-qenat	ənqen	ʔorawetlʔa-t					
	DEICT	somewhere	AHB-E-be-3pl	DEM.3sgABS	person-3plABS					
	But as they were preparing to go home, those other people turned out to be somewhere else.									*[ot118]*

Numeral: here's an example with a numeral … no concord and noun is singular

091	ənqen	amŋərʔootken	qora-ŋə	moo-qora-t
	DEM.3sgABS	eight	reindeer-3sgABS	caravan-reindeer-3plABS
	ŋenri	aɣtan-nenat		
	thence	drive-3sgA.3plO		
	And those eight reindeer, he drove those harness reindeer there			*[ot091]*

ckr - Canela-Krahô (Popjes & Popjes 1986)

Number: p185: number is sometimes expressed by the particle *me* (and allomorphs) usually where the referent is human/Indian. Can be ambiguous which is plural.
Case: peripheral (p167)

Adjectives: exist, but they call adjectives "adjectival verbal stems" No mention of plural forms
(p170)

(267)	rop	pej
	dog	good
	'good dog'	

p172

(281)	rop	tyc	ataje
	dog	black	those
	'those black dogs'		

(282)	i-te	hũmre	xwỳ	tỳj	ita	pupun
	1-PAST	man	DECEASED	strong	DEM	see
	'I saw this late strong man.'					

Numerals: provides a list of numerals and quantifiers on p 186, but no examples.

pyxit	'one'	*ipijakrut*	'two'
inkrê	'three, many'	*kwỳ*	'some, group'
nõ	'one of'		

Demonstratives: plural forms with plural reference can be used with nouns (p177)

b) with demonstratives *ita* 'this', *itajê* 'these', *ata* 'that', *atajê* 'those'.

(269) rop ita
dog this
'this dog'

(270) hūmre ata-jê
man that-PL
'those men'

See also adjective example for another plural demonstrative.
P177

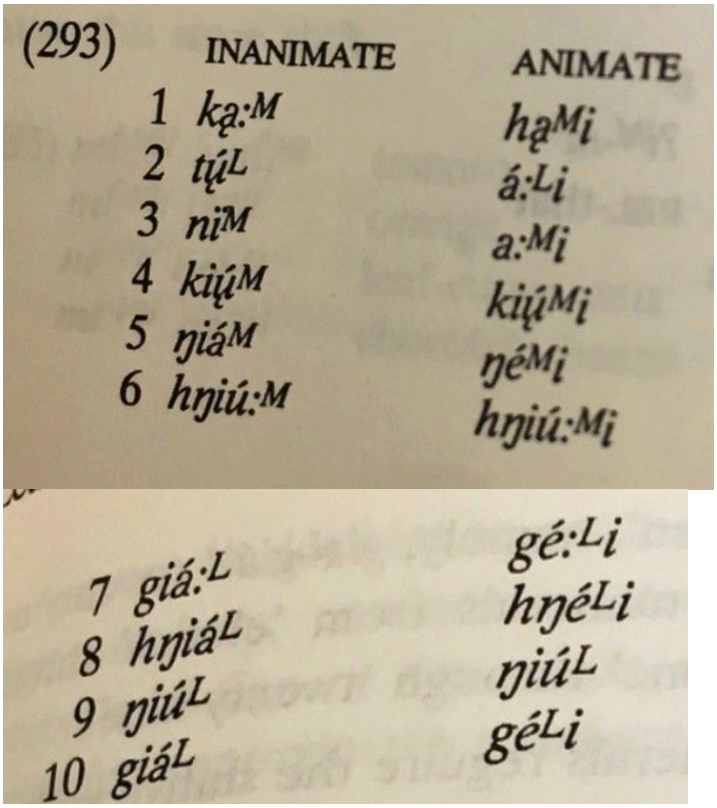
(322) pī ita
wood DEM
'this wood'

(324) kēn atajê
stone DEM
'those stones'

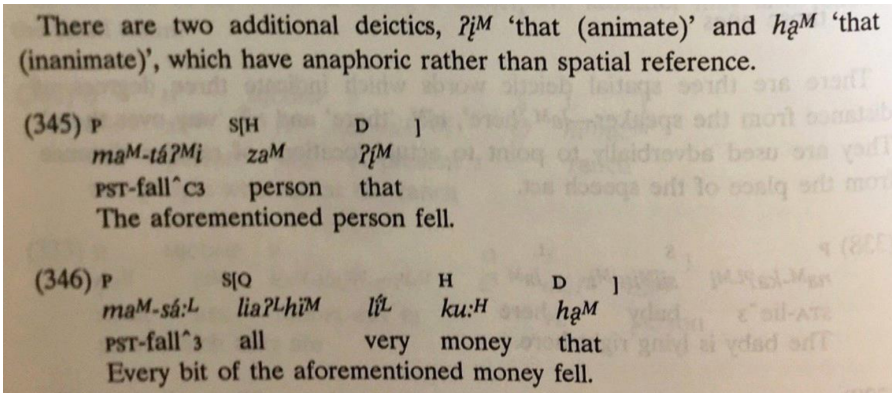
cle - Chinantec (Lealao) (Rupp 1989)

I know there were examples of adjectives, but I apparently didn't save them? I'll have to go back and get this book.

Numerals inflect for gender (see below)



There are two demonstratives which have animate/inanimate forms, but not in apposition. However, there are “two additional deictics” that show concord in apposition.



There are two additional deictics, *ʔįᴹ* ‘that (animate)’ and *hąᴹ* ‘that (inanimate)’, which have anaphoric rather than spatial reference.

(345) P S[H D]
maᴹ-táʔᴹi *zaᴹ* *ʔįᴹ*
PST-fall^C3 person that
The aforementioned person fell.

(346) P S[Q H D]
maᴹ-sáːᴸ *liaʔᴸhiᴹ* *líᴸ* *kuːᴴ* *hąᴹ*
PST-fall^3 all very money that
Every bit of the aforementioned money fell.

cmn - Comanche (Charney, 1989)

Gender: None
Number: sg/dual/pl
Case: 3 (subjective, objective, possessive)

Adjectives:
Pg. 130 - 131
The author says that there aren’t true adjectives in Comanche. Typically, modifiers precede the noun they modify, and due to the lack of morphology on the modifier, the author considers them compounded with the noun. When modifiers are not incorporated, they agree in number and case. Most modifiers though are modified from nouns and verbs (mostly verbs), and are followed with a predicative suffix.

(263) uíkiékapíakwɨsuʔi nii vunni
u=-iki-eka=-piakwasuʔu-i nii puni-i
her-new-red-coat-OBJ I see=COMPL:ASP

I saw her new red coat.

(264) piʔíkitɨetinohinihi u wihtavaʔi
pi=-iki=-tieti-nohi-nihi u wiH-tapaʔ-i
her=own-new-small-doll-DL=OBJ she
INST(gen’l)-break-COMPL:ASP

She broke her two new dolls.

Pg. 146
Here is an example of the modifiers being incorporated into the following noun.

(246) ohka nɨɨ evipIti kwasuʔi mavunnituʔi
oHka nɨɨ epi=-pih-ti kwasuʔu=-i mapuni-tuʔi
that=OBJ I blue-ABS-PRED=OBJ dress-OBJ try-UR:ASP

I'm going to try on that blue dress.

Pg. 139

Here is an example of a modifier independent of the noun, modified for the objective case of the noun.

(26) oritsa piayuupɪnɨɨ nararaminɨɨ kahni
otɨɨ-tsa pia-yuu-=pih-nɨɨ= na-ta-tami-nɨɨ= kahni
those-TOP big-fat-ABS-PL=POSS RECIP/REDUP-
younger=brother-PL=POSS house

'the fat brothers' house'

Pg. 76

This is an example of a free standing adjective being marked for plurality and the possessive case to match the head noun which is also marked for plurality and possessive case. Thus these examples substantiate the author's claim that adjectives agree in number and case with nouns.

Numerals:

The first ten numbers are:

simi	'one'	/simi/
waha	'two'	/waha=/
pahiitI	'three'	/pahi-ti=/
hayarokwetI	'four'	/hayatokwe-ti=/
mo?ovekatI	'five'	/mo?o-pe-ka=ti=/
navaitI	'six'	/napai-ti=/
tatsikwItI	'seven'	/tatsikwih-ti=/

Pg. 139

namegwatsikwItI	'eight'	/namewatsikwih-ti=/
wimhinatI	'nine'	/wimVhina=-ti=/
simaRI / tokwe	'ten'	/simi-mati=/ / /tokwe/

Pg. 140

Here is a list of numerals for reference for the following examples.

(simi?a). When used predicatively or in citation form, the other numerals are followed by -ti= and are inflected for singular and plural number and for objective and possessive case.

Pg. 140

(250) ni?áhpitsa pahitii mívipooro?nii tihanni
ni-?aHpi-tsa pahi-ti mupipooto-nii ti-hani
my-father-TOP three-PRED=OBJ pig-PL=OBJ
INDEF-OBJ-do=COMPL:ASP

My father butchered three pigs.

Pg. 142

Here three is given the markers for objective case to match the noun, but once again, it is made into a predicate, following the pattern of other modifiers. However, it does not match the plurality of the noun, despite the explanation above.

(265) ninse mo?oveti ikihuuvi?a nihtó?in
ninni-se mo?ope-ti iki-huupi-?a niH-tó?i-n
we=EXCL-CONTR 5-PRED-OBJ new-song-OBJ INST
(voice) go=in/out-COMPL:ASP

We learned five new songs.

Pg. 146

Similar to the example above, when five is used as a modifier to describe song, it takes the objective case to match the noun. Song isn't plural here, and neither is the numeral.

Demonstratives:

several functions. The demonstratives are inflected for singular, dual and plural number and for subjective, objective and possessive case, as shown in Table 12.

Pg. 119

(186) uhka nɨɨ huuviʔa nakai
uHka nɨɨ huupia naka-i
that=OBJ I song=OBJ hear-COMPL:ASP

I heard that song.

(187) uhri nɨɨ huuvianihi nakai
uhti nɨɨ huupia-nihi naka-i
those=DL=OBJ I song-DL=OBJ hear-COMPL:ASP

I heard those two songs.

(188) uri nɨɨ huvia nakai
utii nɨɨ hupia naka-i
those=PL=OBJ I song=OBJ hear-COMPL:ASP

I heard those songs.

Pg. 122
These examples show the the demonstrative changing from singular to dual to plural.

(189) ohka tenahpiʔa yɨtsɨ
oHka= tenaH-=piʔ-a= yɨtsɨ
that=POSS man-ABS-POSS fly

'the man's airplane'

Pg. 122

(186) uhka nɨɨ huuviʔa nakai
uHka nɨɨ huupia naka-i
that=OBJ I song=OBJ hear-COMPL:ASP

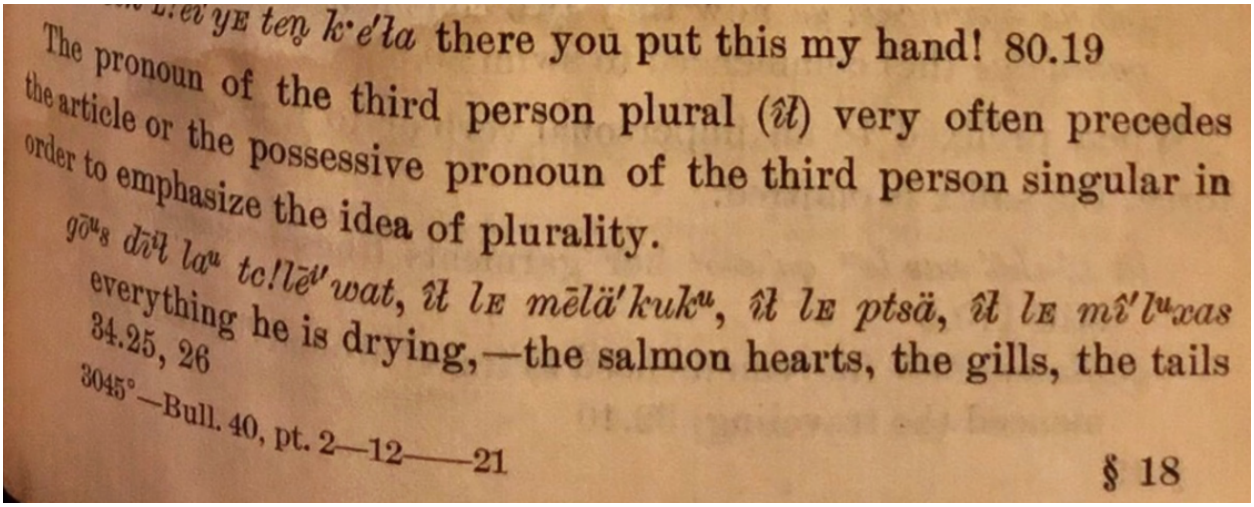
I heard that song.

Pg. 122
'That' is shown to be different to reflect the change in case between these two examples.

coo - Coos (Hanis) Frachtenberg 1922

I think the answer is more of a no than a yes, but I did find a few examples that suggested there could be repetition of plural-marking.

P321: repetition of *îɬ* “in order to emphasize the idea of plurality”



yE teŋ k·e'ła there you put this my hand! 80.19

The pronoun of the third person plural (*îɬ*) very often precedes the article or the possessive pronoun of the third person singular in order to emphasize the idea of plurality.

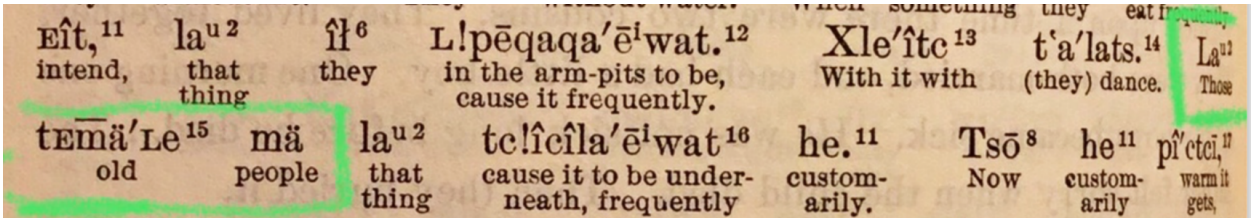
gōᵘˢ dz̄îɬ laᵘ tc!lē'ᵛwat, îɬ lE mēlä'kukᵘ, îɬ lE ptsä, îɬ lE mî'lᵘxas
everything he is drying,—the salmon hearts, the gills, the tails
34.25, 26

3045°—Bull. 40, pt. 2—12——21 § 18

Here, we have *îɬ lE xxx, îɬ lE ptsä, îɬ lE xxx*, the *lE* is a definite article. The nouns don’t necessarily reflect plural. So this could be a kind of repetition of PL-marking… but it also kind of looks like plural marking. More like a plural particle. WAIT now I’m looking at this later… this is just coordinated DPs! What’s wrong with me.

In discussion of demonstratives, no mention of plural forms.

I found this one example on p.422 of a plural adjective with a noun that had plural reference (but not plural form)



Eît,[11] intend,	laᵘ[2] that thing	îɬ[6] they	L!pēqaqa'ē^{i}wat.[12] in the arm-pits to be, cause it frequently.		Xle'îtc[13] With it with	t'a'lats.[14] (they) dance.	La[21] Those	
tEmä'Le[15] old	mä people	laᵘ[2] that thing	tc!îcîla'ē^{i}wat[16] cause it to be under-neath, frequently	he.[11] custom-arily.	Tsō[8] Now	he[11] custom-arily	pî'ctcī,[17] warm it gets,	

```
Lau  tEmä'Le mä
that old.PL  person
"Those old people"
```

So, not super compelling.

cre - Cree (Plains) (Dahlstrom 1991 p. 96) (Ellis 1983)

Gender: Animate and Inanimate
Number: Sg/Pl
Case: 3 (nominative, vocative, locative)

Adjectives:

Again, Cree describing words are not adjectives. They are normally an ordinary, intransitive verb form. It is as though instead of saying, "He is nice, - strong, - funny", etc., one said "He nices","He strongs", "He funnies", - and so on. Similarly, "It is a fine day", in Cree is rendered, more or less, "It-fine-days", - a single verb form! This preference for verbal construction brings us to another feature of Cree: the combining of various different elements to make up words.

Pg. 22

In this paragraph, Ellis basically says that adjectives are verbs. As such, they do not have concord.

Dahlstrom dissertation p13 shows AdjN order (def relative clause)

(7) ka·-mihkwa·-k maskisin
be red 3 shoe

'the shoe [prox] which is red'

(8) ka·-mihkwa·-yi-k omaskisin
be red obv 3 his shoe

'his shoe [obv] which is red'

Numerals:

pēyak	one
nīšo	two
nisto	three
nēwaw or nēyaw	four
niyālan	five

Pg. 151

Here is a list of Cree numerals for reference for the following examples.

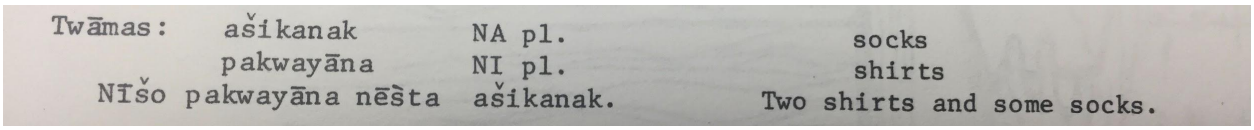
Cān: tēpiskāk last night
n'kī-pāhpin I laughed
mihtihkān NI wood-pile

Kitayānānaw nīšo mihtihkāna. We (UI) have two cords. I laughed
N'kī-pāhpin tēpiskāk. last night.

Pg. 185

The first complete sentence in the example above begins with a pronoun, then has the numeral for two uninflected next to the noun.

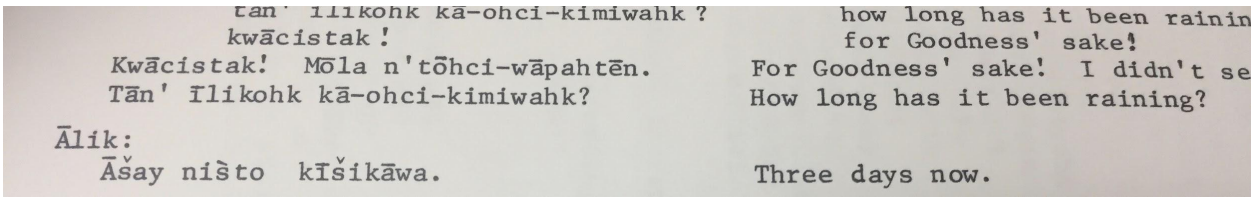
Kityananaw niso mihtihkana
We.have two cords



Twāmas:	ašikanak	NA pl.	socks
	pakwayāna	NI pl.	shirts
Nīšo pakwayāna nēšta	ašikanak.		Two shirts and some socks.

Pg. 258
Here, the plural noun for shirts is given. The numeral two precedes it, but there is no change to the noun.

Two shirt.PL some sock.PL



	tān' īlikohk kā-ohci-kimiwahk?	how long has it been rainin
	kwācistak!	for Goodness' sake!
Kwācistak!	Mōla n'tōhci-wāpahtēn.	For Goodness' sake! I didn't se
Tān' īlikohk kā-ohci-kimiwahk?		How long has it been raining?
Ālik:		
Āšay ništo	kīšikāwa.	Three days now.

Pg. 431
In this example, we have the numeral for three, and it is unchanged from the isolated form in the context of the sentence. From these examples, and from the fact that the author is very diligent in telling his students what morphology occurs in different circumstances, the logical explanation is that numerals do not show concord in gender, number, or case.

Demonstratives: (Dahlstrom's dissertation)

(27) [Bloomfield 1934, p.44]
e·wakonik o·ki oskini·kiwak,
the very ones these youth pl

ki·spin e·ka·h e·h-kostikocik iya·hciyiniwah,
if not fear obv-3p Blackfoot obv

e·yakoni e·h-nipaha·cik.
the very one.obv kill 3p-obv

'These same young men (prox),
if a Blackfoot (obv) didn't fear them (prox),
they (prox) killed him (obv).'

(39) [Bloomfield 1934, p. 104]
nka-ntaw-a·ta·ma·w atimwah pe·yak
fut go to buy from 1-3 dog obv one

o·h o·hci ni·pisisah,
these.inan from arrow pl

'I shall buy a dog from him with these arrows,'

Here we have demonstratives being used attributively (but in (39) it may be a discontinuous constituent), and in (27) it reflects plural number and in (39) it reflects plural number and inanimate gender.

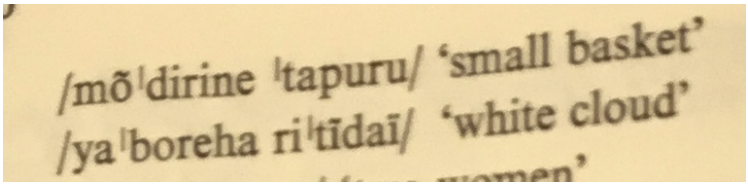
3	awa	ana	naha
3p	ōki	aniki	nēki
3'	ōhi	anihi	nēhi
0	ōma	anima	nēma
0p	ōhi	anihi	nēhi

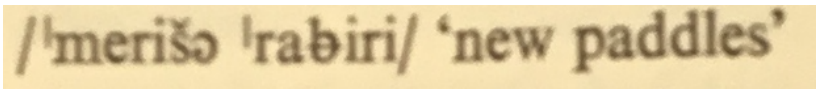
(Wolfart 1969:85)
A table of Cree demonstratives. In order from top to bottom: animate singular, animate plural, animate obviative, inanimate singular, inanimate plural. Left to right, they are glossed as ‘this,’ ‘that,’ and ‘that (yonder).’ Importantly, these can be used attributively as seen above.

cyv - Cayuvava (Key 1967)

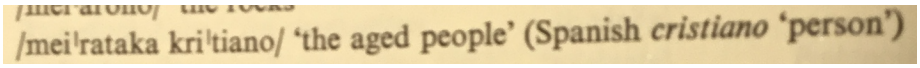
Gender: no mention of gender
Number: in the section on nominal inflection, all that is referenced is possessor indexing (pp48-49); later, a plural “particle/proclitic” */me/* is referenced and some examples are given.
Case: peripheral case; locative *ji*, for example

Adjectives:
P50 order is Adj-N

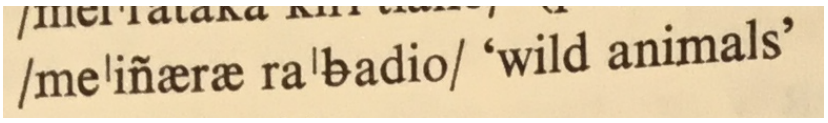




PL-new paddle

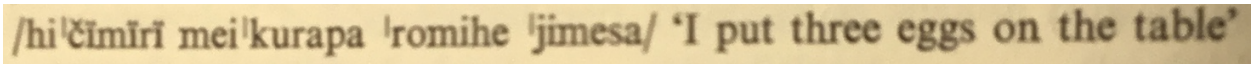


PL-the-old person
P64

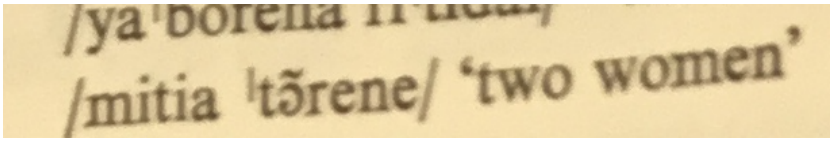


PL-wild animal

Numerals: no inflection of any kind mentioned, but here are some examples
p50

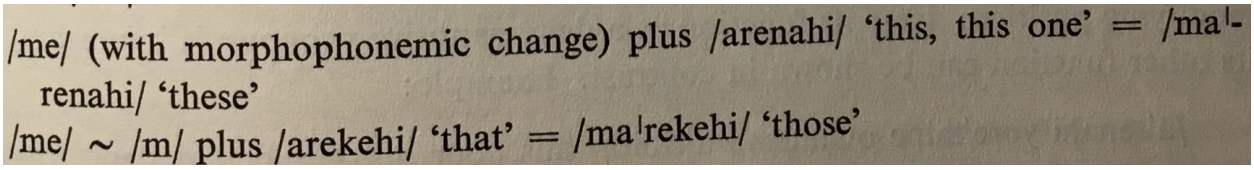

/hiˈčĭmĭrĭ meiˈkurapa ˈromihe ˈjimesa/ ‘I put three eggs on the table’

Me-i-kurapa romihe ji-mesa
PL-?the?-three egg LOC-table (*i* is listed as an allomorph of *ki* which is a kind of definite article)

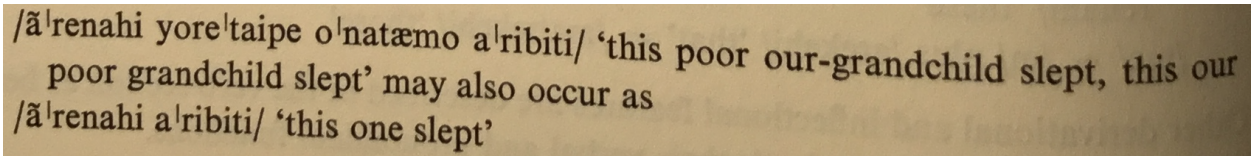

/mitia ˈtõrene/ ‘two women’

I’m not sure why the `three’ example has plural marking but this `two’ example does not.

Demonstratives: There are plural forms of demonstratives (p53)


/me/ (with morphophonemic change) plus /arenahi/ ‘this, this one’ = /maˈ-renahi/ ‘these’
/me/ ~ /m/ plus /arekehi/ ‘that’ = /maˈrekehi/ ‘those’

But none of the examples of apposition show a plural form of the demonstrative (e.g., p54)


/ãˈrenahi yoreˈtaipe oˈnatæmo aˈribiti/ ‘this poor our-grandchild slept, this our poor grandchild slept’ may also occur as
/ãˈrenahi aˈribiti/ ‘this one slept’

dag - Daga Based on (Murane 1974) (mostly LJ)

Gender: none?
Number: some plurals with reduplcation (e.g., p 72 *pa* ‘village’, but *pa pa* ‘villages’)
Case: unclear

Looks like nothing marks for plural-ness of nouns in Daga at all; thus, no concord for numeral > 1). Here, see the plain form of /pa/ ‘house’ when being modified with /nani yamu yampo/ ‘eight’, a numeral greater than 1.

Head:	pa house	Number:	nani yamu yampo eight

‘eight houses’

(p 91)

No concord on adjectives is mentioned, though difficult to confirm with minimal pairs due to limited inclusion of examples in the grammar.

There appear to be at least two noun classes in Daga, reflected in possessive structures. One noun class marks possession with one of set of suffixes, while the other must mark possession using a possessive phrase (in which the possessive pronouns are different, but related, in form to the possessive suffixes of class 1).

nani-mu
hand-their
'their hands'

(pg 32)

mu-ga-wa
they-poss-sc
'their (things)'

(p 36)

These examples show the two structures, though the two poss. markers happen to share the same form in the pl. 3rd person.

Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	ne	nu
2	ge	e
3	me	mu

(p 34)

Intimate Possessive Suffixes

	Singular	Plural
1	-na	-nu
2	-ga	-ya
3	-e/#	-mu/e

(p 32)

Different possessive forms for different noun classes.

So, Daga has no concord on numerals or adjectives, but has concord for gender on possessives (and possibly other determiners). Around page 90, we see words glossed as 'this' and 'that,' which indicates spatial relationships between the speaker and the noun, but no examples are given of demonstratives with plural nouns, so it is unclear if they must mark for number.

Great! And also , I presume they're no different based on noun classes… I think Daga is a no.

Adjectives:
Here's an adjective modifying one noun with an overt plural...

Item$_1$: pa pa — villages
Item$_2$: konintu-a — close-sc
'the close villages'

But then here's one modifying a noun and only the adjective is reduplciated. There's something about reduplicating the end of the NP or something? Because there's also this example where the postposition is reduplicated
p72

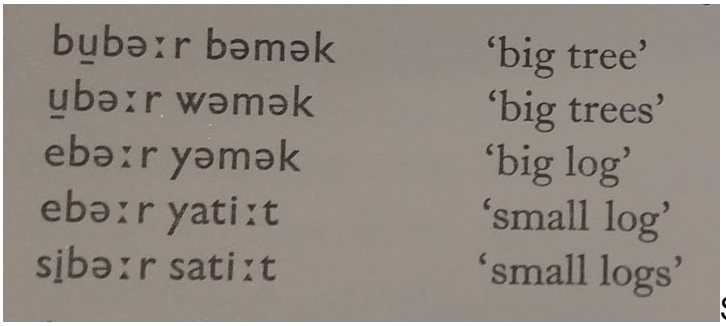
oaen tave 'old woman' — woman old
oaen tave tave 'old women'

dio - Diola-Fogny

/bu/-bə:r-ə/b/ /b/ə-mək-ə/b/ /bu/-lɔlɔ 'the big tree fell' (tree-the which-(is)-big it-fell)
/u/-bə:r-ə/w/ /w/ə-mək-ə/w/ /u/-lɔlɔ 'the big trees fell' (3.21, 3.24)

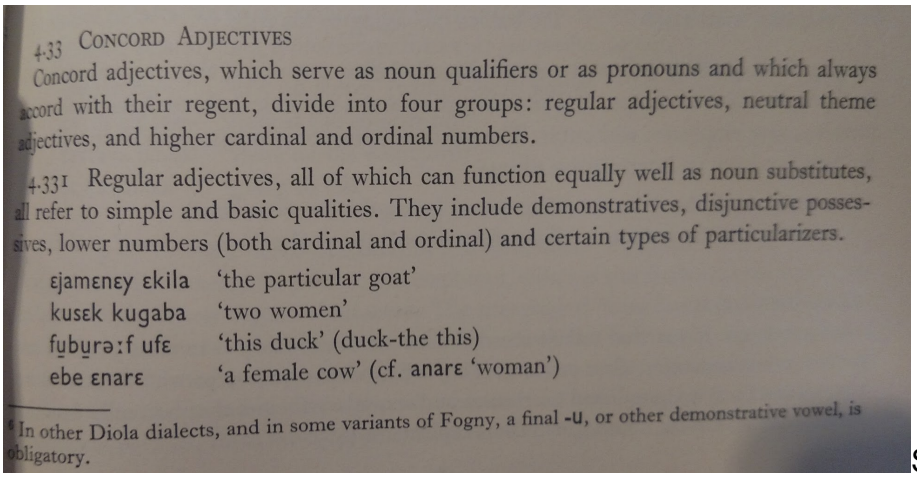
Sapir, pg. 24

RK- Sapir (James) sets the concord morphemes off with brackets which works although it is somewhat frustratingly visually similar to IPA. Here we can see the word for "big" (the second word in both phrases) changing to match "tree(s)" (the first word) in number. Very clear, thanks! This is definitely a frustrating way to represent it but I see it. And I share your suspicion that there will be more than just number concord on adjectives! MN



Sapir, pg. 66

RK- The concord morphemes are not set off as clearly, but the first and third lines give a particularly clear example of adjectives changing for gender. Also, comparing the first example here with the first lines of the pg. 24 example shows concord with definiteness (although the definite marker on adjectives is apparently optional)



4·33 CONCORD ADJECTIVES

Concord adjectives, which serve as noun qualifiers or as pronouns and which always accord with their regent, divide into four groups: regular adjectives, neutral theme adjectives, and higher cardinal and ordinal numbers.

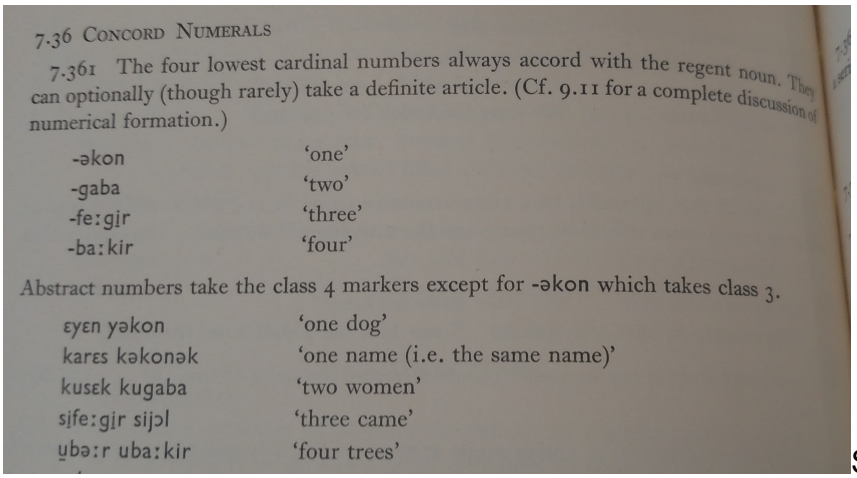
4·331 Regular adjectives, all of which can function equally well as noun substitutes, all refer to simple and basic qualities. They include demonstratives, disjunctive possessives, lower numbers (both cardinal and ordinal) and certain types of particularizers.

ɛjamɛnɛy ɛkila	'the particular goat'
kusɛk kugaba	'two women'
fụbụrə:f ufɛ	'this duck' (duck-the this)
ebe ɛnarɛ	'a female cow' (cf. anarɛ 'woman')

[f] In other Diola dialects, and in some variants of Fogny, a final -u, or other demonstrative vowel, is obligatory.

Sapir, pg. 27

RK- Sapir explaining the types of words which take concord, with a few examples



7·36 CONCORD NUMERALS

7·361 The four lowest cardinal numbers always accord with the regent noun. They can optionally (though rarely) take a definite article. (Cf. 9.11 for a complete discussion of numerical formation.)

-əkon	'one'
-gaba	'two'
-fe:gir	'three'
-ba:kir	'four'

Abstract numbers take the class 4 markers except for -əkon which takes class 3.

ɛyɛn yəkon	'one dog'
karɛs kəkonək	'one name (i.e. the same name)'
kusɛk kugaba	'two women'
sjfe:gir sijɔl	'three came'
ụbə:r uba:kir	'four trees'

Sapir, pg. 74

RK- Numbers taking class prefixes, and one example of a number taking a definite suffix (the 'one name'). Since class & number are bound together, numbers which agree in gender also agree in number.

dni - Dani (Lower Grand Valley) (Bromley 1981)

Gender: I don't think there's gender, WALS confirms

Number: sg/pl; marked only on some animate nouns (possibly optional)

'Child': *jekketek* (82)*/jvkkytvky* (203)

'man/person': *ap* (234) */ ap-hvny* (85)

'Woman': *he* (88) */ hymy* (253)

Girl: *helekketek* (264) */ hlymykkytvky* (203) (*hele*? (298))

Case: none / borderline only

<u>Adjectives</u>:

P91 *sve eakwytte'-neken* 'bird little-rather'

...sve eakwytte'-neken hea'-neken nasikhe.... *'bird little-ones-- rather quickly--rather he-ate-it-long-ago, i.e. He ate the rather small birds up pretty quickly.'*

P29 *wam kok* 'pig big'

wam kok wathyk, hamvlvk wathyk hakathe. *'pig big killing (wat= 'kill'; =h= factive; =yk iterative participle) little killing he-did-it, i.e. He killed pigs, now big ones, now little ones.'*

Numeral:

P260 *akotomy pyte* 'his-younger-siblings two' (can't actually tell if this is plural)

Welesi lakeikhomo-te, Oteke, akotomy pyte inom-hoko lakoukwhasik -he.... *'Welesi he-went-long-ago*-setting--topic, *Orege his-younger-siblings two they-together*--manner *they-went-long-ago-prior*--topic, *i.e. After she went to Welesi, Orege with two of his young men went....'*

P93 *akko pyte* (can't tell if this is plural)

akko pyte Jakkatetta-mekke....*'his-pig two Jakarta-- sort, i.e. his two pigs from Jakarta';*

P404 *hymy pyte* (This is plural! The only one of its kind)

la'lat-at hykhy-lokolyk-he, hymy pyte,
[Prog-P-baspt]

closing-closing--predicator *putting--while*-subject-was--topic *women two*

P404 *esa hynaken* (can't tell if this is plural)

lokolhikhesik-he, esa hynaken
[F-r/3s/p]

after-he-marshalled--topic, *military-company three*

16. *Two women.* 17. *After they had killed two, then the locals of the Aso-tapo and Aso-lokobal and Aso-tipo confederacies arranged themselves for battle, and after they marshalled three fighting companies and arranged the front-line men up the valley from Esiset's home there, they went up the Etagei streambed, you know.* 18. *After they went up there, as they were surrounding the village*

Demonstratives: There is no concrete discussion of these words, but here's a table from p. 208

TABLE 18

DEICTIC STEMS OF VARIABLE WORD CLASS

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS	PRO-ADVERBS	PRO-ADJECTIVES	PRO-VERBS
jy 'this'	jy-ttoko 'this way'	jykynyk 'like this'	jykynhe. 'He did this.'
aty 'that'	aty-ttoko 'in that way'	atykynyk 'like that'	atykynhe. 'He did that.'
atty 'that (abstract)'	atty-ttoko 'in that way'	attykynyk 'like that'	attykynhe. 'He did that.'
nena 'what'	nykky-ttoko 'in what way'	nykkynyk 'like what'	nykkynhe. 'He did what?'

P270 some examples of “a’noko”

it he a'noko — 'they woman that-we-know

ap a'noko wesikin-a? — man that-we-know singular-subject-will-come--invitation-query

P268 a demonstrative with plural reference (based on translation)

wakeikhe-nen-he, it ap a'noko japu wanhy-lakoukwha.... 'he-came-long-ago--source--topic they men that-we-know garden digging--they-were-long-ago, i.e. After she came then those men were digging garden....'

P315 a different demonstrative *atty*

he atty na'yt-o. 'woman that my-dislike--decisive, i.e. 'I don't like (or don't want) that woman.'

P300 another use of *atty*

mo atty, mo, he-o. nen tuki aty ap-o. 'sun that, sun, woman--decisive. then moon that man--decisive, i.e. As for the sun, that is a woman, and the moon, that is a man.'

P90 a specifically plural demonstrative *ama-noko*… but this is not a good example, really, and it’s the only one, so I’m gonna say no.

"gapping" (Ross 1968).

...je mel, sail mel ama-noko.... 'wealth-stones and cowrie-shell-belts and those--known-to-us, i.e. ...those wealth stones and cowrie shell belts....'

eka - Ekari (Doble 1987 article)

Gender: masc/fem + classifiers

Number: pl-marker *-ido*, (dual *-iya*) usually concerns people. Not with classifiers or nouns (p63)

yoka	'child'	yoka*ido*	'children'
api	'girl'	api*ido*	'girls'
yagamo	'woman'	yagamo*udo*	'women'
yame	'man'	yame*ido*	'men'
mee	'person'	me*ido*	'people'

Case: definitely has borderline case marking: *-ida* is locative and *-iga* is illative/allative. Otherwise it is not mentioned.

Adjectives: Some examples from p. 67 but all are singular

kou woya agiyo kodo
P long thing P
'that long thing'

kii mee woya kidi
P person tall P
'that tall person'

kii / kidi are masculine; kou / kodo are "feminine and large things", but *woya* is unchanged; also looked for *peu* 'bad' and *ibo* 'big' and nothing was changed. Saying it's a no.

Numerals: They have a classifier system (p75) and 'one' is fused with the classifier as in this example (p76)

Number one *ena*, which begins with a vowel, is fused to the preceding classifier: *idaana*, as in *ekina idaana* 'one pig'.

Pig CL.ANIM-one (classifier is *ida*)

P69 no classifiers here, though. None of the classifiers on p. 75 go with this.

butu wii *yago*	'having four corners'
bo wii *yago*	'four-legged'

Corner four having
Leg four having

P91 another with a classifier (*ida* for animates). Importantly, this is the singular form of "person", so no plural-marking here. Oh, she also says on p.63 that plural suffix is not used with numbers.

Mee ida yokagaati yuweetegai.
people thirty heard
'Thirty people listened.'

P102 here's another one but there is a classifier (*poga* for gardens)

Tai poga benumi dani te-yamoo timakai.
garden class six about made completely
'(They) made six gardens.'

Demonstratives: I'm not sure if they have any but let's say these "Phrase markers" are demonstratives even though the author translates them as "this, that, or simply the"

Pp70-71

Stressed form	*Phrase core*	*Enclitic form*
Masculine singular and general:		
kii	*yame*	*ki/ kidi/ kii ke*
Masculine plural:		
kei	*meido*	*kei/ kede*
Feminine and large things:		
kou	*yagamo*	*ko/ kodo*

P56

Meido kodo nota noogai.
people P sweet potatoes ate
'The people ate sweet potatoes.'

There are also examples from the adjectives section showing gender/number agreement.

epe - Epena Pedee (Harms 1994)

Gender: none mentioned
Number: pl enclitic, only used for humans
Case: peripheral
Adjectives: Adjectives follow the noun, and thus they can bear case-marking but only because case-marking is peripheral.
P44

(159) *sína čak^{h}é-pa hú-ba to-pá-ri*
pig small-ERG breast-liquid drink-HAB-PRES
Baby pigs drink milk.

(170) *ná-gɨ epérã čupɨ́ri ba-pa-čí pʰúuru ãtáu-de*
this-SPEC person poor be-HAB-PST village butt-LOC
This particular poor man lived on the back side of town.

Numerals: N-Num; again can bear number/case but only due to being peripheral
P53

(204) *josé-pa úsa õpée íru bɨ*
José-ERG dog three have be
José has three dogs.

P56

(221) *epérã õpee-rɨ́-pa bígi pee-hi-dá*
person three-PL-ERG deer kill-PST-PL
Three Epena killed the deer.

(222) *tái-pa úsa omé atee-hi-dá*
we-ERG dog two take-PST-PL
We took two dogs.

Demonstratives: Demonstrative modifiers do not appear to inflect (although no clear examples involving number are given)
P45, showing a demonstrative with no case-marking

(166) *mɨ pee-wɨ́-da a-hí na imamá-pa*
me kill-PROG-DECL say-PST this tiger-ERG
"This tiger is killing me!" he said.

P46, again showing no case-marking

(169) *ma cínco pesó-pa neto-na-páde a-hí ne-číara*
that five peso-INST negotiate-go-IMP say-PST GENR-meat
With that five pesos (that you have), go buy some meat!

P62: when demonstratives are used as pronouns, they **can** bear plural-marking

(253) *hã-gɨi-rɨ́-da a-hí či rateroo-rã*
that-SPEC-PL-DECL say-PST REF robber-PL
"Those (two men) are the robbers," he said.

(254) *má-i-rã* *čupiría* *čitoona-pa-či-dá*
that-SPEC-PL poor be^PL^HON-HAB-PST-PL
Those people were very poor.

Eve - Evenki

Source used: Evenki by Igor Nedjalkov, 1997 published by Routledge

Adjectives: Adjectives show agreement in number, case, and definiteness. There is no gender in Evenki. Adjectives only agree in definiteness in the accusative case, where accusative-definite is marked in one way and accusative-indefinite in another.

Pg. 277

Mit aja-l-du omakta-l-du d'u-l-du bi-d'ere-t.
we good-pl-dat new-pl-dat house-pl-dat be-prs-1pl.inc
'We live in good new houses.'

Both 'good' and 'new' agree with 'houses' in number and case. Since the case is not accusative, they do not agree in definiteness. Lovely example!

Pg. 277

2.1.4.3.1.5. Definiteness/indefiniteness Attributive adjectives with the head noun in the accusative case may agree with this noun in definiteness/indefiniteness:

(1001) a. Bi omakta-va d'u-va iche-0-m.
I new-accd house-accd see-nfut-1sg
'I saw the new house.'

(1001) b. Nungan gochin omakta-ja d'u-ja o:-d'anga-n.
he next.year new-accin house-accin make-fut-3sg
'He will build a new house next year.'

Examples of the adjective agreeing in definiteness. 'New' gets a different ending based on whether it is accusative-definite or accusative-indefinite. Great! And very interesting!!

Numerals: Numerals show agreement for case, and possibly for definiteness.

Pg. 282

All numerals may be used attributively preceding and agreeing with their head noun in case:

(1011) Bi ilan-ma oro-r-vo iche-0-m.
I three-accd reindeer-pl-accd see-nfut-1sg
'I saw three reindeer.'

The text says that numerals agree for case, but makes no mention of definiteness even though the example involves accusative-definite marking, However, on page 192 the author writes that accusative-definite is much more common than accusative-indefinite, and so possibly this is used as the default. I could not find an example where the noun was in accusative-indefinite case and there was a numeral. Super interesting!!! Thanks for hunting for acc-ind examples! If the definite form really is the default, then it makes me wonder what is going on with the noun--- is it also unspecified for definiteness (somehow) in (1011)? We probably can't tell without being experts on Evenki.

Demonstratives: Agree in case, doubtfully for definiteness

Pg. 213

Demonstrative pronouns *er/eril, tar/taril* are used adjectivally. These pronouns agree in number and case as adjectival forms do, for example:

(818) Tar beje bumu-d'ere-n.
that man be.ill-prs-3sg
'That man is ill.'

The text here says that demonstratives agree in number and case, and does not mention definiteness. In the above example the demonstrative is bare because the noun it is modifying is singular and in nominative case. I could not find an example of a demonstrative in non-nominative case; Too bad!! however, the example below shows a plural demonstrative. Great example!

Pg. 277

(1000) b. Tari-l oro-r burgu-l (bi-si-0).
that-pl reindeer-pl fat-pl (be-prs-3pl)
'Those reindeer are fat.'

The demonstrative agrees with the noun in number.

Pg. 212

Case marking for demonstrative pronouns is the same as that for nouns, but without an indefinite accusative case for these pronouns:

(817)							
	nom	*er*	'this'	*tar*	'that'	*eri-l*	'these'
	accd	*ere-ve*		*tara-va*		*eri-l-ve*	
	dat	*e-du*		*ta-du*		*eri-l-du*	
	instr	*eri-t*		*tari-t*		*eri-l-di*	
	all	*e-le*		*ta-la*		*eri-l-dule*	
	locall	*er-tyki*		*tar-tyki*		*eri-l-tyki*	
	abl	*e-duk*		*ta-duk*		*eri-l-duk*	
	elat	*er-git*		*tar-git*		*eri-l-git*	
	prol	*e-li*		*ta-li*		*eri-l-duli*	
	locdir	*eri-kle*		*tari-kla*		*eri-l-ikle*	
	allprol	*eri-kli*		*tari-kli*		*eri-l-ikli*	

Here the inflections for demonstrative pronouns are given. It is noted that these pronouns do not have an indefinite accusative version, which lead me to believe that the demonstrative adjectives may not either. So therefore no definiteness agreement, and definite-accusative possibly used as default? Could be! The other thing that could be at play with demonstratives is that demonstrative NPs typically pattern with definites… that makes it hard to know with demonstratives. But the numeral examples are intriguing! Great examples and v. thoughtful analysis, thanks!!

ewe - Ewe

Apparently has no concord, but we haven't collected examples

fij - Fijian

A Grammar of Boumaa Fijian by Dixon

Demonstratives distinguish for deixis and syntax, but not anything else.

	(a) this/here (near speaker)	(b) that/there (mid-distant; often near addressee)	(c) that/there (distant)
I—at the end of a predicate or NP, or as an NP	*(o)qoo*	*(o)qori*	*(o)yaa*
II—after a preposition (the demonstrative then refers to a place)	*kee*	*keri*	*keaa*

(p 58)

Adjectives are discussed on p. 117-118. No mention of any kind of agreement.

meaning. The possibilities are (i) an adjective, e.g. *mata-na levu* "eye-its big" in T4.153, *vanua suasua* "place wet", *gauna ma'awa* "time old"; (ii) the passive form of a verb, e.g. *vuulagi do'a-i* "visitor respected" in T6.8; or (iii) a noun referring to some material, e.g. *vale vatu* "house stone" in T6.47, *da'ai bitu* "gun bamboo" in T6.51. (p 117)

Some adjective + noun combinations mentioned in the prose here. No specific marking of any kind.

Not many examples for numerals. Mostly a discussion of how they can either be included in a relative clause or precede the modified noun when prefixed with /e-/. No marking is present, no agreement mentioned in the text.

(13.8) *eratou sa la'o mai [e tolu a gone]* "three children are coming here" (p 144)

fin - Finnish (Karlsson trans. Chesterman 1999:75)

Few examples because I just know this. Number and case concord on demonstratives, adjectives, and numerals

iso auto	a big car
iso/t auto/t	the big cars
iso/ssa auto/ssa	in the big car
iso/i/ssa auto/i/ssa	in the big cars
sininen kukka	a blue flower
sinise/t kuka/t	the blue flowers
sinise/ssä kuka/ssa	in the blue flower
sinis/i/ssä kuk/i/ssa	in the blue flowers
tuo punainen kukka	that red flower
tuo/n punaise/n kuka/n	of that red flower
tuo/ssa punaise/ssa kuka/ssa	in that red flower
nuo punaise/t kuka/t	those red flowers
no/i/lla punais/i/lla kuk/i/lla	with those red flowers
tämä vanha kahvi	this old coffee
tä/tä vanha/a kahvi/a	this old coffee (part.)
tä/stä vanha/sta kahvi/sta	out of this old coffee
tä/llä vanha/lla kahvi/lla	with this old coffee

(Ibid. p. 138)

***Tä/ssä* on leipää ja juustoa.**
Here is (some) bread and (some) cheese.

***Tä/ssä* ravintolassa on hyvä ruoka.**
This (‘*in this*’) restaurant has good food.

Hän meni *tuo/hon* taloon.
He/she went *into that* house.

Miksi puhut *tuo/lla* tavalla?
Why do you speak *in that* way?

***Si/llä* tavalla ei saa puhua!**
One must not speak like that (‘*in that* way’).

***Si/nä* päivänä aurinko paistoi.**
On that day the sun shone.

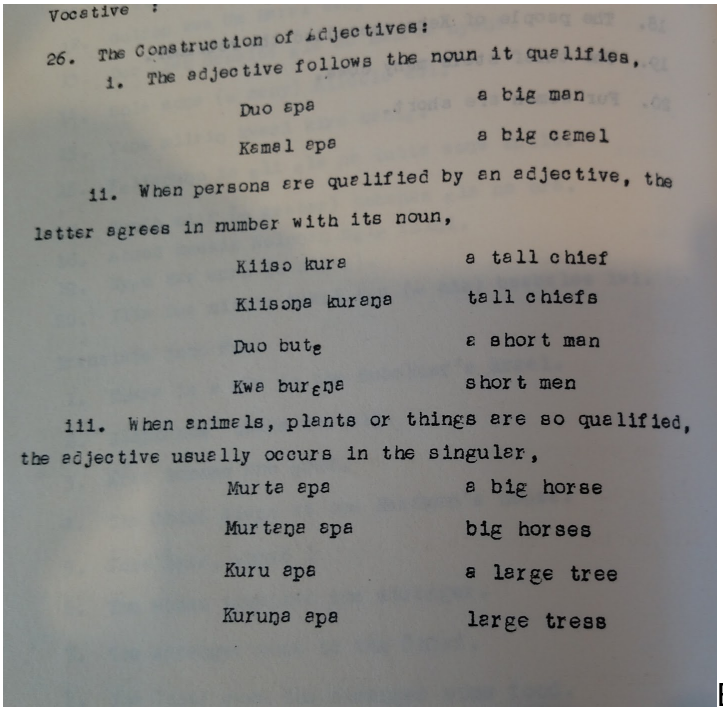
***Sii/nä* huoneessa ei voi olla.**
One can’t stay *in* (i.e. ‘use’) *that* room.

Demonstratives exemplifying (in order): Inessive, Inessive, Illative, Adessive, Adessive, Essive, and Inessive cases. More examples are on following pages. -IW

fre - French

I just know this. Gender+number on adjectives and demonstratives. Nothing on numerals greater than one.

fur - Fur



Vocative :

26. The Construction of Adjectives:

i. The adjective follows the noun it qualifies,

Duo apa	a big man
Kamel apa	a big camel

ii. When persons are qualified by an adjective, the latter agrees in number with its noun,

Kiiso kura	a tall chief
Kiisona kurana	tall chiefs
Duo buta	a short man
Kwa burana	short men

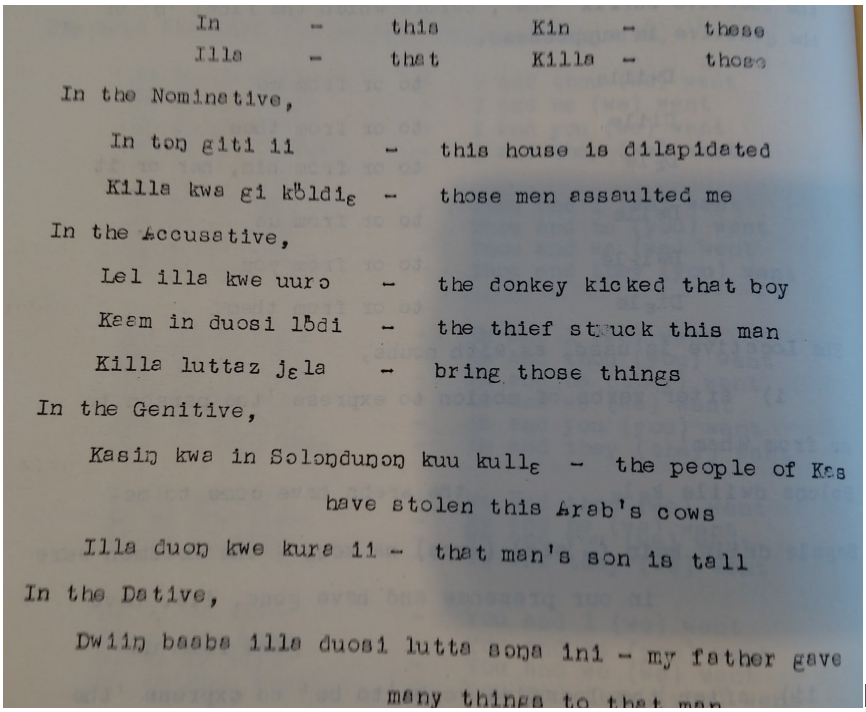
iii. When animals, plants or things are so qualified, the adjective usually occurs in the singular,

Murta apa	a big horse
Murtana apa	big horses
Kuru apa	a large tree
Kuruna apa	large trees

Beaton p. 52

RK- This pretty clearly shows number agreement on adjectives (particularly look at “a tall chief” v. “tall chiefs”). There are also examples of this in sentences and it definitely looks like a thing (I gave this rather than the sentences because they don’t have nice minimal pairs).

I am unsure how to treat the difference in number marking between human and non-human nouns. Should that be considered gender? I'm a little hesitant, but it almost feels reasonable (it doesn't affect our true study, but it should be noted that verbs also treat human and non-human nouns differently when they're plural but the same when they're singular). That said, non-human nouns apparently *can* take plural marking on adjectives when plural; they just don't have to and generally don't, in opposition to human nouns.



In - this Kin - these
Illa - that Killa - those

In the Nominative,

In toŋ giti ii - this house is dilapidated

Killa kwa gi kɔ̈ldiɛ - those men assaulted me

In the Accusative,

Lel illa kwe uuro - the donkey kicked that boy

Kaam in duosi lɔ̈di - the thief struck this man

Killa luttaz jɛla - bring those things

In the Genitive,

Kasiŋ kwa in Soloŋduŋoŋ kuu kullɛ - the people of Kas have stolen this Arab's cows

Illa duoŋ kwe kura ii - that man's son is tall

In the Dative,

Dwiiŋ baaba illa duosi lutta soŋa ini - my father gave many things to that man

Beaton p. 76

RK- From these examples, we can see pretty clearly that the demonstratives don't care about case or human-ness, but they do care about number. Comparing *illa kwe* 'that boy' and *killa kwa* 'those men' we see a nice number contrast for human nouns; comparing *in Sɔlɔŋduŋɔŋ* 'this Arab's' and *in tɔŋ* 'this house' we can see that human and non-human are the same in the singular; and comparing *killa luttaz* 'those things' with the aforementioned *killa kwa* 'those men' we can see that human and non-human are the same in the plural. The examples show this pretty clearly, and there's no indication that something like **illa luttaz* could be grammatical for 'those things'.

gar - Garo (Burling, 2003)

Adjectives: according to pg.109 adjectives are verbs. There is a small group of seven verb adjectives that behave differently from the rest of the verbal adjectives, but they are called *gi*-verbs and are still treated as intransitive verbs.

There seems to be no gender. The only possible exception could be numeral classifiers.

Pg. 248

Rather, classifiers convey important meanings. It is often the case that a single noun can be used with more than one classifier, and each classifier contributes a different meaning: *te·-rik rong-sa* 'one banana, one *rong-* of banana', *te·-rik pang-sa* 'one banana tree', *te·-rik gal-sa* 'one hand (small bunch) of bananas', *te·-rik ol-sa* 'one arm (large bunch) of bananas', *te·-rik ke-ji-sa* 'one kilogram of bananas'. When all these are considered together,

However, as can be seen above, the same noun can sometimes be used with different numeral classifiers, which makes it look a lot less like gender. Numerals therefore do not show concord, as they don't have gender agreement or number agreement (pg. 244 says they don't take plural suffixes).

While numerals can occasionally show case-marking, this is only because case-marking in Garo is expressed with a clitic that always attaches to the last word in the nominal phrase, regardless of what it is (pg. 165). Therefore, I would not really classify this as concord, as this is not case-marking that is agreeing with case-marking on the noun, but is rather the only instance of case-marking in the whole phrase.

Demonstratives do not have gender concord (no gender in Garo) or case-marking ever because they are always first in the nominal phrase and the case-clitic attaches to what is last.

Pg. 186

Bi-a nang·-cha-ni-ko i-a ta·-bol-chu-ko am·-a.
he-Nomn you-Loc-Aug this manioc-Acc want-Neut
'He wants this manioc from you'.

As can be seen above, the noun has an accusative marker but the demonstrative does not.

The only possibility for demonstratives would be number marking. I was not able to find a sentence where the demonstratives *ia* 'this' or *ua* 'that' preceded a plural noun; however, in the demonstrative section on *ia* and *ua* are referred to and there is no mention of plural forms for them, leading me to believe they do not have different plural forms. This is something I would have liked an example of to see though.

geo - Georgian (Hewitt 1995)
Demonstratives, numerals, and adjectives show concord for case but none show concord for number.

Adjectives (p. 45)

now demonstrated (cf. also 5.1.3) for the phrase 'the/a tall (**maġal-i**), blind (**brma**) woman':

Case	*Singular*	*Plural*
NOMINATIVE	*maġal-i brma kal-i*	*maġal-i brma kal-eb-i*
VOCATIVE	*maġal-o brma kal-o*	*maġal-o brma kal-eb-o*
DATIVE	*maġal brma kal-s(a)*	*maġal brma kal-eb-s(a)*
ERGATIVE	*maġal-ma brma kal-ma*	*maġal-ma brma kal-eb-ma*
GENITIVE	*maġal-i brma kal-is(a)*	*maġal-i brma kal-eb-is(a)*
INSTRUMENTAL	*maġal-i brma kal-it(a)*	*maġal-i brma kal-eb-it(a)*
ADVERBIAL	*maġal brma kal-ad(a)*	*maġal brma kal-eb-ad(a)*

Numerals (p55) Also says "Numerals behave just like adjectives when used attributively with a declining noun"

numerals consisting of more than a single word are so used. The first illustration is for the phrase '102 women' (N.B. that after numerals and other quantifiers a Georgian noun remains in the singular):

Case	*Singular*
NOMINATIVE	*as or-i kal-i*
VOCATIVE	*as or-o kal-o*
DATIVE	*as or kal-s(a)*
ERGATIVE	*as or-ma kal-ma*
GENITIVE	*as or-i kal-is(a)*
INSTRUMENTAL	*as or-i kal-it(a)*
ADVERBIAL	*as or kal-ad(a)*

Demonstrative (pp58-59) here is one demonstrative showing the absoluative/oblique distinction. This is the medium distal form: *that tall blind woman*

The equivalent expression with 2nd person deixis would be:

Case	Singular	Plural
NOMINATIVE	*eg (maġal-i brma) kal-i*	*eg (maġal-i brma) kal-eb-i*
VOCATIVE	–	–
DATIVE	*mag (maġal brma) kal-s(a)*	*mag (maġal brma) kal-eb-s(a)*
ERGATIVE	*mag (maġal-ma brma) kal-ma*	*mag (maġal-ma brma) kal-eb-ma*
GENITIVE	*mag (maġal-i brma) kal-is(a)*	*mag (maġal-i brma) kal-eb-is(a)*
INSTRUMENTAL	*mag (maġal-i brma) kal-it(a)*	*mag (maġal-i brma) kal-eb-it(a)*
ADVERBIAL	*mag (maġal brma) kal-ad(a)*	*mag (maġal brma) kal-eb-ad(a)*

ger - German

Personal knowledge. Gender, number, case on demonstratives and adjectives + definiteness on adjectives

goo - Gooniyandi (McGregor 1990)

Gender: none
Number: sg/pl/du, but number-marking can go basically anywhere
Case: a bunch of them, but again, they're sort of like postpositions.

Perhaps some case concord? there is some doubling of case markers but the author seems to think this is evidence of a special construction.
(p145) Case concord on a demonstrative

called "outlaw of the Leopolds" — see 1.6 above), reference is made to an Aboriginal police tracker by the phrase *niyi-ngga yoowooloo-ngga Roebourne Mick-ngga* (that-ERG man-ERG Roebourne Mick-ERG) 'by that man Roebourne Mick'. This person, who had been introduced ten clauses earlier, had

(pp 277-278) calls both number marking and case-marking *postpositions*, and they can basically appear on any word in the DP/NP, with a preference for particular words over

others (see below)

and not words (as do suffixes — see above section 3.12). The postposition may be attached to any word of an NP. There are, however, statistical tendencies in postposition placement. Postpositions are attached to nominals in the following roles in decreasing order of preference: Deictic, Quantifier, Qualifier, Entity, Classifier. Some illustrative examples are:

(4-73) *ngooddoo -yarndi yoowooloo*
that PL man
'those men'

(4-74) *ngooddoo yoowooloo -yarndi*
that man PL
'those men'

Here is an example from p. 252 showing a case marker in just one location

(4-12) *ngooddoo -yoo goornboo marla / thadda*
that DAT woman hand dog
'that woman's hand / dog'

And here is where he claims that examples with case concord (only saw 2 in all the examples I looked at) are more like a pseudocleft.

(c) Occasionally two (sometimes more) instances of a postposition are found within what appears to be a single continuous (and non-embedded) PP, as in the following example:

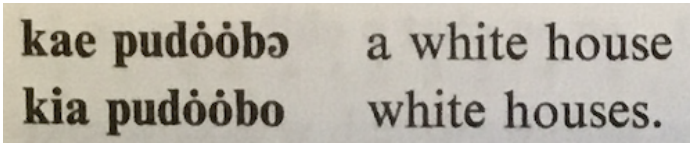
(4-85) *yoowooloo -ngga ngooddoo -ngga ngaaddi yiganyi*
man ERG that ERG stone uncertain
doowngangadda
he:took:it:on:me
'Maybe that's the man who took my money.'

As the English gloss provided suggests, the phrase *yoowooloo ngooddoo* (man that) 'that man' seems to be split up by the two postpositions, giving a construction roughly equivalent in meaning to the English cleft and pseudo-cleft (see section 5.3.1 and McGregor forthcoming-e for further details and discussion). Elsewhere (see McGregor 1989 and forthcoming-e), I have referred

grb - Grebo (Innes 1966)

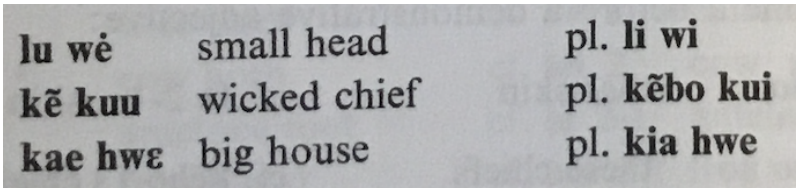
Gender: there is a gender; O/o for “important things” and E/e for “worthless things” but also it’s animacy based. Only in third person pronouns
Number: seems like all/most nouns distinguish sg/pl but there are a variety of allomorphs; there are also singulatives
Case: no mention

Adjectives: Postnominal adjectives agree with noun in number
P45 order is N-Adj; these are “deverbal adjectives” which from the plural with -(V)bo



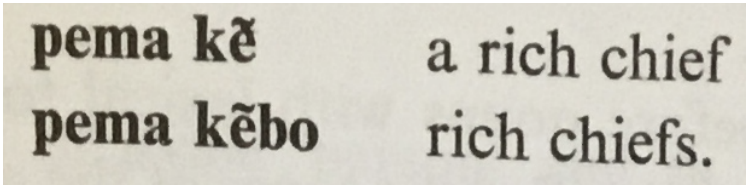
kae pudȯȯbɔ	a white house
kia pudȯȯbo	white houses.

P89 some more examples, N-Adj, still with plural forms



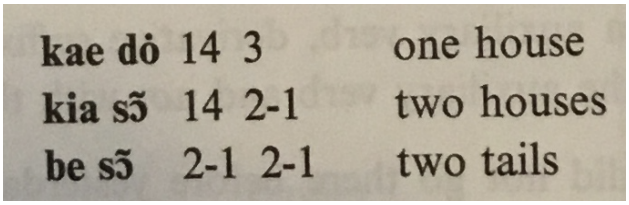
lu wė	small head	pl. **li wi**
kẽ kuu	wicked chief	pl. **kẽbo kui**
kae hwɛ	big house	pl. **kia hwe**

P91 a note: prenominal adjectives don’t show concord



pema kẽ	a rich chief
pema kẽbo	rich chiefs.

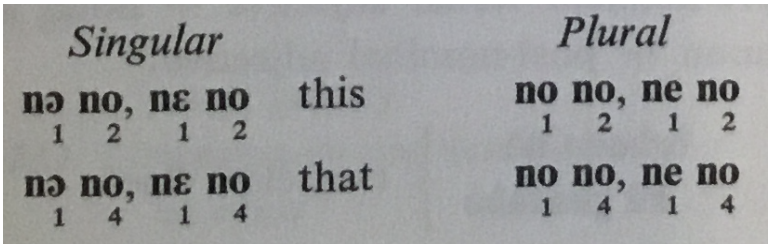
Numerals: p88 Nouns with numeral 2 (and higher, one imagines) are plural



kae dȯ	14 3	one house
kia sɔ̃	14 2-1	two houses
be sɔ̃	2-1 2-1	two tails

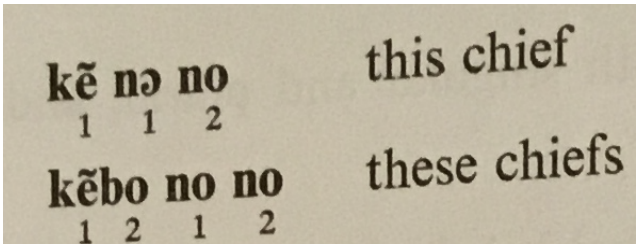
The form of the numeral two does not look like any of the plural allomorphs and Innes doesn’t say anything about plurl-marking, so I’m saying no concord

Demonstrative: plural concord for demonstratives
P45 here are the different demonstrative forms



Singular		*Plural*
nə no, nɛ no 1 2 1 2	this	no no, ne no 1 2 1 2
nə no, nɛ no 1 4 1 4	that	no no, ne no 1 4 1 4

P90 and here are some in use

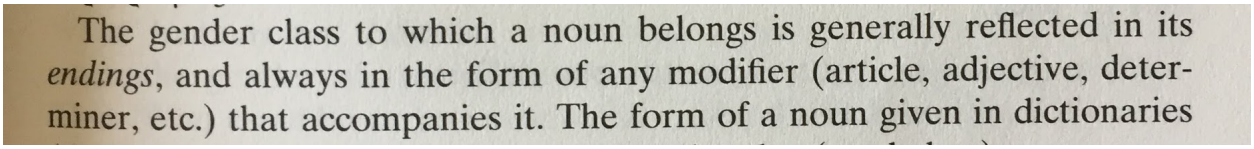


kẽ nə no 1 1 2	this chief
kẽbo no no 1 2 1 2	these chiefs

grk - Greek (Modern)

Greek: A Comprehensive Grammar of the Modern Language by Holton, Mackridge, & Philippaki-Warburton

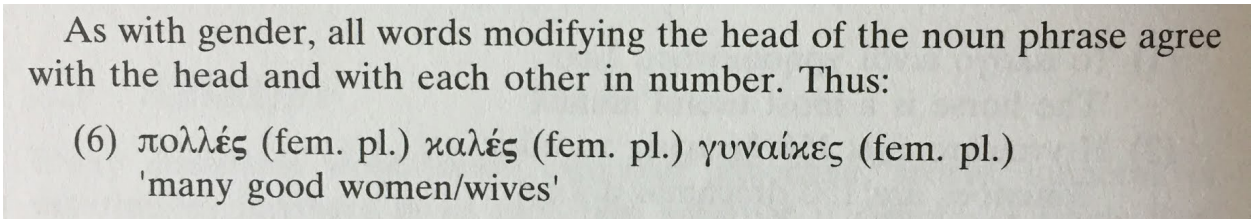
Gender has concord on adjectives and demonstratives (?), and numerals (p 252)



The gender class to which a noun belongs is generally reflected in its *endings*, and always in the form of any modifier (article, adjective, determiner, etc.) that accompanies it. The form of a noun given in dictionaries

(p 245)

Number has concord on adjectives and demonstratives (?), and numerals (p 252).



As with gender, all words modifying the head of the noun phrase agree with the head and with each other in number. Thus:

(6) πολλές (fem. pl.) καλές (fem. pl.) γυναίκες (fem. pl.)
'many good women/wives'

(p 254)

Case has concord on “all declinible modifiers.”

As with gender and number, all declinable words modifying the head of the noun phrase must be in the same case:

(1)a. ο (nom.) άλλος (nom.) τραγουδιστής (nom.)
b. τον (acc.) άλλο (acc.) τραγουδιστή (acc.)
c. του (gen.) άλλου (gen.) τραγουδιστή (gen.)
'the other singer'

(p 255)

Declinable modifiers:

Every declinable word, whether it be a noun, pronoun, adjective, article, numeral, or determiner, inflects for case, although in practice a word may

(p 255)

Thus, gender-case-number are marked on adjectives and numerals.

Only some cardinals are declinable, but those that are mark for case, number, and gender, as indicated above.

(b) Declinable cardinals

The following cardinal numerals behave like adjectives, in that they are declinable and they agree in gender, number, and case with the noun or other item that they modify (see Part II, Section 6.2 for details on their inflection):

ένας, μια, ένα 'one'
τρεις, τρία 'three'
τέσσερις, τέσσερα 'four'
διακόσιοι, διακόσιες, διακόσια 'two hundred', τριακόσιοι, τριακόσιες, τριακόσια 'three hundred', etc.
χίλιοι, χίλιες, χίλια 'one thousand' (for 'two thousand' and above see (c) below)

(4) ένας άντρας
'one man'

(5) μια γυναίκα
'one woman'

(6) ενός παιδιού
'of one child'

(7) στους πεντακόσιους επιβάτες
'to the five hundred passengers'

(8) πεντακόσιες εργάτριες
'five hundred women workers'

(9) πεντακόσια αγόρια
'five hundred boys'

(10) χίλιοι άντρες
'a thousand men'

(11) χίλιες γυναίκες
'a thousand women'

(12) των χίλιων παιδιών
'of the thousand children'

(p 295)

Unclear on demonstratives. Refers to a table (see below) that reflects gender-case-number (in the 3rd person), but the table doesn't seem to match with the provided examples.

Table showing inflections:

First person

	Sg.	εγώ	*'I'*	*Pl.*	εμείς	*'we'*
Nom.		εγώ			εμείς	
Acc.		εμένα			εμάς	
Gen.		εμένα			εμάς	

Second person

	Sg.	εσύ	*'you'*	*Pl.*	εσείς	*'you'*
Nom.		εσύ			εσείς	
Acc.		εσένα			εσάς	
Gen.		εσένα			εσάς	

Third person

Sg. αυτός, -ή, -ό *'he', 'she', 'it'* *Pl.* αυτοί, -ές, -ά *'they'*

	M	*F*	*N*	*M*	*F*	*N*
Nom.	αυτός	αυτή	αυτό	αυτοί	αυτές	αυτά
Acc.	αυτό(ν)	αυτή(ν)	αυτό	αυτούς	αυτές	αυτά
Gen.	αυτού	αυτής	αυτού	αυτών	αυτών	αυτών

(p 95)

Oh yeah, this looks like its the 3rd person personal pronouns rather than demonstratives-- they clearly have some overlap with demonstratives but are not purely isomorphic. But you can see some similar endings--- like in (3) and (4), those appear to be F.Nom.Sg and M.Nom.Sg respectively...

Examples provided of demonstratives.

(1) **Αυτό** το δέντρο είναι λεύκα
'This tree is a poplar'

(2) **Τούτο** εδώ το δέντρο είναι πλάτανος
'This tree here is a plane'

(3) **Εκείνη** η φούστα είναι κόκκινη
'That skirt is red'

(4) **Εκείνος** εκεί ο σωλήνας έχει τρυπήσει
'That pipe there has burst'

(5) **Εκείνη** το έκανε
'*She* did it' (contrastive emphasis on the subject)

(6) Δώσ' το σ' **αυτόν**
'Give it to *him*' (contrastive emphasis on the indirect object)

Note that when it funct...

(p 318)

Demonstratives show deixis, but I'm unclear on any inflections that may be showing concord due to limited examples and a lack of glossing.

grw - Greenlandic (West)

Gender: none on nouns so far as I can tell
Number: sg/pl at least
Case: yup!

Adjectives: concord in number and case
(Fortescue 1984:118)

```
qimmi-t qaqurtu-t marluk taakku
dog pl. white pl. two    those
  'those (two white dogs)'
```

Two also bears pl marking here .

From Sadock (2003) (p26)

```
Qimmimik   taassuminnga angisuumik
qimmiq=mik taassuma=mik angi-Tuq=mik
dog=INS.SG that=INS.SG  big-APART=INS.SG
'That big dog (instrumental sg)'
```

From Sadock (p27)

```
Qimmimik   qaqurtumik
qimmiq=mik qaqurtuq=mik
dog=INS.SG white=INS.SG
'White dog (instrumental sg)'
```

Numerals: see above and also below (Manlove 2016:332)

(19) [angut-t **taakku** **sisama-t**] isir-ga-mik
[man-PL.ABS **these.PL.ABS** **four-PL.ABS**] enter-FCT-3PL

illiq-mut ingig-pu-t
sleeping.platform-SG.DAT sit.down-IND.INTR-3PL
'When the four men came in, they sat down on the sleeping platform.'
(Sommer et al. 2007b:4)

Demonstratives: See the adjective examples above and also these below.
I've added the below ('who broke this cup') gloss from the same grammar just to clarify that demonstratives also can appear in singular form as opposed to plural.

```
kia=ana       tiiturvik manna asiru-raa
who-rel. that cup       this  break 3s-3s-part.
  'Who broke this cup?'
```

```
kaata-t    qisu-it  qirnir-tu-t
hammer pl. wood pl. be-black intr.-part. pl.
  'black wooden hammers'
```

gua - Guaraní

Gender: none, so far as I can tell

Number: nouns do not reflect plural, but there are a couple plural words and some number concord on demonstratives

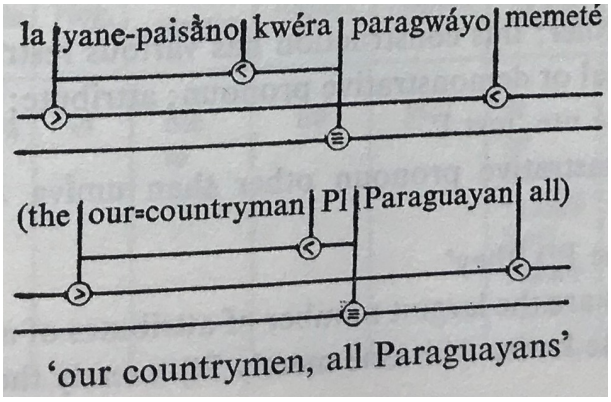
Gregores & Suárez 1967:144

modifies verbs, adverbs, and also [illegible] clause; it means 'already'. hikwãi pluralizes verbs and, rarely, nouns. kwéra pluralizes nouns and pronouns. nḿ 'not even' modifies pronouns and nouns.

G&S 148

okẽ nte (door just) [illegible]
hènte kwéra (people Pl) 'people'
ɨpè hikwãi (duck Pl) 'ducks'

G&S 149



Case: none, so far as I can tell

Adjectives: not really clear if they exist; they get lumped in with verbs (called "Quality verbs"). But they are uninflected in NPs, so far as I can tell.

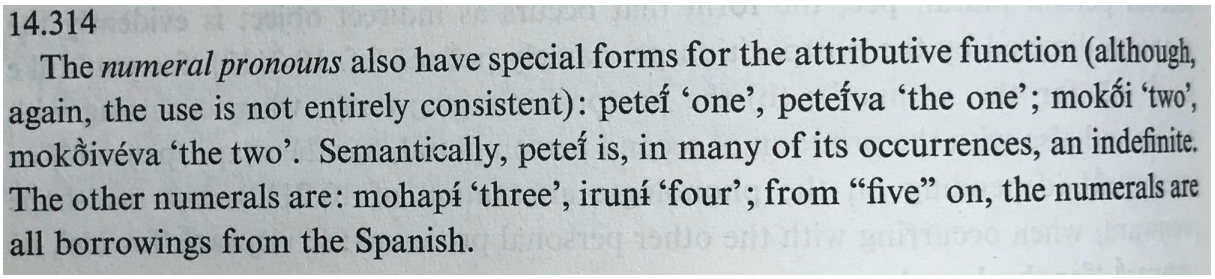
G&S 148

kisé pɨahṹ (knife new) 'a new knife'
aó potĩ́ (clothes clean) 'clean clothes'

(see also below in the numeral examples for a case of "pretty")

Numerals: 1-4 from Guaraní; combine with singular nouns and there is no special number marking

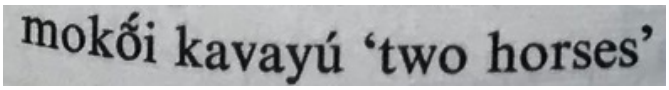
G&S 142



14.314

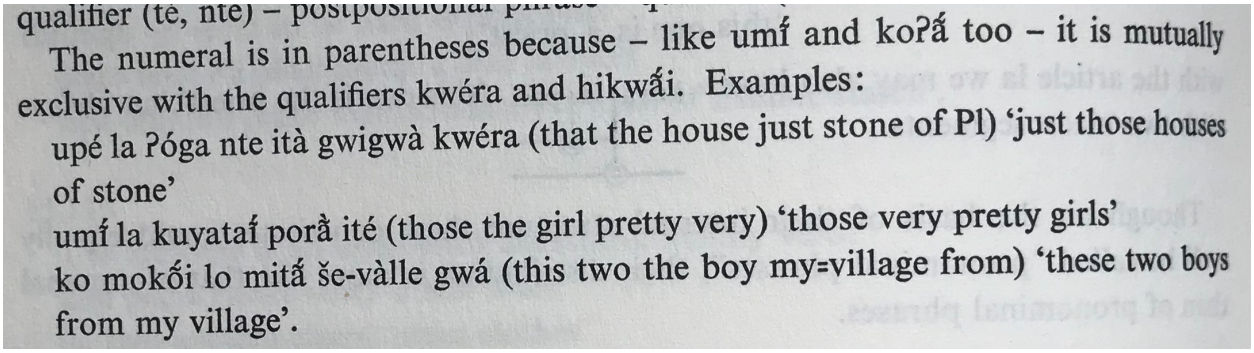
The *numeral pronouns* also have special forms for the attributive function (although, again, the use is not entirely consistent): peteĩ 'one', peteĩva 'the one'; mokõi 'two', mokõivéva 'the two'. Semantically, peteĩ is, in many of its occurrences, an indefinite. The other numerals are: mohapỹi 'three', iruñi 'four'; from "five" on, the numerals are all borrowings from the Spanish.

Gregores & Suárez 1967:145



mokõi kavayú 'two horses'

G&S P 150



qualifier (te, nte) – postpositional phrase

The numeral is in parentheses because – like umí and koʔã́ too – it is mutually exclusive with the qualifiers kwéra and hikwãi. Examples:

upé la ʔóga nte ità gwigwà kwéra (that the house just stone of Pl) 'just those houses of stone'

umí la kuyataĩ porã́ ité (those the girl pretty very) 'those very pretty girls'

ko mokõi lo mitã́ še-vàlle gwá (this two the boy my=village from) 'these two boys from my village'.

Demonstratives: (Certain) demonstratives show number concord (Cerno 2011:178).

ko gatíto	'este gatito'
pe ryguasú-pe	'a esa gallina'
ope karai	'ese señor'
ko'ã ao	'estas ropas'
umi mbói	'esas serpientes'
amo ka'aguy	'aquel monte'

Ámbito referencial		Singular	plural
próximo al hablante		*ko*	*ko'ã*
próximo al interlocutor	Visible	*pe*	*umi*
	No visible	*ope*	
	Referido	*aipo*	
no próximo al hablante ni al interlocutor		*amo*	

This is corroborated in G&S (p141)

	Attributives	*Non-attributives*	
1.	ko	kóva	'near the speaker'
2.	pe	péva	'near the addressee'
3.	upé / amő	upéva / amőva	'away from both speaker and addressee'

The demonstratives umí and umíva, koʔáá and koʔáva, do not show relative distance to the speaker; both indicate plurality. The attributive aipó would belong in the same

hai - Haida (Enrico 2003) #marginal

Appears to have a sort of animacy-based gender system

(p 663) two demonstrative sets, one ending in *-sii* that strongly preferences singular (not necessarily) and one in *-gaay/-gee* that strongly preferences plural (not necessarily)--- both can be used with mass as well. So I'll call this "marginal concord"

The head following a *-sii* demonstrative is either mass or count, and a singular interpretation is preferred (though not necessary) if the head is count. The head with a *-gaay, -gee* demonstrative is similarly either mass or count, and a plural interpretation is preferred (though not

necessary) in M, strongly preferred in S if the head is count.[7] ...monstratives are used anaphorically (i.e., as heads thems... ...tion of a *-sii* demonstrative is t...

(6) a. *7aasgaay l@baliid-gaay*
these preacher-DF
'these preachers' (S)

b. **7aajii lablèed-gee*
this preacher-DF
(this preacher) (M)

(p 664) "The *-gaay, -gee* demonstratives can easily be used in NP's referring to humans [(6a)] but the *-sii* demonstratives are so used only in case the referent is low potency [(6b)]." Note as well that (6a) is plural and (6b) is singular (following the preferences for singular/plural stated above)

(although I need to check and see what "DF" means again)

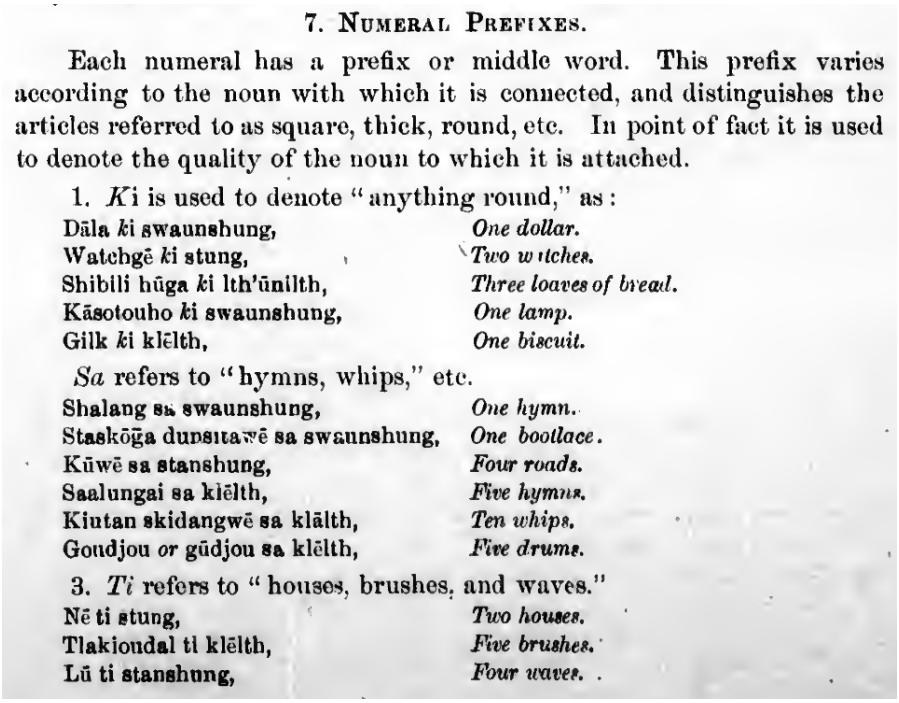
(p 742) On Quantifiers--- divides them based on whether they are applicable to masses or singular individuals or aggregates

Adjectives: Harrison (1895:138) makes this statement about adjectives

In very many languages this agreement is shown by the termination, but it is not so in the Háida. The adjectives in this language chiefly

Harrison (1895:139)

Numerals: Harrison (1985:143) provides these examples of numeral classifiery things



7. NUMERAL PREFIXES.

Each numeral has a prefix or middle word. This prefix varies according to the noun with which it is connected, and distinguishes the articles referred to as square, thick, round, etc. In point of fact it is used to denote the quality of the noun to which it is attached.

1. *Ki* is used to denote "anything round," as:

Dāla *ki* swaunshung,	*One dollar.*
Watchgē *ki* stung,	*Two watches.*
Shibili hūga *ki* lth'ūnilth,	*Three loaves of bread.*
Kāsotouho *ki* swaunshung,	*One lamp.*
Gilk *ki* klēlth,	*One biscuit.*

Sa refers to "hymns, whips," etc.

Shalang sa swaunshung,	*One hymn.*
Staskōga dunsitawē sa swaunshung,	*One bootlace.*
Kūwē sa stanshung,	*Four roads.*
Saalungai sa klēlth,	*Five hymns.*
Kiutan skidangwē sa klālth,	*Ten whips.*
Goudjou *or* gūdjou sa klēlth,	*Five drums.*

3. *Ti* refers to "houses, brushes, and waves."

Nē ti stung,	*Two houses.*
Tlakioudal ti klēlth,	*Five brushes.*
Lū ti stanshung,	*Four waves.*

ham - Hamtai / Kapau (Oates & Oates 1968)

Gender: none

Number: says (p18) that plurality is “not expressed on nouns”

P36

```
* nti änga qiyamakänga ti    You used to build houses.
```

P42

```
anga YAMAKMNA QI'YA          I'm going to build a house.
```

P47 *amä’ä* is ‘man’

```
aqo amä'ä ninqa aqoäi qu'watonqa
  ti                              He bossed many men.
```

Case:

Adjectives: Adjectives can take suffixes indicating number (p16) singular *-pun,* dual *-piyä’u*, plural *piyä;* these were the only examples in the grammar.

inkuma wanqapiyä'u ti	*There are two small things.*
näi na'apiyä'u ti	*There are two big knives.*

tin/container small-PL *ti*
Knife big-PL *ti*

P18 but it seems like they don't HAVE TO take those suffixes

AQOÄ amä'ä awa ti	*They are good men.*
ISA'U äpaka qhouka ti	*They two are tall women.*
QI ime'ä quyv'a ti	*You two are naughty children.*

First thing in these is a pronoun.
They man big *ti*
They.DU woman tall *ti*
you.DU child naughty *ti*

P67 no case concord--- case just docks on whatever is last in NP (exhibited with locative *-u*

inga	ängaU	qaPME'ä ti	(P.2.)

Bird house-on … (the bird sat on the house)

inga	änga na'aU	qapme'ä ti	(P.2.)	(3)

Bird house big-on (the bird sat on the big house)

Numerals: here is a list of forms. "It is not known when each form is used" p78

fati		hivä'u fati	
fatina		hiwatä'u hiwa	*three*
hiwa	*one*		
hiwatina			
hivä'u		hivä'u hivä'u	
hiwatä'u	*two*	hiwatä'u hiwatä'u	*four*
avä'u			

P107

ha nHE'aNGANGA, ita ha naMEÄtNGANGA,	*If you get your food that way,*
mpanganga na'a maME'ä qimanga	*obviously you didn't get much*
heänqa, qämnga hivä'u'na	*pay for two months.*

Qämnga hivä'u'na moon/month two

P115

ma, ya hivä'u fati qapme'ä qap*a	*I stayed three days and then came (spoken as a person arrives).*

Demonstratives:
P15: demonstratives are *ta, tita, a* (also any of those with *-nga* on the end)

änga TITA awamanga ti	*This house is good.*
qoä tita nta ti	*This is your ground.*
TA inga ti	*This is a bird.*
wamnga a awa ti	*That garden is good.*

P20

piya ta ÄPAKI'YA ti	*Those nuts belong to the woman.*

Nut that woman.GEN *ti*

hau - Hausa (Newman 2000)

Adjectives: agree in gender and number p22

[farin]$_m$ [gidā]$_m$ (lit. white.L house)	= **[gidā]$_m$ [farī]$_m$** (lit. house white)	white house
[faraɗ]$_f$ [mōtā]$_f$ (lit. white.L car)	= **[mōtā]$_f$ [farā]$_f$** (lit. car white)	white car
[faràren]$_{pl}$ [hūlunà]$_{pl}$ (lit. white.L caps)	= **[hūlunà]$_{pl}$ [farārē]$_{pl}$** (lit. caps white)	white caps
[tsōhon]$_m$ [jàkin-dōkì]$_m$	old mule	
[bàhagùwaɗ]$_f$ [bōlà-gajà]$_f$	left-handed (drive) wooden passenger truck	
[sàbàbbin]$_{pl}$ [jiràgen-samà]$_{pl}$	new airplanes	

Numerals: Says on p. 221 that numerals are invariant

Attributive cardinal numbers are also invariant, e.g., **zākì / zākanyà ɗaya** 'one lion/lioness', **mîl ukù** 'three miles', **dawākī gōmà** 'ten horses'. The ordinals, on the other hand, are built with a preceding linker and thus reflect gender/number, e.g., **zākì na ukù** 'the third lion'; **zākanyà ta biyu** 'the second lioness', **màsu gudù na huɗu** 'the fourth runners'.

p382: usually use singular noun with numerals

[kàtìfà]$_{sg}$ huɗu four mattresses (cf. pl. **kàtìfū**); **[bâm]$_{sg}$ ɗàrī** 100 bombs (cf. pl. **bàmàbàmai**); **[kìfì]$_{sg}$ mètan** 200 fish (cf. pl. **kìfàyē**); **[naiřà]$_{sg}$ dubū** 1,000 nairas (cf. pl. **naiřōřī**); **[hùlā]$_{sg}$ nawà?** how many caps? (cf. pl. **hūlunà**); **[kadà]$_{sg}$ dà yawà** many crocodiles (cf. pl. **kadàndanī**)

p382: but some nouns will be plural (phonologically simple plural forms)

[mātā]$_{pl}$ gōmà 10 women (cf. sg. **màcè**); **[àbôkai]$_{pl}$ (gùdā) ukù** 3 friends (cf. sg. **àbōkī**); **[birai]$_{pl}$ kàɗan** a few moneys (cf. sg. **birì**); **['yan-sàndā]$_{pl}$ hàmsin** 50 policemen (cf. sg. **ɗan-sàndā**); **[masànā]$_{pl}$ bakwài** 7 scholars (cf. sg. **masànī**)

Demonstratives: agree in gender and number (but one of them has collapsed in the singular from a historical difference)
p219

1.a.**wannàn (< *wa-n-nàn) dōkǐ nằwa nề**	This horse (m.) is mine.
b. **wannàn (< *wa-t-nàn) gōɗǐyā tằwa cề**	This mare (f.) is mine.
c. **waɗànnân dawākī nằwa nề**	These horses are mine.

P149: this dem is still gender-sensitive *waccan*, M *wancan*

wàccan mōtằ cē na ganī ɗằzu	It was that car (way off) that I saw a moment ago.

p372 here is the masculine version (or wait, I guess the accent is in the wrong place. This one is not quite the same as the one above)

wancàn gidân	that very house (lit. that house.the)

p147

	m.	*f.*	*pl.*
1. this (by me)	**wannàn**	**wannàn**	**waɗànnân**
2. that (by you)	**wànnan / wânnan**	**wànnan / wânnan**	**wàɗànnan / waɗànnan**
3. that (there)	**wancàn**	**waccàn**	**waɗàncân**
4. that (distant)	**wàncan / wâncan**	**wàccan / wâccan**	**wàɗàncan / waɗàncan**

heb - Hebrew (Modern) (Michael Becker, pc)

MN collected these examples from Michael Becker (Israeli linguist) when I was writing my Language & Linguistic Compass paper. Adjectives show gender/number concord.

(27) raiti et ha-jeladim ha-nexmad-im.
I.saw ACC the-boys(M.PL) the-nice-M.PL
'I saw the nice boys.'

(28) raiti et ha-jeladot ha-nexmad-ot.
I.saw ACC the-girls(F.PL) the-nice-F.PL
'I saw the nice girls.'

hin - Hindi (Rajesh Bhatt, pc)

I got in touch with Rajesh Bhatt (native speaker, Prof at UMass-Amherst), here's what I got. Two genders (masc/fem), two numbers (sing/pl), and two ``case'' (direct vs oblique; the latter is used with postpositions/case particles). Demonstratives are invariant for gender, and the direct form *ye* is invariant for number these days (it used to be plural only).

Yah/ye acchaa laRkaa `this good boy (direct)'
Yah/ye acchii laRkii `this good girl (direct)'
Ye acche laRke `these good boys (direct)'
Ye acchii laRkiyaaN `these good girls (direct)'

is acche laRke ko `this good boy (oblique; ko = DAT)'
is acchii laRkii ko `this good girl (oblique)'
in acche laRkoN ko `these good boys (oblique)'
in acchii laRkiyoN ko `these good girls (oblique)'

ek laRkaa / one boy .... laRkii/ girl
do laRke / two boys ... laRkiyaaN/girls

ek laRke ne / one boy.Obl Erg ... laRkii/girl.Obl
do laRkoN ne / two boys.Obl Erg ... laRkiyoN/girls.Obl

hix – Hixkaryana

Tagged as “no concord,” no examples collected

hmi - Huitoto (Minica)

Gender: two in pronouns
Number: sg/pl in nouns
Case: existén

Demonstratives: the same demonstrative is used for singular and plural (p94)

audibles. El mismo demostrativo sirve para el singular como para el plural. Estos aparecen en la siguiente lista.

"bie"	éste, ésta, esto, éstos, éstas.
"baie"	aquél, aquélla, aquello, aquéllos, aquéllas.
"aquíe"	éste, etc.; aquél, etc. Lo que se puede oír pero no se ve.

Numerals: two examples; one below and this one (p56). Weirdly they insisted that adjectives precede but this dialog has postnominal adjectives...

"Afe ereño jaca dama jɨáɨnodo eroide. Jítɨrede, ie oda árera ie onoɨ áillue, ie dofo árera, ie ónoɨmo mena onócobe árera ite".
Ese oso hormiguero parece distinto de los otros. Es negro, de cola larga, manos grandes, nariz larga, y en la mano tiene dos uñas largas.

Adjectives: No mention of plural forms, and there are no adjectives modifying plural nouns that I’ve been able to find (p42)

Los adjetivos posesivos

"cue jofo"	mi casa
"caɨ illaɨma"	nuestro capitán

Los adjetivos calificativos

"aillue jacafaɨ"	la chagra grande
"comue lloefaɨ"	el machete nuevo
"jamai comɨnɨ"	gente ordinaria

Los adjetivos cuantitativos

"mena nocae"	dos canoas
"jɨáɨe jofo"	otra casa
"¿nɨga ɨíñɨaɨ?"	¿cuantos hombres?

NOTA: En huitoto el adjetivo siempre precede al sustantivo.

hmo - Hmong Njua

Tagged as”no concord”, no examples collected

hun - Hungarian

Personal knowledge. Demonstratives show concord for number and case and nothing else shows concord.

hzb - Hunzib

All examples taken from van den Berg 1995.

Demonstratives show concord for case, number, and gender according to the chart below. (The first ‘this’ means ‘near the speaker’ and the second means ‘near the hearer’).

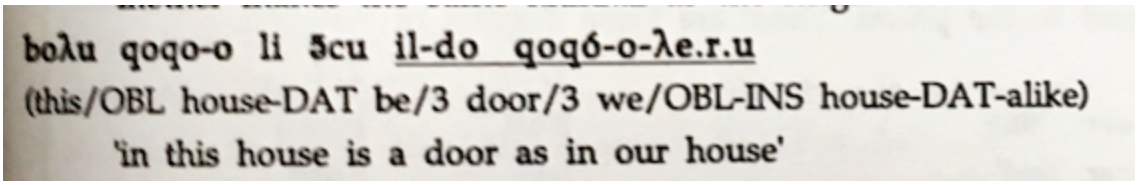
Pg. 61

Chart 5: Inflection of demonstrative pronouns

		this		this		that	
class		1/3/5	2/4	1/3/5	2/4	1/3/5	2/4
Attributively	NOM	bəd	bodu	bəl	bolu	əg	ogu
	OBL	boλu				oλu	
	PL	bəd-ra		bəl-la		əg-ra	
Substantivally	NOM	bəd	bodu	bəl	bolu	əg	ogu
	GEN	boλu-s				oλu-s	
	NOMPL	bəd-ra		bəl-la		əg-ra	
	GENPL	bəd-ra-s		bəl-la-s		əg-ra-s	

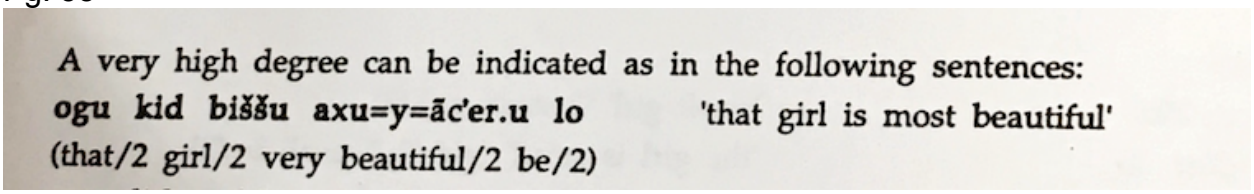
The 1/3/5/ and 2/4 are the gender distinctions. There are five genders and they are referred to by the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, so the demonstratives in the first column in each set are for genders 1, 3, and 5, while those in the second column would be used for genders 2 and 4. The case distinction is a simple nominative/oblique distinction, and there is a suffix (either -ra or -la) added to the 1/3/5/ form to mark plural.

Pg. 59


bolu qoqo-o li ɜcu il-do qoqó-o-λe.r.u
(this/OBL house-DAT be/3 door/3 we/OBL-INS house-DAT-alike)
'in this house is a door as in our house'

In this example, the 'this' used is the singular oblique form, since the noun it modifies is in the dative case.

Pg. 58


A very high degree can be indicated as in the following sentences:
ogu kid biššu axu=y=āc'er.u lo 'that girl is most beautiful'
(that/2 girl/2 very beautiful/2 be/2)

In this example, the 'that' used is *ogu* because it is the nominative, singular form for genders 2 and 4, and the noun it modifies is nominative, singular, and gender 2.

All adjectives show concord for case and number, although the author indicates that the case distinction is being lost. The chart showing endings for adjectives is below.

Pg. 57

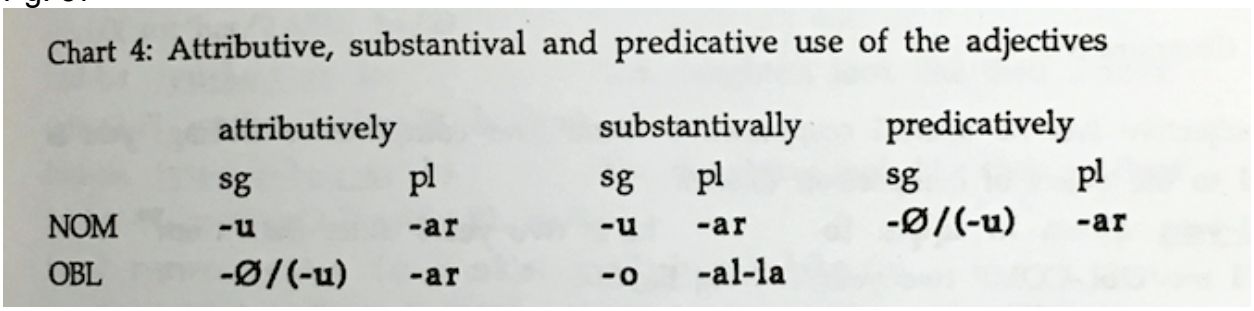


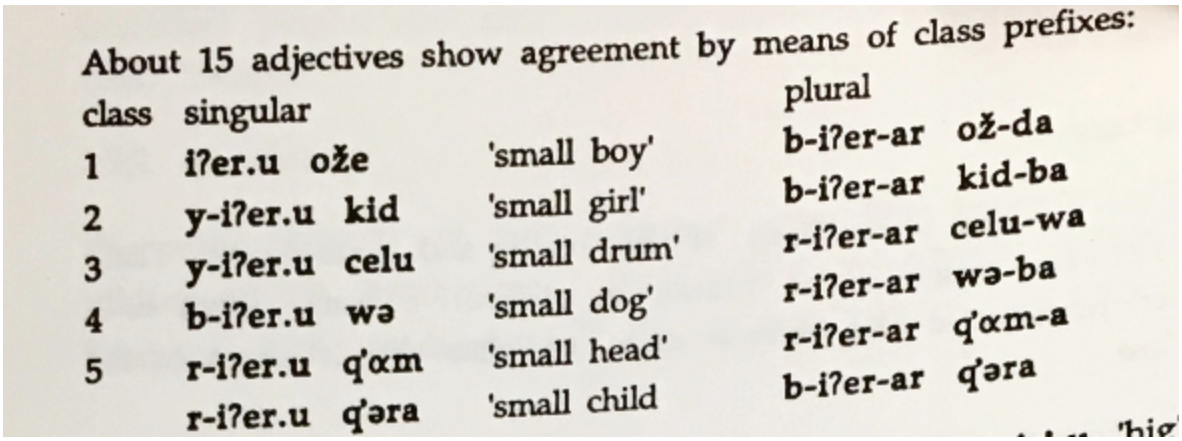
Chart 4: Attributive, substantival and predicative use of the adjectives

	attributively		substantivally		predicatively	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
NOM	**-u**	**-ar**	**-u**	**-ar**	**-Ø/(-u)**	**-ar**
OBL	**-Ø/(-u)**	**-ar**	**-o**	**-al-la**		

Attributively, adjectives have a number distinction, and in the singular number they have a case distinction between nominative and oblique.

About 15 adjectives also have gender distinctions in the form of a prefix, as can be seen in the chart below.

Pg. 58

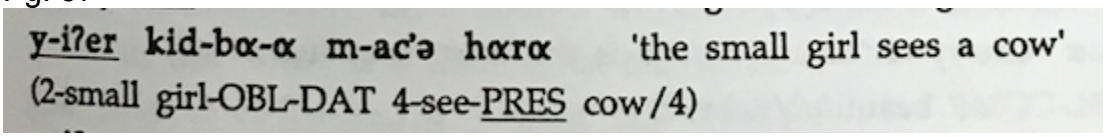


About 15 adjectives show agreement by means of class prefixes:

class	singular		plural
1	i?er.u ože	'small boy'	b-i?er-ar ož-da
2	y-i?er.u kid	'small girl'	b-i?er-ar kid-ba
3	y-i?er.u celu	'small drum'	r-i?er-ar celu-wa
4	b-i?er.u wə	'small dog'	r-i?er-ar wə-ba
5	r-i?er.u q'αm	'small head'	r-i?er-ar q'αm-a
	r-i?er.u q'əra	'small child	b-i?er-ar q'əra

The numbers along the side indicate the genders 1-5, and the prefix of the adjectives changes according to gender and number. This chart also shows the nominative forms of the singular.

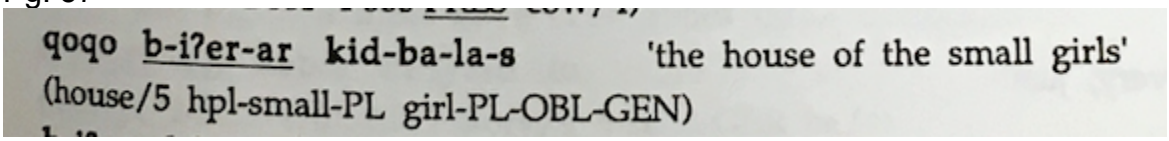
Pg. 57



y-i?er kid-bα-α m-ac'ə hαrα 'the small girl sees a cow'
(2-small girl-OBL-DAT 4-see-PRES cow/4)

In this example, the adjective does not have the -u suffix since the noun it is an attribute of is oblique/dative and singular, and it does have a y- prefix indicating the gender of the noun 'girl'.

Pg. 57

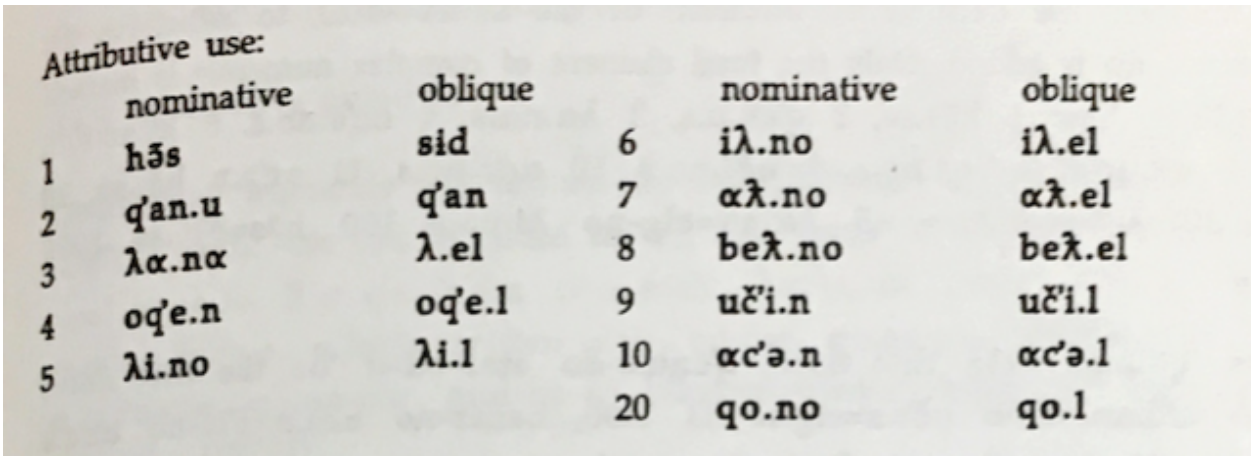


qoqo b-i?er-ar kid-ba-la-s 'the house of the small girls'
(house/5 hpl-small-PL girl-PL-OBL-GEN)

In this example, the prefix on the adjective is b- since the noun 'girl' here is gender 2 and plural, and the adjective also has the suffix -ar the indicate that the noun is plural.

Lastly, numerals agree with the nouns they modify in case only. Numerals have nominative and obliques suffixes, as can be seen in the chart below.

Pg. 69

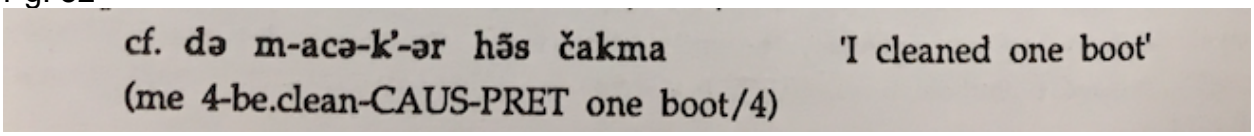


Attributive use:

	nominative	oblique		nominative	oblique
1	hə̃s	sid	6	iƛ.no	iƛ.el
2	q'an.u	q'an	7	αƛ.no	αƛ.el
3	λα.nα	λ.el	8	beƛ.no	beƛ.el
4	oq'e.n	oq'e.l	9	uč'i.n	uč'i.l
5	λi.no	λi.l	10	αc'ə.n	αc'ə.l
			20	qo.no	qo.l

For numbers 1-3 the suffixes are irregular, but from 4 on the nominative is -n(o) and the oblique is -(e)l.

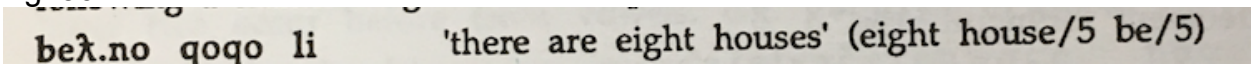
Pg. 82



cf. də m-acə-k'-ər hə̃s čakma 'I cleaned one boot'
(me 4-be.clean-CAUS-PRET one boot/4)

In this example the number *hə̃s* 'one' is in the nominative form since the noun 'boot' is nominative.

Pg. 36



beƛ.no qoqo li 'there are eight houses' (eight house/5 be/5)

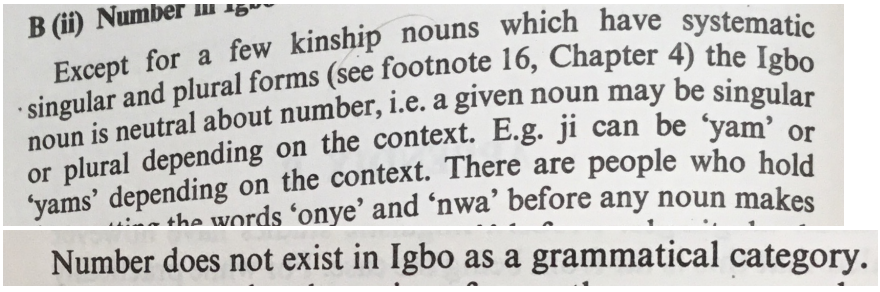
In this example the number 'eight' is in nominative form since the noun qoqo 'house' is nominative.

igb - Igbo (Emenanjo 1987)

Gender: none

Number: sg/pl; only marked on a few human nouns (5)

p222



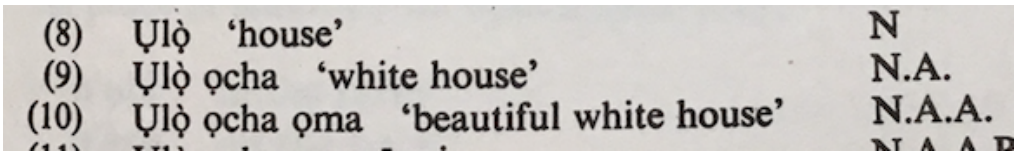
B (ii) Number in Igbo

Except for a few kinship nouns which have systematic singular and plural forms (see footnote 16, Chapter 4) the Igbo noun is neutral about number, i.e. a given noun may be singular or plural depending on the context. E.g. ji can be 'yam' or 'yams' depending on the context. There are people who hold ting the words 'onye' and 'nwa' before any noun makes

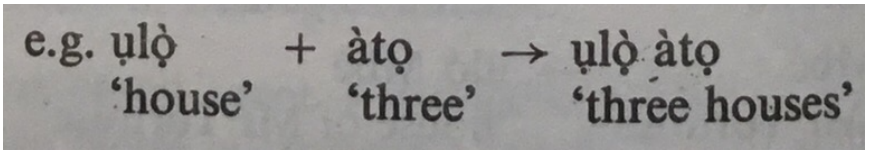
Number does not exist in Igbo as a grammatical category.

Case: none on nouns

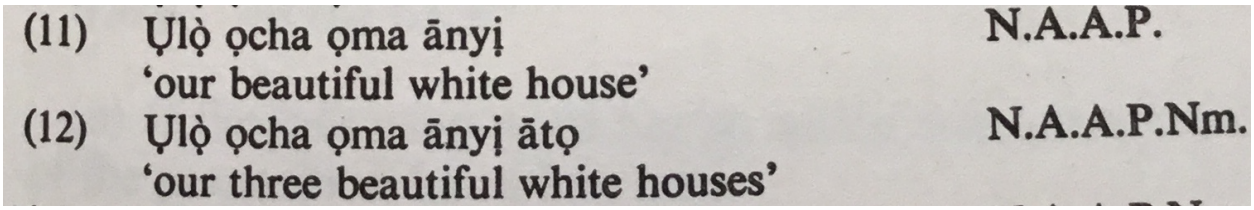
Adjectives: there are only 5 adjectives (distinguishable from nouns based on whether they cause a particular tonal pattern in apposition), and they don't change for number (p81)


(8) Ụlọ 'house' N
(9) Ụlọ ọcha 'white house' N.A.
(10) Ụlọ ọcha ọma 'beautiful white house' N.A.A.

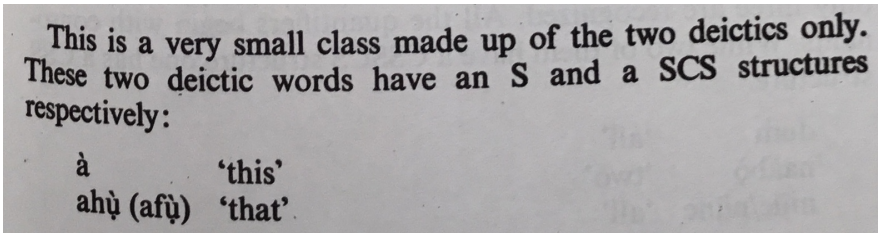
Numerals: No classifiers (or other marking) on numerals
p40


e.g. ụlọ + àtọ → ụlọ àtọ
'house' 'three' 'three houses'

p81

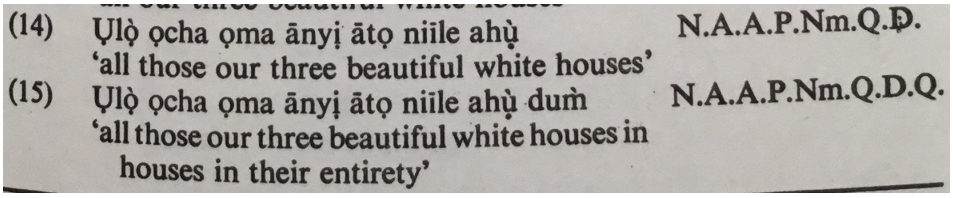

(11) Ụlọ ọcha ọma ānyị N.A.A.P.
'our beautiful white house'
(12) Ụlọ ọcha ọma ānyị ātọ N.A.A.P.Nm.
'our three beautiful white houses'

Demonstratives: Two demonstrative modifiers in Igbo, and neither one (apparently) inflects for number
P71: S, SCS = V, VCV


This is a very small class made up of the two deictics only. These two deictic words have an S and a SCS structures respectively:

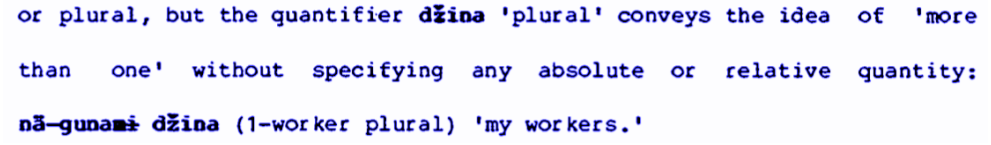
à 'this'
ahụ (afụ) 'that'

P81 here is a nominally plural DP with a singular demonstrative after it.


(14) Ụlọ ọcha ọma ānyị ātọ niile ahụ N.A.A.P.Nm.Q.D.
'all those our three beautiful white houses'
(15) Ụlọ ọcha ọma ānyị ātọ niile ahụ dụm N.A.A.P.Nm.Q.D.Q.
'all those our three beautiful white houses in houses in their entirety'

ika - Ika / Arhuaco (Frank 1985)

Gender: none
Number: Nouns are not marked as singular or plural (p39), but there's a plural word.


or plural, but the quantifier **džina** 'plural' conveys the idea of 'more than one' without specifying any absolute or relative quantity:

nã-gunami džina (1-worker plural) 'my workers.'

Case: some; all peripheral

Adjectives: a small # of adjectives can be used my themselves to modify nouns, N-Adj p26

```
(41) chokuɨ     aroma
     gourd.bowl empty

     'empty dish'
```

Other adjectives, when attributive, muyst appear in something that looks RC like.

```
(43) Aná'nuga (avän' kava) guákä-ža.
     animal    big   seem  kill-med

     'It kills big animals/animals that are big.'
```

Numerals: appears to be Num-N (p40)

```
(66) in    mouga kintari
     corn two   sack

     'two sacks of corn'
```

mouga džuna inguãnɨ (two kind path)

P44: a numeral with no case-marking

```
(81) In'gui tšeirua-se'-ri  wakuma-ri  guako-u-na.
     one    man-erg-top     skunk-top  kill-aux-dist

     'A man killed a skunk.'
```

Jk, p. 41 he says they may precede or follow depending on definiteness. Exx from p. 42

```
(72) a.  Mouga tšeirua-ri  meina  ri-zori-e'-ri,
         two   man-top     stream 3plS-go-then-top

         'Two men went along the stream,...'

     b.  Tigri  perɨ mouga nä-kä-gga     a-u'     no?
         jaguar dog  two   1O-periph-eat aux-neg  ig

         'The jaguar ate my two dogs, didn't it?'
```

Demonstratives: no mention of number-differentiated forms, and here's this table

```
äža     'this/that one'     (anaphoric)
eima    'this/that one'     (being pointed to)
žama    'that one'          (choice among alternatives)
žɨka    'that one there'    (alternative farther away)
```

Table 6 Demonstrative pronouns.

P44

```
(80) Eima kusárɨ-ri   an-a-g-u'-nän            u-na.
     this deer-top    pt.ref-12plS-eat-neg-aux aux-dist

     'We did not eat the deer.'
```

P110 a form with plural reference, but no plural-marking

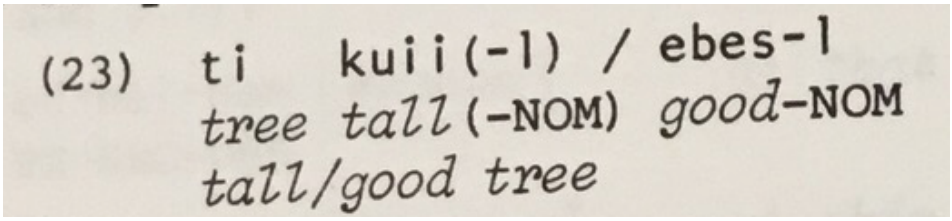
```
(204)                  LEXICAL-NEG TAG
     Eima-ri  džuirí   a'za-'      no.
     that-top soft     cop-neg     ig

     '"These are not soft, are they."' (literal)
     'These are soft, aren't they.'
```

imo - Imonda (Seiler 1985)

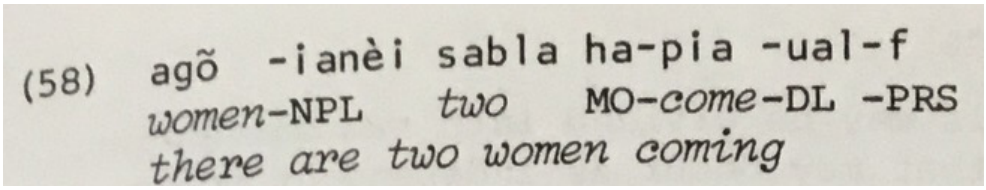
Gender: none
Number: Only a few nouns have number (p.36)
Case: exists, but it is peripheral in DP

Adjectives: generally follow; no special number marking mentioned and didn't find an adjective modifying an overtly pl noun.

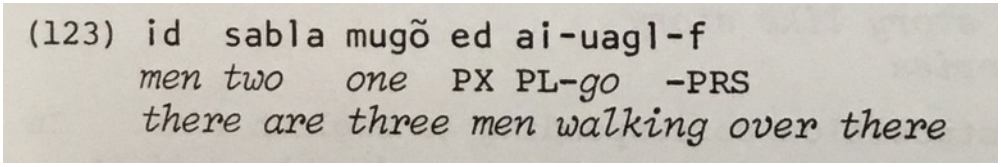


NB: this "NOM" is not nominative. It's "nominalizer" and many adjectives must be used with a nominalizer suffix.

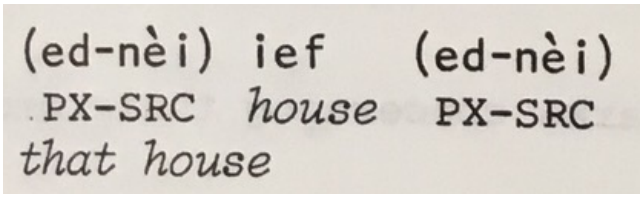
Numerals: come after the noun; no special marking on the numeral
P.39



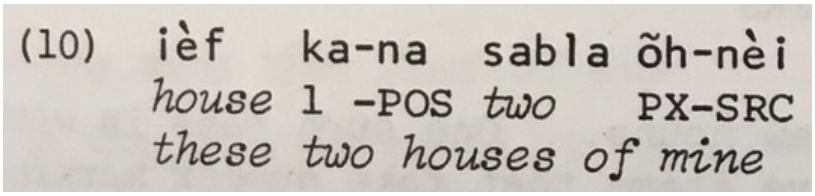
P50: "Australian" number system (i.e., base 2)



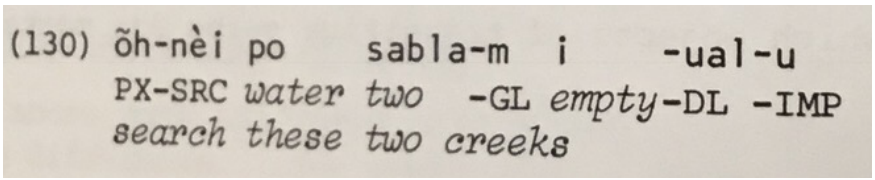
Demonstratives: I didn't find any demonstratives modifying overtly plural-marked nouns (that would be hard to find).
P61: dem can appear on either side of noun

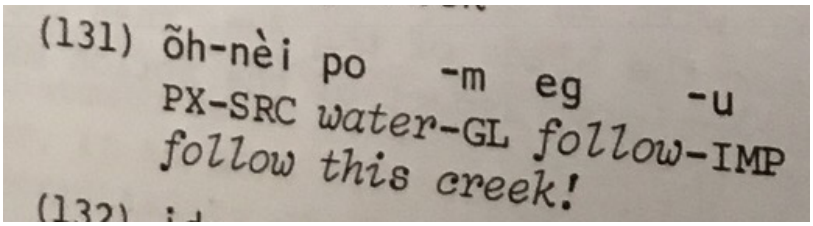


P61: dem modifyning NP with plural reference; still no form change



p164 a minimal-ish pair





ind - Indonesian

(Examples from *Indonesian - A Comprehensive Grammar* by Sneddon)

There's no discussion in the texts about any case marking or gender in Indonesian at all.

No concord on demonstratives.

2.7 The demonstratives **ini** 'this' and **itu** 'that' follow the head noun. As they do not distinguish between one and more than one they also translate 'these' and 'those' respectively:

buku ini this book
kedua buku ini these two books
negeri itu that country
negeri-negeri itu those countries

Demonstratives can occur with all classes of nouns including proper nouns:

Jakarta ini this (city of) Jakarta
Siti itu that (girl) Siti

(p 129)

Explicitly denies gender concord. No definiteness marker, and no other apparent markings or affixes.

No concord on adjectives.

rumah besar a big house (p 146)

rumah sakit hospital
imigran gelap illegal immigrant (p 146)

Unfortunately, there weren't many examples of adjectives, as the system is quite simple in Indonesian. However, we can see that /rumah/ 'big' appears in two examples and has no particular features affixed to it in either case.

No marking on the numbers whatsoever. Mention is made of 'definite' and 'indefinite' numbers; but 'indefinite' numbers are words like "some" and "many," not numerals.

2.14 A cardinal number precedes a count noun (see 2.3) to indicate the number of things being referred to:

dua orang two people **sepuluh kota** ten towns (p 132)

However, counting particles can be suffixed to numbers. Only three are in common use, though many exist, and they are most often used for the singular. Ah, ok, these are like

classifiers then. Interesting that only 3 are in common use but many more “exist”?? I wonder to what extent they exist.

classifier. Only three classifiers are in frequent use:
orang used with humans : **seorang guru** a teacher
ekor used with living creatures : **dua ekor ular/ikan/kucing** two snakes/fish/cats
buah used with inanimate things : **tiga buah meja/pena/rumah** three tables/pens/houses

(p 135)

ing - Ingush

I’ve studied Ingush so much that these facts are burned in my brain. Demonstratives can show number and case concord, numerals can show gender and case concord, adjectives can show gender, number, and case concord. Great discussion in Nichols’s (2011) grammar.

iri - Irish

Irish (Doyle)

Adjectives have concord in case, number, and gender.

2.1.1.3. The attributive adjective

Attributive adjectives follow their noun, agreeing with it in case, number and gender. As with the noun, morphological marking is manifested by affixation, vowel modification, and initial mutations.

(p 34)

Table 10

		Sg.		Pl.
		Masc.	Fem.	Masc. and Fem.
a) bán 'white'	Nom.	bán	bán	bána
	Gen.	báin	báine	bána
b) bacach 'lame'	Nom.	bacach	bacach	bacacha
	Gen.	bacaigh	bacaí	bacacha
c) mín 'nice'	Nom.	mín	mín	míne
	Gen.	mín	míne	míne

In the second declension, the genitive feminine singular is formed by depalatalisation and the addition of **-a**, like in the third declension of nouns, while the masculine remains unaltered. The plural is the same as the genitive singular:

Table 11

		Sg.		Pl.
		Masc.	Fem.	Masc. and Fem.
a) dathúil 'good-looking'	Nom.	dathúil	dathúil	dathúla
	Gen.	dathúil	dathúla	dathúla
b) socair 'steady'	Nom.	socair	socair	socra
	Gen.	socair	socra	socra

The third declension consists of adjectives ending in a vowel. These do not undergo any changes.

No apparent concord on demonstratives -- same system as in Gaelic.

Demonstrative adjectives consist of two parts - the article and an enclitic on the noun:

(11)

a) an fear seo
the man this
'this man'

b) an bhean sin
the woman that
'that woman'

c) an cailín úd
the girl yon
'yon girl'

(p 40)

Numerals also don't seem to have concord -- again like Gaelic.

55

Numerals also are used to modify nouns. For the most part, these modifying numerals are the same as those used in counting, but there are occasional differences, e.g. 2, 4. Another point is that numerals mutate the nouns they precede: 1-6 cause lenition, and 7-10 eclipsis. The noun is in the singular, not the plural, after numerals.

Note the lack of inflection on /dha/ 'two'.

(31) dhá mhuic
two pig-Dual
'two pigs'

(p 55)

irq - Iraqw (Mous 1993:5) (Mous, 1993)
Gender: Three
Number: sg/pl
Case: "Exclusively borderline case marking" (WALS)

Adjectives:

with the subject, not in number; see 3.1. Adjectives show agreement in number with the head noun. The adjective has a singular and a plural form. Adjectival agreement is on a semantic basis. Every noun has to fit in one of the categories of number: singular or plural. Some nouns can be in either, but with a difference in meaning. We will come back to this in the discussion of the collective suffixes (3.2.4.1.). The following sentences show that the adjective agrees in number with the head noun.

hhaysáa tléer 'a long tail'; **hhaysér tlet** 'long tails'
garmoó úr 'a big boy'; **daaqóo urén** 'big boys'

Pg. 44

Here the book makes the claim that adjectives agree in number with their noun. (order is N-Adj). The set of examples given below the paragraph demonstrate the way the nouns change into plural and how the adjectives likewise change to match.

aaʾí	**tléer**	**kúung**	**u**	**hlakaat-im-is-iyáʾ.**
trip:CON	long	2.SG.M	O.M	tired-DUR-CAUS-3:PL

'A long journey (n) makes you tired.'

aʾáa	**tlét**	**kúung**	**u**	**hlakaat-im-is-iyáʾ.**
journeys:CON	long:PL	2.SG.M	O.M	tired-DUR-CAUS-3:PL

"Long journeys (n) make you tired." (Translation from bottom sentence)

Pg. 203

This example shows how the adjective 'long' changes in the context of a sentence to reflect the plurality of 'journeys' from the first sentence to the second sentence.

phrase.

maká	**gadá**	**ninakw**
animals:N:CON	forests:N:CON	small:PL

'The small forest animals'

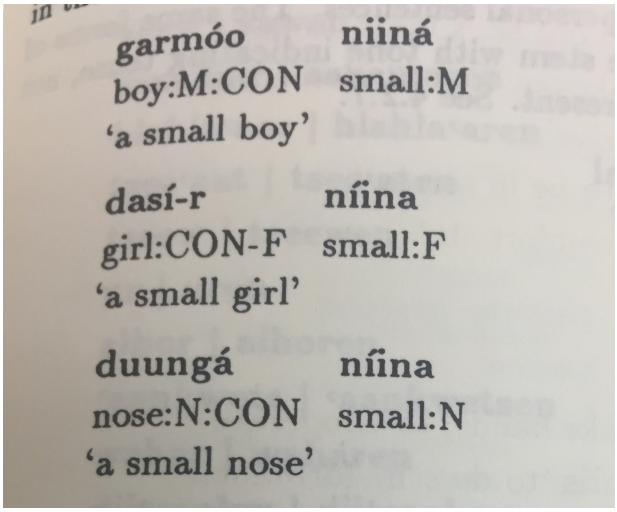
Pg. 229

This is another example of a plural marker glossed as being attached to an adjective for a plural noun.

the noun. In both constructions adjectives agree in gender and in number with the noun. The gender agreement is purely tonal. Adjectives modifying a masculine noun, (m) or (m1), have a high tone on the final syllable. Adjectives modifying a feminine noun, (f) or (f1), or a neuter (n) noun have a low final syllable. Gender is also marked in the linker that is suffixed to the modified noun, and, in the predicative construction, the object pronoun. Plural adjectives carry a plural suffix.

Pg. 203

Mous says here that adjectives agree in gender with their noun via tone differences.

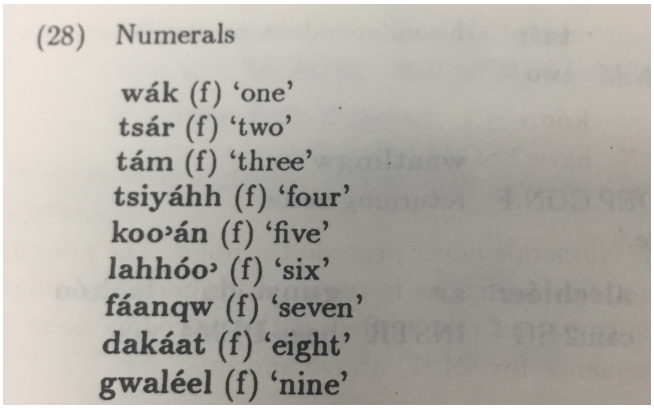


garmóo	niiná
boy:M:CON	small:M
'a small boy'	
dasí-r	níina
girl:CON-F	small:F
'a small girl'	
duungá	níina
nose:N:CON	small:N
'a small nose'	

Pg. 203

The difference in the adjective 'small' here is demonstrated with the accent on different places given the gender of the noun. The adjectives are glossed as reflecting gender. I think this is the best method the author has of showing the variants in tone he explained in the paragraph above. In summary, adjectives appear to inflect for number and for gender.

Numerals:

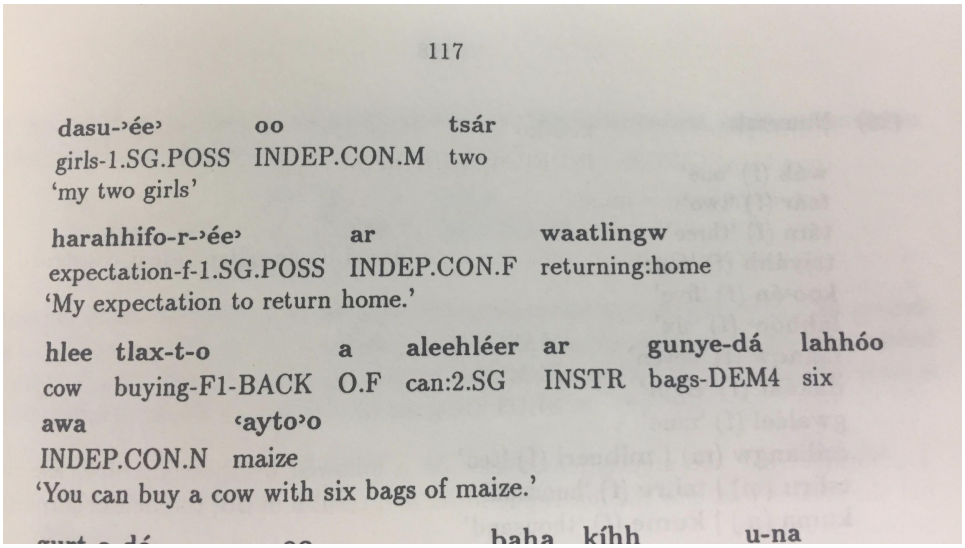


(28) Numerals

wák (f) 'one'
tsár (f) 'two'
tám (f) 'three'
tsiyáhh (f) 'four'
koo›án (f) 'five'
lahhóo› (f) 'six'
fáanqw (f) 'seven'
dakáat (f) 'eight'
gwaléel (f) 'nine'

Pg. 118

Here is a list of the Iraqw numerals for reference for the following examples.



117

dasu-›ée›	**oo**	**tsár**
girls-1.SG.POSS	INDEP.CON.M	two

'my two girls'

harahhifo-r-›ée›	**ar**	**waatlingw**
expectation-f-1.SG.POSS	INDEP.CON.F	returning:home

'My expectation to return home.'

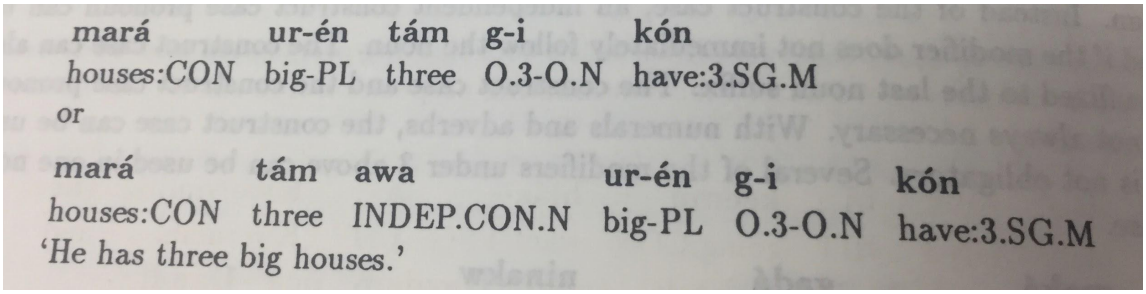
hlee	**tlax-t-o**	**a**	**aleehléer**	**ar**	**gunye-dá**	**lahhóo**
cow	buying-F1-BACK	O.F	can:2.SG	INSTR	bags-DEM4	six

awa	**‹ayto›o**
INDEP.CON.N	maize

'You can buy a cow with six bags of maize.'

Pg. 117

The top sentence shows the word for 'two' being unmarked for number, gender, or case. Likewise, the third sentence shows the word for 'six' as unmarked for agreement.



marán	**ur-én**	**tám**	**g-i**	**kón**
houses:CON	big-PL	three	O.3-O.N	have:3.SG.M

or

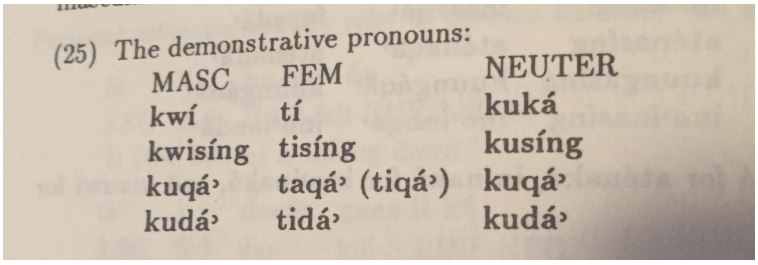
marán	**tám**	**awa**	**ur-én**	**g-i**	**kón**
houses:CON	three	INDEP.CON.N	big-PL	O.3-O.N	have:3.SG.M

'He has three big houses.'

Pg. 230

Once again, 'three' is unmarked for any agreement for number or gender.

Demonstratives:

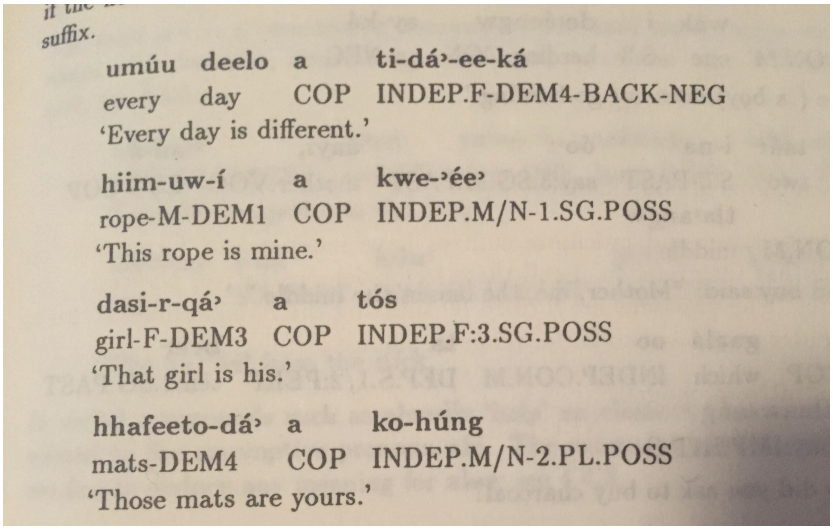


(25) The demonstrative pronouns:

MASC	FEM	NEUTER
kwí	**tí**	**kuká**
kwisíng	**tisíng**	**kusíng**
kuqá›	**taqá› (tiqá›)**	**kuqá›**
kudá›	**tidá›**	**kudá›**

Pg. 114

Here is a list of the demonstrative pronouns. These forms are used when the noun is referred to earlier in the sentence or if the referent is absent but understood. The top row is referred to as DEM1 in glosses, the second row DEM2, the third as DEM3, and the fourth as DEM4.



suffix.

umúu	**deelo**	**a**	**ti-dá›-ee-ká**
every	day	COP	INDEP.F-DEM4-BACK-NEG

'Every day is different.'

hiim-uw-í	**a**	**kwe-›ée›**
rope-M-DEM1	COP	INDEP.M/N-1.SG.POSS

'This rope is mine.'

dasi-r-qá›	**a**	**tós**
girl-F-DEM3	COP	INDEP.F:3.SG.POSS

'That girl is his.'

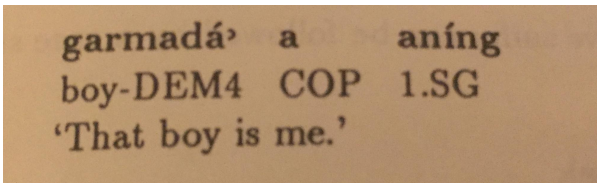
hhafeeto-dá›	**a**	**ko-húng**
mats-DEM4	COP	INDEP.M/N-2.PL.POSS

'Those mats are yours.'

Pg. 115

Here are examples used with nouns. When the demonstratives are used attributively, they are suffixed to the end of the noun, and only the ending of the demonstrative is present. Gender is exhibited by a linker that appears between the noun and suffix, such as the masculine linker 'uw' in the second sentence or the feminine linker 'r' for the third. However, the demonstrative suffixes themselves are indistinguishable for gender so they cannot be shown to have concord for gender.

The demonstratives also cannot be said to have concord for number since the different forms of the demonstratives do not correlate to different numbers.

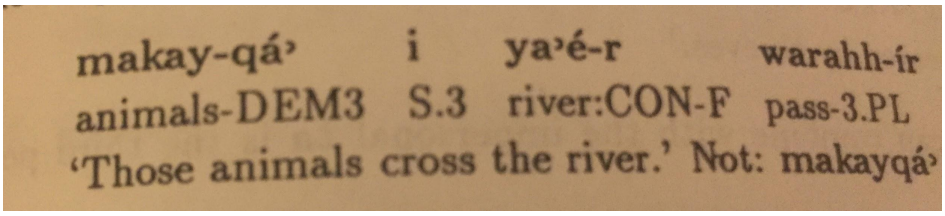


garmadá›	**a**	**aníng**
boy-DEM4	COP	1.SG

'That boy is me.'

Pg. 113

In this example, DEM4 is translated as 'that,' when in the last sentence of the example above, DEM4 was translated as 'those.' This difference in number is explained by the plurality of the noun rather than the plurality of the demonstrative.



makay-qá›	**i**	**ya›é-r**	**warahh-ír**
animals-DEM3	S.3	river:CON-F	pass-3.PL

'Those animals cross the river.' Not: makayqá›

Pg. 137

Here DEM3 is translated as ‘those’ when in the first example at the top of this section, there is a sentence where DEM3 is translated as ‘that.’ Once again, this shows that demonstratives do not convey in themselves information about the plurality of the noun.

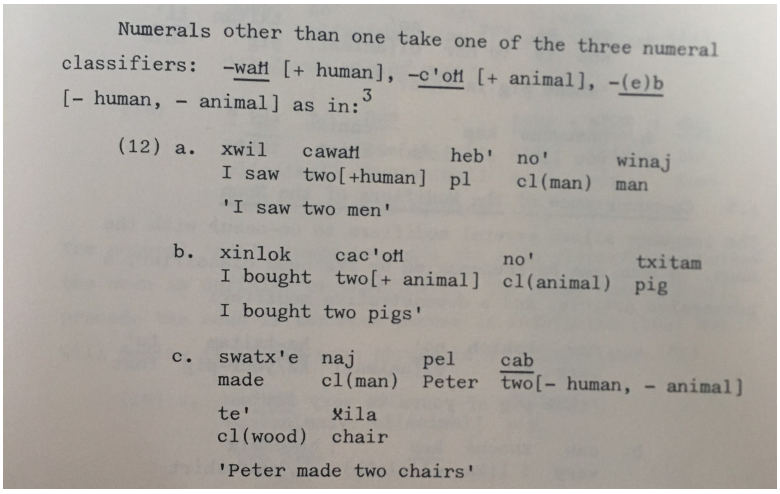
Modifiers of nouns and pronouns also agree in gender with the head noun. Demonstrative suffixes, for example, are preceded by a linker agreeing with the gender of the noun. Demonstrative pronouns agree in gender with the noun they refer to, see (3).

(3) Gender

tsamas	giraffe	tsamas-u-qá'	ku-qá'	M
dasi	girl	dasi-r-qá'	ta-qá'	F

jak - Jakaltek (Grinevald Craig 1977: 127-128, 137, 154)

Jakaltek (Popti’) has a system of classifiers, which are not gender on their own, but numerals greater than two change to match the gender of the noun (fewer distinctions made than in the classifier system) 137 (note: I classified this language as not showing concord, but that appears to have been an error)



Numerals other than one take one of the three numeral classifiers: -waɬ [+ human], -c'oɬ [+ animal], -(e)b [- human, - animal] as in:[3]

(12) a. xwil cawaɬ heb' no' winaj
I saw two[+human] pl cl(man) man
'I saw two men'

b. xinlok cac'oɬ no' txitam
I bought two[+ animal] cl(animal) pig
I bought two pigs'

c. swatx'e naj pel cab
made cl(man) Peter two[- human, - animal]
te' xila
cl(wood) chair
'Peter made two chairs'

jpn - Japanese

Personal knowledge; no concord

juh - Ju|'hoan (Dickens 2005)

Gender: 5 genders, at least partially unpredictable
Number: Sg/Pl
Case: none

Adjectives: Adjectives can be plural, and in some cases, they cause the plural-marking on the noun to go away. But in at least some contexts, plural is marked on both N and A. Adjectives follow nouns.
(p30)

Jú n!ànì tsí.	Three people have come.
Dà'ábí !xàrè ǀóá ho !há jàn.	Some children didn't get good meat.

Child: sg *dà'ámá*, pl *dà'ábí* or *dà'ábísí*, so it is plural here
Person: sg *jù*, pl *jú* direction of the accent

P. 30: showing that plural is sometimes left off of noun

4. Deletion of ***-sì*** *or* ***-sín*** *from nouns in plural expressions*

In plural cases where the noun would ordinarily end on **-sì** or **-sín**, these endings are left out and the plural function is carried by the adjective alone, for example:

dshàú gèsín (not: *dshàúsì gèsín)	the remaining woman
bá jànsín (not: *básín jànsín)	good fathers
tjù zésín (not: *tjùsì zésín)	new houses
!aìhn waqnsì (not: *!aìhnsì waqnsì)	all the trees

pXX (need to order the book; towards the back IIRC)

with adjectives

tjù zé	a new house
tjù zésín	new houses
jù jàn	a good person
jú jànsín	good people

Notice plural form of *jú* is preserved

Numerals: Numerals don't distinguish plural or singular forms, but they do occur with plural nouns (unless that noun's plural ends in *-sì* or *-sín*. See above for plural form, below for loss of plural. (p88)

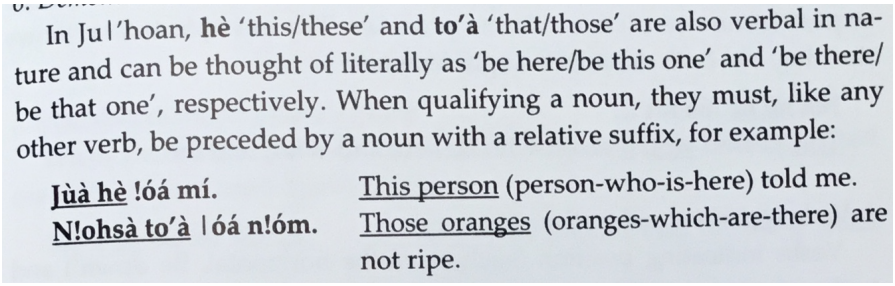
Mí gù ǂxanù nǀè'é.	I took one book.
Mí nǀhuì ǂxanù n!ànì.	I took three books.

The plural of book (p27) is ǂ*xanùsì*. The *-sì* is lost because it is followed by an "adjective"

No page number but here's another example

Jú tsán gèà tjù n!áng. There are two people in the house.

Demonstratives: Kind of complicated. The main demonstratives in the language are verbs. (p49)

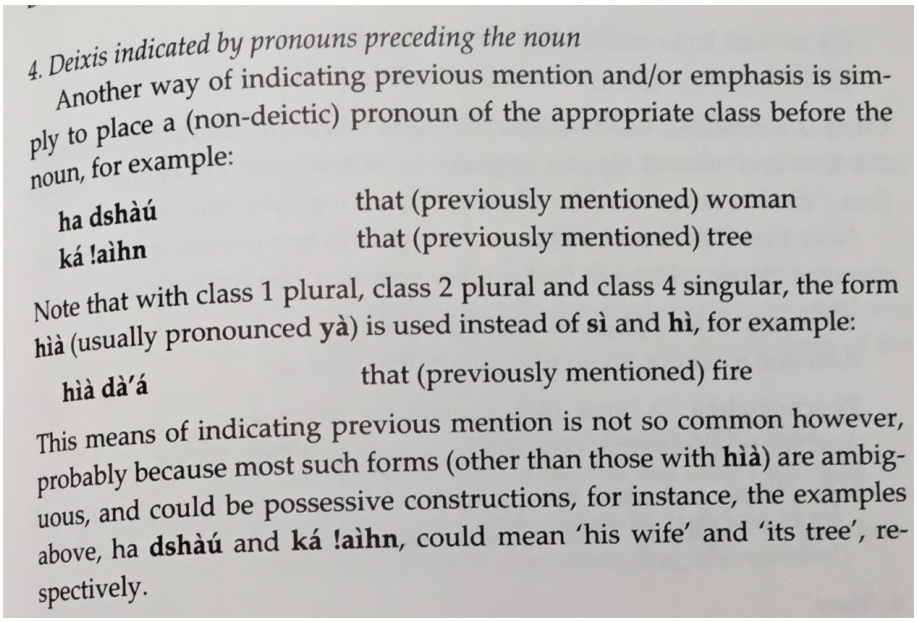


In Ju|'hoan, **hè** 'this/these' and **to'à** 'that/those' are also verbal in nature and can be thought of literally as 'be here/be this one' and 'be there/be that one', respectively. When qualifying a noun, they must, like any other verb, be preceded by a noun with a relative suffix, for example:

Jùà hè !óá mí.	This person (person-who-is-here) told me.
N!ohsà to'à |óá n!óm.	Those oranges (oranges-which-are-there) are not ripe.

There is some plural marking here--- it's just on the relativizer *à/sà*, not on the demonstrative verb.

However, there is one case where an ordinary pronoun (which agrees in gender) can be used to indicate previous reference, and in this case, it agrees in gender+number (p63)



4. Deixis indicated by pronouns preceding the noun

Another way of indicating previous mention and/or emphasis is simply to place a (non-deictic) pronoun of the appropriate class before the noun, for example:

ha dshàú	that (previously mentioned) woman
ká !aìhn	that (previously mentioned) tree

Note that with class 1 plural, class 2 plural and class 4 singular, the form **hìà** (usually pronounced **yà**) is used instead of **sì** and **hì**, for example:

hìà dà'á	that (previously mentioned) fire

This means of indicating previous mention is not so common however, probably because most such forms (other than those with **hìà**) are ambiguous, and could be possessive constructions, for instance, the examples above, ha **dshàú** and **ká !aìhn**, could mean 'his wife' and 'its tree', respectively.

kay - Kayardild (Evans 1995? Evans 1985?)

Gender: None

Number: (p184) possessive pronoun with number concord (LOT = number). This is the only example in the grammar. Does say on p. 183 "Number suffixes display concord over the whole NP, except where the LOT suffix co-occurs with the quantity nominal *muthaa* 'many'." BUT also says "number marking is optional on nouns/adjectives but

obligatory on pronouns (5.2.1)" ALSO, finally, coded in WALS as having no nominal plural. So… maybe it's a derivational plural?

(4-163) *jina-a* *ngumban-bala* *karndi-wala*
where-NOM your-LOT(NOM) wife-LOT(NOM)
'Where are your wives?'

P.480 another one with the possessive pronoun

(11-64) *Wulkatharri* *bath-in-ki* *durrwaa-ja* *ngardarrji*
[place] west-from-MLOC chase-ACT pregnant.dugong(MLOC)

ngakin-da *murrukurnangk,*
1INC.POSS-NOM [triang. kin term]

bath-in-ki *bal-umban-ji ,* *niwan-jiyarrng-kinaba-ya*
west-from-MLOC west-ORIG-MLOC 3sgPOSS-DU-ABL-MLOC

jibarna-yarrng-kinaba-ya *birdiru-thirrin-ji*
uncle.in.law-DU-ABL-MLOC miss-RES-MLOC

'At Wulkatharri the one who was your father and my second cousin chased a pregnant dugong from the west, one from the west that had been missed by his two uncles-in-law.'

Case: yes; case concord

Adjectives: case concord (at least) (p143) case concord on an adjective: big-ABL person-ABL

(4-35) *nga-l-da* *marri-ja* *kang-ki* *jungarra-na* *dangka-na.*
1-pl-NOM hear-ACT story-MLOC big-ABL person-ABL
'We heard the story from the old people.'

[The lack of MLOC after the ABLative shows it is not to be interpreted adnominally as 'the old people's story'.]

p161 : MPROP = Modal Proprietive

(4-101) *ngada* *jungarra-wu* *wangalk-u* *barrki-ju*
1sgNOM big-MPROP boomerang-MPROP chop-POT

dangka-walany-marra-wu *bala-n-ku*
person-LOT-UTIL-MPROP hit-N-MPROP

'I will make a big boomerang for hitting lots of people.'

Numerals: case concord (at least) on numerals
(p236)

(6-8) *dathin-a* *kiyarrng-ka* *jungarra* *nal-da* *banga-a*
that-NOM two-NOM bigNOM head-NOM turtle-NOM
(Determiner) (Number) (Qualifier) (Part) (Whole)
'Those two big turtle heads.'

Demonstratives: (p119) case concord (dem, adj, poss) and case stacking!!

(3-54)	[[*dan-karra-nguni*	*maku-karra-nguni*]$_{GEN}$	*mirra-nguni*	*mijil-nguni*]$_{INSTR}$
	this-GEN-INSTR	woman-GEN-INSTR	good-INSTR	net-INSTR

'with [[this woman's] good net] ...'

(p151)

(4-59)	*dathin-karra*	*maku-karra*	*kularrin-da*	*kurrka-th*
	that-GEN	woman-GEN	brother-NOM	take-ACT

'That woman's brother took (it).'

p. 214 - Here's an example with a demonstrative but no LOT (i.e., number) concord. There's no mention of number forms of demonstratives when they're introduced on p. 206

(5-59)	*dathin-a*	*kuna-walad-a*	*nal-iya*	*kamarr-iya*	*wirrka-j*
	that-NOM	child-LOT-NOM	top-LOC	stone-LOC	play-ACT

'Those children are playing on top of the stones.'

ker - Kera

Gender: 2 (m, f, collective/plural)
Number: 2
Case: unclear/none

All examples from Ebert 1979.

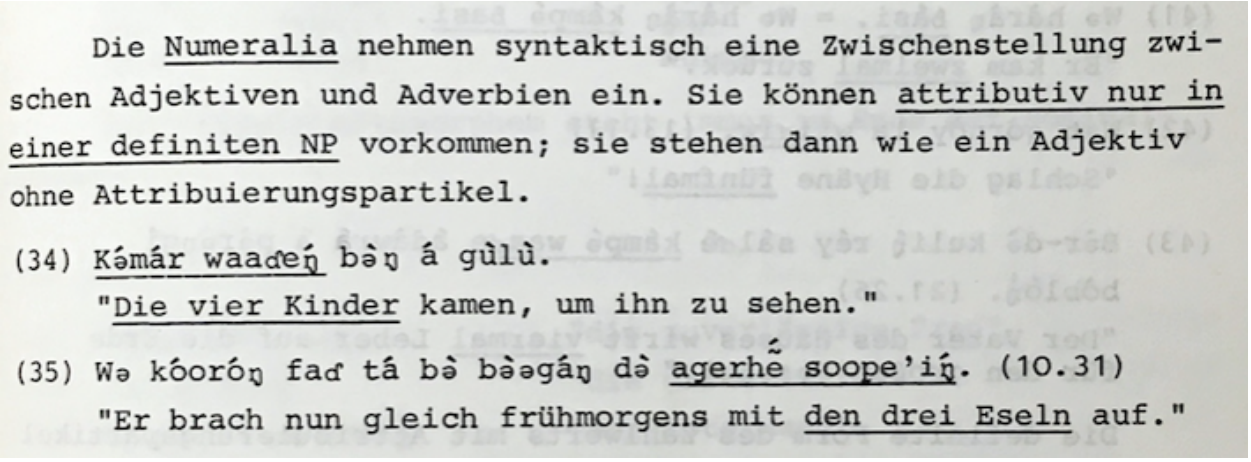
Adjectives: Agree in gender and possibly number, although I didn't find an adjective with an obviously plural noun (this one is collective) (Pg. 159)

(2)	kul bɔ̀blɔ́	(m)	"ein großes Haus"
	tə́əyə́ mɔ́tɔ̀	(f)	"eine große Kalebasse"
	kan kə́mtə́ŋ	(col)	"ein großes Gewässer

Adjectives agree in gender and possibly number. Here the adjective meaning "big" appears following the noun and agreeing with the gender of the noun in form. English translations of German glosses in order are: "a big house", "a big gourd", "a big body of

water”. Many adjectives have different prefixes and suffixes as well as vowel harmony based on the gender, giving them sometimes dramatically different forms.

Numerals: no evidence or discussion of gender/number agreement Pg. 163



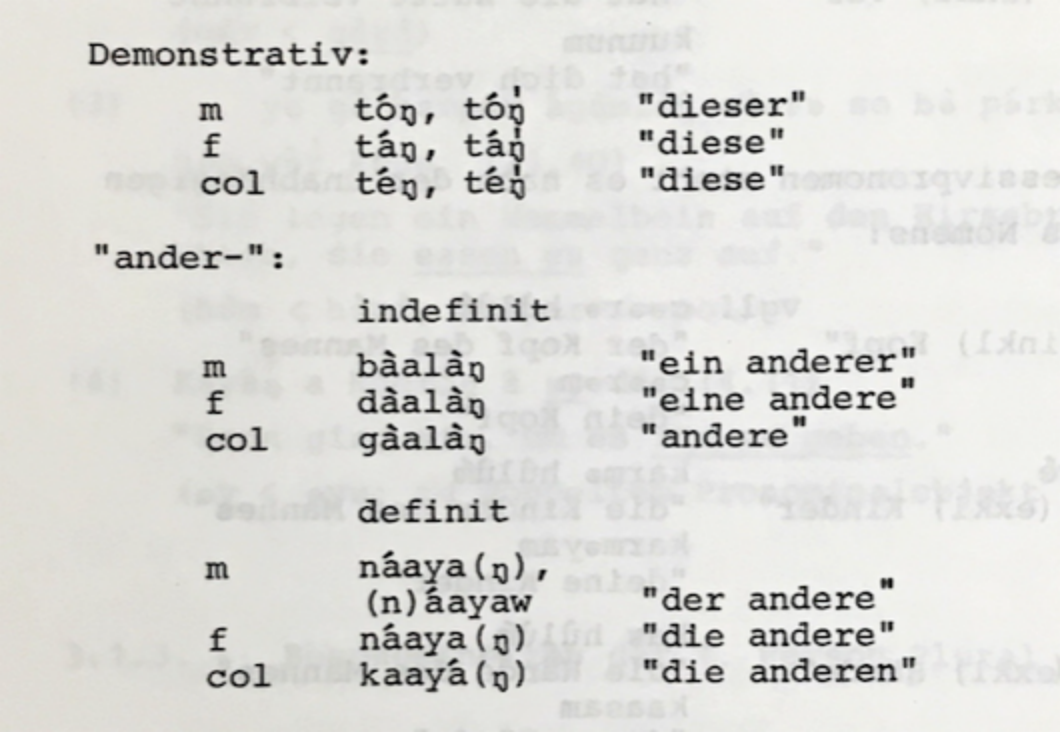
Die Numeralia nehmen syntaktisch eine Zwischenstellung zwischen Adjektiven und Adverbien ein. Sie können attributiv nur in einer definiten NP vorkommen; sie stehen dann wie ein Adjektiv ohne Attribuierungspartikel.

(34) Kə́már waaɗeŋ̀ bə̀ŋ á gùlù.
"Die vier Kinder kamen, um ihn zu sehen."

(35) Wə kóoróŋ faɗ tá bə̀ bə̀əgáŋ də̀ agerhe̋ soope'iŋ̀. (10.31)
"Er brach nun gleich frühmorgens mit den drei Eseln auf."

The prose at the beginning states that numerals are attributive only when they appear in definite noun phrases. Numerals have separate definite forms, taking the form of engma at the end of the word, but since they will always be definite when attributive, I didn't think this counted as concord. The example in (34) means “The four children came in order to see him”, and has the noun *kemar* ‘children’ followed by the numeral four with an engma. The example in (35) means “He left early in the morning with the three donkeys” and has the noun *agerhe* ‘donkeys’ followed by the numeral three with an engma. There is no discussion or evidence of gender or number agreement for numerals.

Demonstratives: reflect gender and “number” in the collective form (Pg. 136)



Demonstrativ:

m	tóŋ, tó'ŋ	"dieser"
f	táŋ, tá'ŋ	"diese"
col	téŋ, té'ŋ	"diese"

"ander-":

indefinit

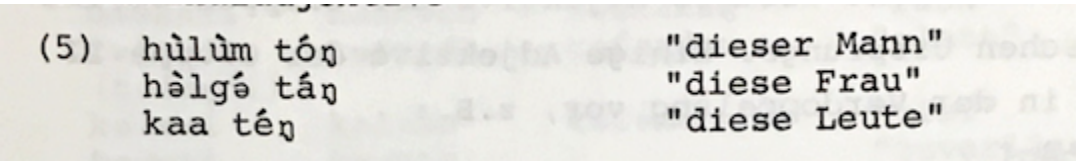
m	bàalàŋ	"ein anderer"
f	dàalàŋ	"eine andere"
col	gàalàŋ	"andere"

definit

m	náaya(ŋ), (n)áayaw	"der andere"
f	náaya(ŋ)	"die andere"
col	kaayá(ŋ)	"die anderen"

Additionally, it is unclear to me whether the “ander-” words count as demonstratives, in which case there would be definiteness agreement. “Ander-” is translated to “other” usually in English and is separated in the table, which makes me inclined to think that they are not the same as demonstratives, but they are put with the other demonstrative meaning “this” in their own example section and the intended meaning could also be something like “those”. However, if it was “those”, I would have expected “jen-” to be used instead of “ander-”.

Pg. 160



(5)

hùlùm tóŋ	"dieser Mann"
hèlgə́ táŋ	"diese Frau"
kaa téŋ	"diese Leute"

The demonstratives meaning “this” used after the nouns and agreeing with gender and also possibly number. (The last is collective form). English translations of German glosses in order are: “this man”, “this woman”, “these people”.

ket - Ket

Demonstratives show clear gender and number concord.

Vajda 2004, pg 80

Demonstrative pronouns show class and number concord with their head noun: *tū-ɾ hə́nà hiˀp* 'that-M little boy'; *tú-ɾə̄ hə́nà huˀn* 'that-F little daughter'; *tú-nə̄ hə́nà sáà-n* 'those-AN.PL little squirrels'. The numeral 'one' has distinct forms for animate-class referents (*qoˀk*

In the above examples, the demonstrative has a different ending based on the gender and number of the noun it modifies. There are three genders, m, f, and n, but only a two way distinction in plural between animate (m and f) and inanimate (n).

Adjectives seem to show number concord according to Georg 2007, but according to Vajda 2004 it's not "real" concord.

Georg 2007 pg 138

(105)

qà ássel	:	*qēŋ ásse-n*
big animal	:	big\PL animal-PL

(106)

úkde ōks	:	*úkde-ŋ aˀq*
long stick	:	long-PL stick\PL

Different endings/forms for adjective in plural versus singular can be seen above.

Vajda 2004, pg 80

The plural suffix that appears on a few adjectives denoting tangible qualities (e.g., *qà-ŋ deˀŋ* 'big men') is used optionally as a distributive marker to impart a special vividness to the narration; it is not an example of true number concord within the noun phrase. Only

Georg admits that the plural ending is optional, but Vajda takes it further and says it is not indicative of "true" concord. Vividness!! I'm fine with saying this is concord, but optional concord. We basically don't know anything about optional concord. It sounds totally reasonable to me that there would be subtle semantic/pragmatic effects (or however else one might characterize "vividness") in languages where concord is optional. It al

Georg (2007) says only numeral 1 has concord, and it only is for gender (pg. 179)

Pg. 315 : Example of a numeral from Georg (2007)

ábaŋta do$^{?}$ŋ kéŋasse-ŋ
I\ADESS three bird-PL
I have three birds.

P. 178 : another example from Georg (2007)

(223)

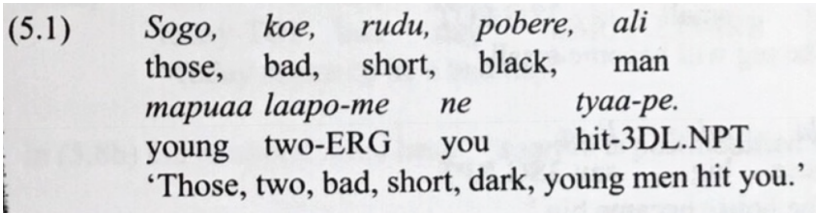
ɨ̄n kóska-n [du]^{8}-toqtad^{7}-o^{4}-[i]l^{2}-bed̲-in qókdu qo$^{?}$k
two cat-PL 3-chase-Th-Pst-make-PL one-PR3m one.m
Two cats chased each other.

Though these numerals both end in nasals, which is the characteristic plural suffix in Ket, there are other numerals (e.g., *sīk* 'four', *qāk* 'five') which do not look plural in any way in my opinion)

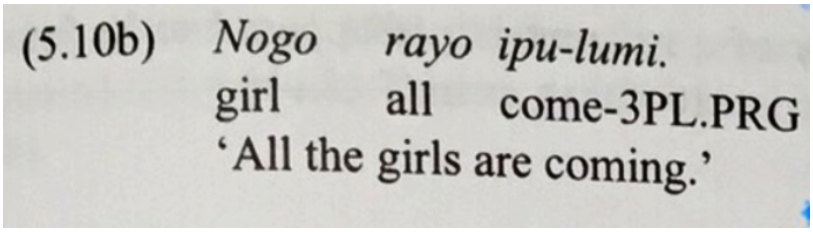
kew - Kewa/Kewapi (Yarapea 2006)

A little bit inconclusive because Yarapea rarely gives plural-marked nouns in complex DPs, but here's what I found

(p87): here the demonstrative is a singular form (paradigm on p43); notice that case-marking is not duplicated


(5.1) *Sogo, koe, rudu, pobere, ali*
those, bad, short, black, man
mapuaa laapo-me ne tyaa-pe.
young two-ERG you hit-3DL.NPT
'Those, two, bad, short, dark, young men hit you.'

(p91): no plural marking on noun or quantifier here with a plural verb.


(5.10b) *Nogo rayo ipu-lumi.*
girl all come-3PL.PRG
'All the girls are coming.'

(p91): brief mention of demonstratives with no mention of morphological forms.

(5.12a) *Nógó* *nogo* *na* *wane.*
that (distant) girl my daughter
'That distant girl (is) my daughter.'

(5.12b) *Mogo-de* *ada* *ela-e.*
that-DEF house build-2SG.NPT
'You built that distant house.'

(p99) Pretty cool number system, but it isn't used in examples with complex DPs.

(5.29a) *naaki pameda* 'boy one = one boy'
(5.29b) *naaki-lopo* 'boy-DL = two boys'
(5.29c) *kaai-abo* 'banana-PAUC = a few bananas'
(5.29d) *repona-nu* 'tree-PL = trees'
(5.29e) *nogónaaki-repa* 'children-GRP = a group of children'

kfe - Koromfe (Rennison 1997: 261, 287)

(647) mə jɔ̃ɔ̃ndɔ dɔɔrɛ
PRON. 1SG. elder sibling + SG. long + SG.
'my tall older sibling'

(648) mə jɔ̃ɔ̃ndəba dɔɔja
PRON. 1SG. elder sibling + PL. long + PL.
'my tall older siblings'

So, here we have adjectives agreeing in number...

(609) gɔ pa a bɛnna bu
PRON. 3SG. NON-HUM. give ART. male + PL. child + PL.

bɛŋgɛ dɔrɔ fãã nɛ a bããni la a
LONG DET. HUM. PL. all all to (POSTPOS.) ART. health (SG.) and ART.

kɛ̃na bɛŋgɛ la a beliʌ
woman + PL. LONG DET. HUM. PL. and ART. child + PL.

bɛŋgɛ
LONG DET. HUM. PL.

'It gives health to all these boys and these women and these children.'

(610) a jemdi hoŋgo kɔ̃ wɛ̃nɛ
ART. hippopotamus + SG. LONG DET. HUM. SG. when (CONJ.) plait + PAST

(a) jondii də zãŋ a tife
ART. (*elided*) rope + PL. PRON. 3SG. HUM. take ART. elephant + SG.

kɔŋ jondo də ja dɔ̃ɛ̃ la
DET. NON-HUM. SG. rope + SG. PRON. 3SG. HUM. go attach with (PREP.)

a jemdi koŋgo jondo
ART. hippopotamus + SG. LONG DET. NON-HUM. SG. rope + SG.

'When that hippopotamus had made some ropes he took the elephant's rope and went and tied (it) to that hippopotamus's rope.'

And these are demonstratives agreeing in number/gender? They're glossed as "long det" which I presume means "long determiner", but the translations all use demonstratives… (MN)

kha - Khalkha

We must have looked at this a long time ago, because we had the answer no but no examples in the document.

khm - Khmer

Examples from Huffman 1967.

There is no evidence or mention of gender that I could find, and no evidence of case marking.

Pg. 145

Examples:	/laan pii/	/ckae bəy/
	car two	dog three
	'two cars'	'three dogs'

Numerals do not have concord with nouns in number; instead it seems as though both noun and numeral remain in singular form.

Pg. 163

As attribute:	/koon-seh pii nɛ̃əq nih claat nahv./	
	student two person this clever very	
	'These two students are very clever.'	

There seems to be no number marking on demonstratives either.

There is, however, a numeral classifier/specifier system.

Pg. 147-149

4.221 Noun specifiers are specifiers which may occur in specifier phrases which are attributive to noun heads, i.e. in the context #NX_#.

Examples: /daem-chee pii daem/	/cnaot pii sonlek/
tree two S-for-trees	ticket two sheet
'two trees'	'two tickets'

Noun specifiers also occur without a noun head when the antecedent of the specifier has been mentioned, or is obvious from the context.

Examples; with the specifier /nĕeq/ 'ordinary person':

/nĕeq nuh/ (person that) 'that person'

/pii nŏeq nuh/ (two person that) 'those two persons'

/nĕeq thum nuh/ (person tall that) 'that tall person'

4.2211 Qualitative specifiers are specifiers which have a special semantic relationship with a group of nouns. Most qualitative specifiers occur only as specifiers and define the class. The class is small and closed, although the following list may not be complete.

1) /nĕeq/ 'persons of ordinary estate'

2) /qɔŋ/ 'priests; Buddha images; holy persons'

3) /prĕeh-qɔŋ/ 'royal persons'

5) /tuə/ 'letters of the alphabet; characters of a play'

6) /krŏəp/ 'seeds, grains, pellets'

7) /dom/ 'pieces, lumps'

8) /sənlək/ 'thin sheets'

9) /plae/ 'fruits'

10)/chap/ 'individual copies, letters, newspapers'

11)/səsay/ 'sinews, threads'

12)/phaen/ 'flat cakes'

13)/kbaal/ 'volumes of books; livestock'

14)/ruup/ 'pictures, images, shapes'

15)/snət/ 'hands of bananas'

16)/prədap/ 'instruments, tools'

17)/krɨəŋ/ 'motors, machines'

Qualitative specifiers frequently occur as heads of noun compounds. Examples:

/nĕəq-proh/	/daem-chee/
person + male	long-slender-object + wood
'man'	'tree'

4.2212 Quantitative specifiers are specifiers which divide the referents of nouns into specific quantities or manners of marketing. Most members of the class occur also as nouns. The class is as large as the number of nouns denoting containers or agglomerations in the language. Examples:

/srew muəy taw/	/biyee muəy dəəp/
unhusked-rice one bushel	beer one bottle

/trey muəy kontuy/

fish one tail

'a string of fish'

4.2213 General specifiers are specifiers which occur after a wide range of nouns. Examples:

/mhoop pii yaaŋ/ (food two kinds) 'two kinds of food'

/sbaek-ceəŋ muəy kuu/ (shoes one pair) 'a pair of shoes'

/ptɔ̃əən pii kmaat/ (house two size) 'two sizes of houses'

I recorded this as g? In the spreadsheets, since that was how I recall you wanted numeral classifier systems treated.

As for adjectives, they were not given a lot of description in this source, but Ehrman 1970 but then in the Verbs section of the grammar and described them as stative verbs on pg. 59 of that sketch.

kho - Khoekhoe (Hagman 1974:64)

	singular	dual	plural
masculine	-p ~ -i	-kxà	-ku
feminine	-s	-rà	-ti
indefinite-common	-'ì	-rà	-ǹ ~ -ìn

I e-mailed Leland Paul Kusmer, who works on Khoekhoe and he told me that attributive modifiers of nouns don't show concord, giving me these examples

Adjectives, numerals, and demonstratives all precede the noun and show no inflection:

3.
a. ne !nona kai ǂkhani -di
these three big book -3pf
"these three big books"

b. ne !nona kai |ui -gu
these three big rock -3pm
"these three big rocks"

But those things on the ends might be determiners, so we could say determiner concord. You can postpose a modifier and then get an extra determiner, but Leland thinks this is basically apposition.

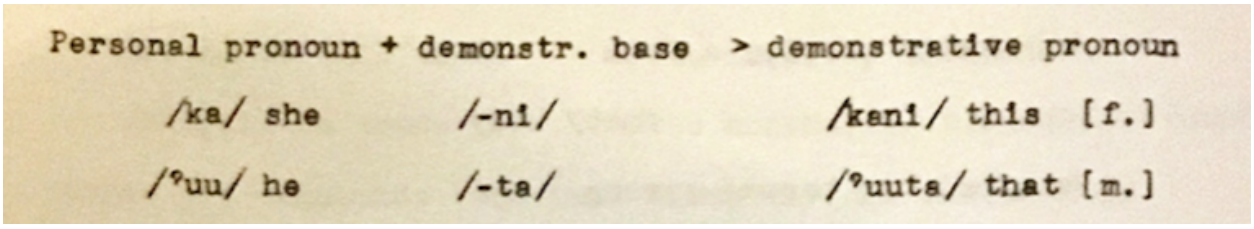
4.
ǂkhani -s kai -s -a
book -3sf big -3sf -obl
"the book, the big one"

khs - Khasi

Examples from Rabel 1961.

Demonstratives are formed by adding a prefix that agrees in gender and number, which are the same as the third person pronouns, to a “demonstrative base”.

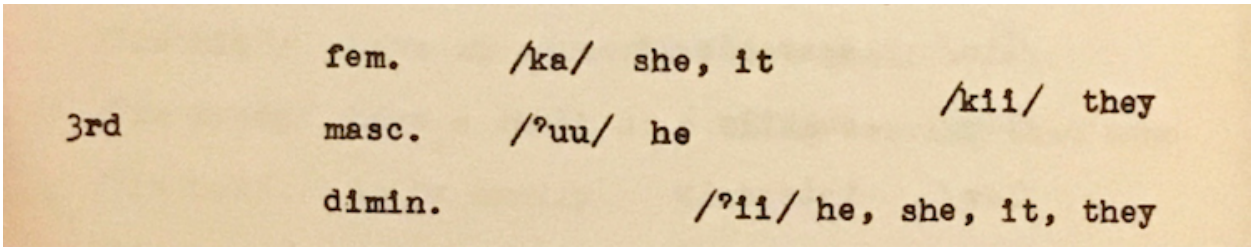
pg.108



Personal pronoun	+ demonstr. base	> demonstrative pronoun
/ka/ she	/-ni/	/kani/ this [f.]
/ʔuu/ he	/-ta/	/ʔuuta/ that [m.]

While this example says demonstrative pronouns, the formation is the same for attributive demonstratives.

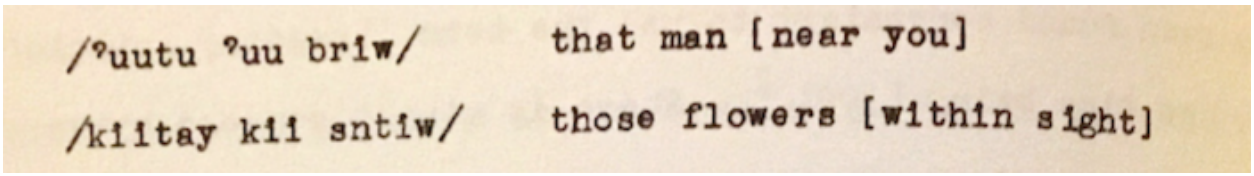
Pg. 66



3rd	fem.	/ka/ she, it	/kii/ they
	masc.	/ʔuu/ he	
	dimin.	/ʔii/ he, she, it, they	

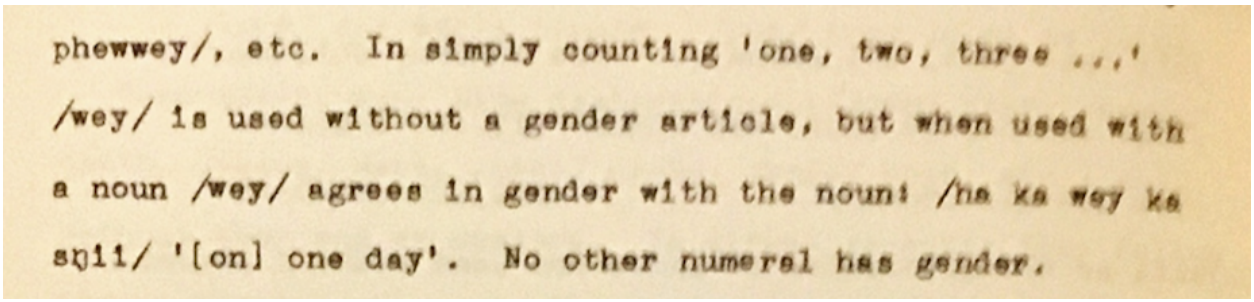
These pronouns form the first part of the demonstrative, and agree in gender and number, as well as something that is called “diminutive”, and is briefly stated by the author to indicate familiarity, although I am unsure what this is.

Pg. 68



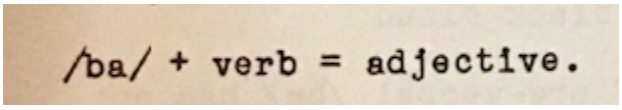
The demonstrative in the first example has *?uu* because the noun is masculine and singular and *tu* because it describes something near to the person being spoken to. The second has *kii* because the noun is plural and *tay* because it describes something at a distance but within sight. (The second *?uu* and *kii* in each sentence is the “gender article” of the noun)

Pg. 56


phewwey/, etc. In simply counting 'one, two, three ...'
/wey/ is used without a gender article, but when used with
a noun /wey/ agrees in gender with the noun: /ha ka wey ka
sŋii/ '[on] one day'. No other numeral has gender.

Only the numeral *wey* ‘one’ has concord, meaning no concord put in spreadsheet for numerals.

Pg. 136


/ba/ + verb = adjective.

Adjectives do not exist and the above construction is referred to as a relative clause by the author. Therefore, no concord.

kio - Kiowa (Andrew McKenzie, pc)

Andrew McKenzie is a linguist who has been working on Kiowa for years--- he said that demonstratives do agree with the head noun in gender (if it’s right to call it gender) and number.

(39) a. ę́:-dè/óy-dè sân Ø-k^{h}óp-dɔ́: (this-bas/that-bas child/bas [3sg]-hurt-be) 'This/that (one) child is

(39) sick.'

b. ę́:-dè/óy-dè sân ę̀-k^{h}óp-dɔ́: (this-bas/that-bas child/bas [3du]-hurt-be) 'These/those (two) children are sick.'

c. ę́:-gɔ̀/óy-gɔ̀ są̂:dɔ̀ è-k^{h}óp-dɔ́: (this-inv/that-inv child/inv [3inv]-hurt-be) 'These/those children are sick.'

(40) a. ę́:-dè t'áp Ø-hę̂:mà (this-bas deer [3sg]-die/impf) 'This (one) deer is dying.'

b. ę́:-dè t'áp ę̀-hę̂:mà (this-bas deer [3du]-die/impf) 'These (two) deer are dying.'

c. ę́:-gɔ̀ t'áp è-hę̂:mà (this-inv [3inv]-die/impf) 'These deer are dying.'

(Watkins 1980:124/125)

RK- There is a difference between Kiowa as it appears in Watkins' grammar and as it is being taught here at OU; I can explain it in person and see what you want to be done, but this pretty directly proves that demonstratives agree in number.

Adjectives are an even more complicated issue, as they don't exist as a class distinct from verbs. There are two kinds of attributive adjective-like constructions-

relative clauses and compounding. Both examples can be said to have number agreement. Note that only stems which change for number show number agreement. Here are compounding examples with agreement:

Nominal compounds with -êl[20]/-bîn 'big' are similarly revealing of underlying number and noun class. For

class I nouns in particular, all three numbers (sg, du, pl) are unambiguously identified because of the interaction of inverse (plural) with bîn (du/pl).

(49) a. tʰàlì:+êl (boy+big/sg) '(one) big boy'
b. tʰàlì:+bîn (boy+big/du/pl) '(two) big boys'
c. tʰàlì:+bi̯:dɔ̀ (boy+big/du/pl/inv) '(several) big boys'

(Watkins 1980:128/129)

Note particularly the comparison between 49a, which takes the singular stem for "big", and 49b, which takes the dual/plural stem.

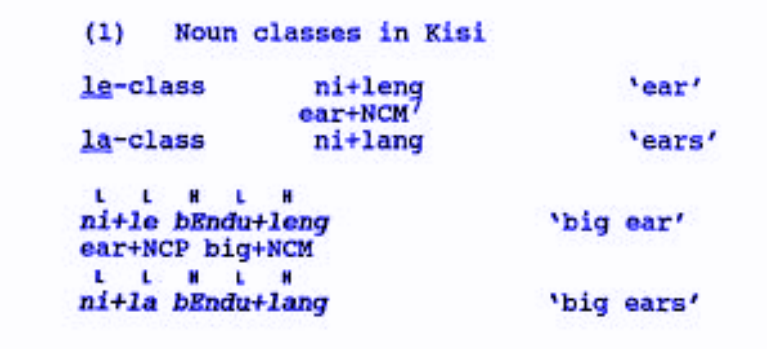
Gender agreement can sort of be said to exist for both demonstratives and adjectives, but it's like that indirect agreement I was talking about with Amharic. There it was determined that it didn't count, and if it didn't count there, it shouldn't count here.

kis - Kisi (Childs 1988:24)
Gender: 7
Number: sg/pl

Case: None

The gender system, hereafter talked about as the class system as the author does, splits nouns into seven different groups. Not only does this class system convey gender, but there are different classes for singular and plural too. This causes class and number agreement to be demonstrated by the same affix in the following examples.

Adjectives: Adjectives show concord in Kisi



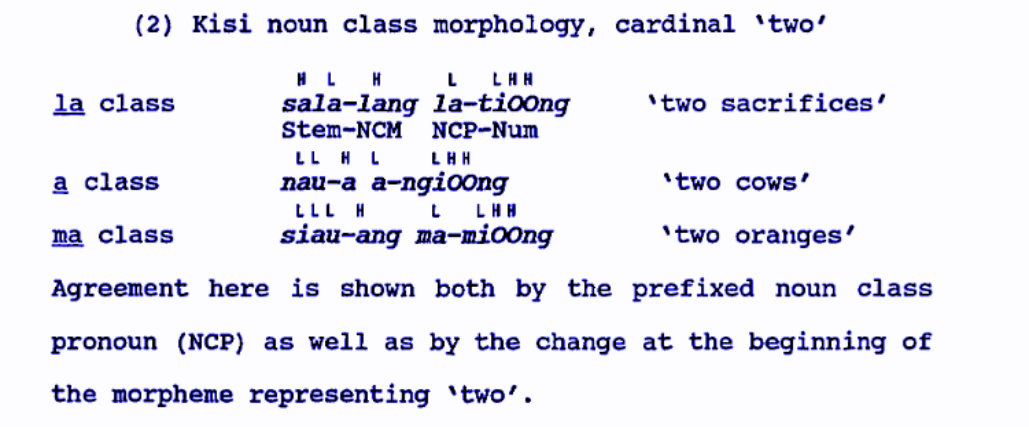
(1) Noun classes in Kisi

le-class	ni+leng ear+NCM[7]	'ear'
la-class	ni+lang	'ears'

L L H L H
ni+le bEndu+leng 'big ear'
ear+NCP big+NCM
L L H L H
ni+la bEndu+lang 'big ears'

Pg. 24
Here the adjective for 'big' is marked with a suffix that matches the preceding noun. This suffix changes for class, and in doing so, also conveys number agreement.

Numerals:



(2) Kisi noun class morphology, cardinal 'two'

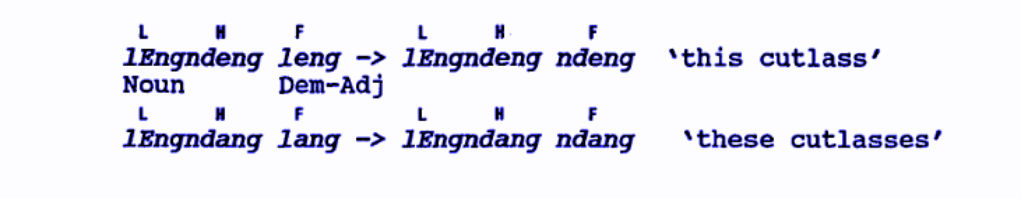
la class	H L H L LHH *sala-lang la-tiOOng* Stem-NCM NCP-Num	'two sacrifices'
a class	LL H L LHH *nau-a a-ngiOOng*	'two cows'
ma class	LLL H L LHH *siau-ang ma-miOOng*	'two oranges'

Agreement here is shown both by the prefixed noun class pronoun (NCP) as well as by the change at the beginning of the morpheme representing 'two'.

Pg. 113
In these examples, the numeral for 'two' has a prefix that matches the suffix on the noun, denoting class and number together.

The author explains later that the word itself for the numeral 'two' goes through a couple of changes depending on the class, and the numeral for 'three' has a couple fewer changes. However, agreement is marked predominantly by the prefixes.

Demonstratives:

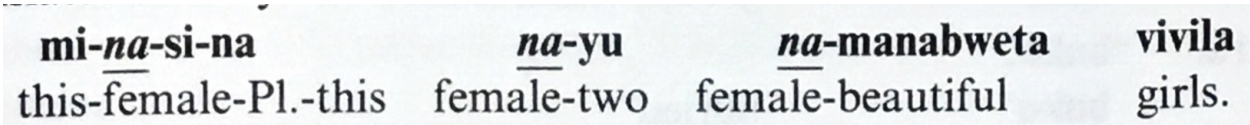


Pg. 129
Demonstratives show agreement in class/number in a similar fashion as the preceding examples.

klv - Kilivila (Senft 1986)

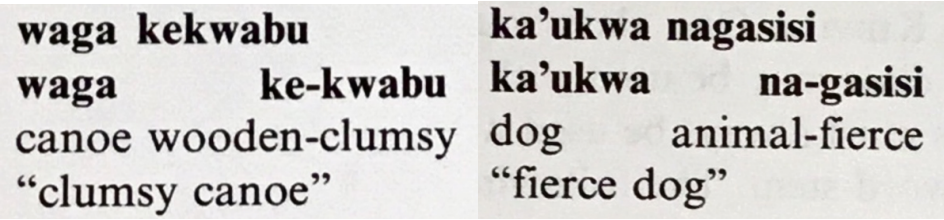
Gender: massive gender/classifier system
Number: sg/pl; marginal on nouns but active on Dem/verbs
Case: none

Here's an example showing everything (p. 69)



"These two beautiful girls". Note that *vivila* also shows PL marking, the singular form being *vivi*.

Adjectives: Some adjectives must be marked with a gender prefix; some can but need not be; some may not be. Exx p. 85



The prefix *ke*- is used for wooden objects; the prefix *na*- is used for animals

bwena	"good"
gaga	"bad"
gumigwamila	"cloudy (dull weather)"
mwau	"heavy, hard, difficult"
nanakwa	"quick"
nigwanigwa	"difficult, ill defined"
pikekita	"small, little"
tula	"cold"

djectives with or without classificatory particles

(-) bwabwau	"black"
(-) bweyani	"red"
(-) digadegila	"yellow"
(-) pupwakau	"white"
(-) pe'ula	"strong, hard"

I don't have any examples of these with overt nouns yet.

Numerals: Numerals also must combine with the gender prefixes. See above, but also below (p77)

tetala	**tau**	**kwetala**	**dakuna**
te-tala	**tau**	**kwe-tala**	**dakuna**
man-one	man	thing-one	stone
"one man",		"one stone".	

In complex numbers, the gender prefix gets repeated on basically every component numeral of the complex numeral.

na-lakatuluwalima		**na-lakatuluwavasi**	
female-five thousand (+)		female-four thousand (+)	
na-lakatulima		**na-lakatuvasi**	
female-five hundred (+)		female-four hundred (+)	
na-luwalima	**na-luwavasi**		
female-fifty (+)	female-forty (+)		
na-lima	**na-vasi**	**na-manabweta**	**vivila**
female-five (+)	female-four	female-beautiful	girls

"nine thousand nine hundred ninety nine beautiful girls"

Demonstratives: basically a circumfix surrounding class-marker, PL marker (if PL), and an extra marker to take it from proximate to distal. (p64)

mtona tau
m-to-na tau
this-man-this man
"this man"

minana vivila
mi-na-na vivila
this-woman-this woman
"this woman"

mabwana kai
ma-bwa-na kai
this-wooden-this tree
"this tree"

mtosina tauwau
m-to-si-na tauwau
this-man-Pl.-this men
"these men"

And from p65

makalasina yam
ma-kala-si-na yam
this-day-Pl.-this day
"these days"

makadasina keda
ma-kada-si-na keda
this-way-Pl.-this way
"these ways"

mtowena tau
m-to-we-na tau
this-man-there-this man
"that man"

makewena waga
ma-ke-we-na waga
this-wooden-there-this canoe
"that canoe"

minasiwena vivila
mi-na-si-we-na vivila
this-woman-Pl.-there-this girl
"those girls"

makwesiwena valu
ma-kwe-si-we-na valu
this-thing-Pl.-there-this village
"those villages"

Template: *ma/mi*-CP-PL-*we-na*

kmu - Khmu' (Premsrirat 1987)

Gender: gendered pronouns + numeral classifiers
Number: none (except in personal pronouns: sg/dl/pl)
Case: none

Adjectives: Here are some examples; no discussion of any morphology and none that I could see. (p31, 35)

4.	kɔ́:n	nɛ̀ʔ	ta	kà:ŋ	ʔòm	wà:r	mò:j	trlɔ̀h
	child	*little*	*at*	*home*	*water*	*hot*	*one*	*pot*
	The little child at home.				*a pot of hot water*			

These are representative. I wasn't able to find an example of an adjective when the noun's reference was plural (looked 30 mins), but I feel confident given this language's genetic and areal context.

Numerals: Numerals themselves don't inflect, but the language has classifiers. Numerals from p. 33--- most numerals are borrowed from Thai.

nɨ́ŋ, mò:j	*one*
sɔ́:ŋ, pà:r	*two*
sá:m, pé?	*three*
sɪ́:, púən	*four*
há:	*five*
hók, rók	*six*
cét	*seven*
pɛ́t	*eight*
káw	*nine*
sɪ́p	*ten*

Here is a possibly incomplete list of classifiers (p34)

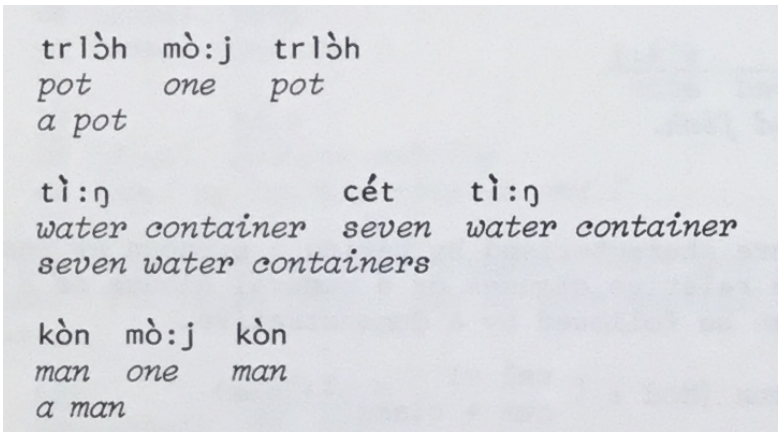
1.	klɔ́:ŋ	is used for solid, round objects such as fruit, vegetables, the sun, the moon, or a house.
2.	trlɨ̀m	is used for long flat objects, such as leaves, a piece of meat, a hammer, a comb, or a bag.
3.	tɔ́:	is used for animals.
4.	pʰɨ́:n	is used for a piece of cloth, a shirt, or trousers.
5.	sɛ́n	is used for flexible, long, narrow objects, such as a rope.
6.	kòn	is used for human beings.
7.	smtúm	is used for a bunch of fruit or other things.
8.	plàh	is used for one of a pair of human organs.
9.	cùm	is used for one of a pair of things such as arm bracelets.
10.	krlɔ̀h	is used for a mouthful of rice.
11.	bɔ̀:n	is used for a piece of land.
12.	kmlɔ̀?	is used for a piece of meat.
13.	lɛ́m	is used for an oblong object such as a piece of wood, finger, drinking water container, etc.

mples are:

And a few examples: (p34)

tlɔ́:j	mò:j	klɔ́:ŋ
banana	*one*	(class)
a banana		
rmɛ̀:j	mò:j	plàh
ear	*one*	(class)
an ear		
kɔ̀:n	pà:r	kòn
child	*two*	(class)
two children		

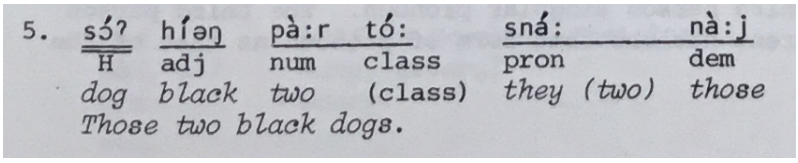
There are some nouns which exist both as nouns and as classifiers, which is pretty interesting! Premsrirat calls them "Self-classifiers" (p35)

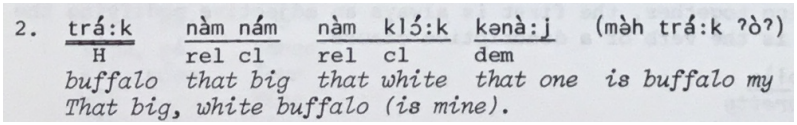

trlɔ̀h mò:j trlɔ̀h
pot one pot
a pot

tì:ŋ cét tì:ŋ
water container seven water container
seven water containers

kòn mò:j kòn
man one man
a man

Demonstratives: occur last in DP. I went a little bit crazy trying to gather examples because there is some variation in form, but I don't think it's number-based. For example, for the distal demonstrative, I saw these forms: k@nà:j (SG, p31), knà:j (SG, p72), nà:j (DL?, p31), k@`:nà:j (PL, p36). The k@ piece is also the 3sg neutral pronoun.

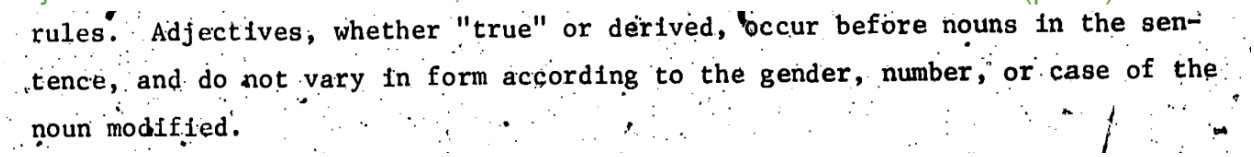

5. sɔ́ʔ híəŋ pà:r tó: snáː nà:j
H adj num class pron dem
dog black two (class) they (two) those
Those two black dogs.


2. trá:k nàm nám nàm klɔ́:k kənà:j (màh trá:k ʔòʔ)
H rel cl rel cl dem
buffalo that big that white that one is buffalo my
That big, white buffalo (is mine).

But, I looked through almost the entire grammar, and there were fewer than 10 total examples of attributive demonstratives. I don't think they show concord.

knd - Kannada (Schiffman 1983)

Adjectives do not show concord, if this clear statement is to be believed (p. 43)


rules. Adjectives, whether "true" or derived, occur before nouns in the sentence, and do not vary in form according to the gender, number, or case of the noun modified.

Oh, I just found something! This discussion on p. 47: Attributive demonstrative modifiers are invariant for gender, number, case (i.e., they don't show concord).

begin with wh-.) These particles are invariable; they do not change even if the noun is marked for number, gender, or case.

ii mane 'this house'
aa pustaka 'that book'
yaav kaDe. 'which side?'

When these adjectives are nominalized, the product is the set of demonstrative pronouns (see 2.5.1). The difference between demonstrative adjectives and neuter demonstrative pronouns is difficult for English speakers, because 'this, that, what/which' are used for both. The demonstrative adjectives in Kannada are always used before a noun as modifiers, whereas the pronominal forms replace a noun. The pronominal forms can often be translated as 'this/that/which thing' or 'this/that/which one', while the adjectival forms cannot.

ii mane 'this house'	*idu mane* 'this (thing) is a house'
aa haLLi 'that village'	*adu haLLi* 'that (thing) is a village'
yaav daari? 'which way?'	*yaavdu daari?* 'which (one) is the way?'

There are demonstratives that agree in gender, but they cannot be used with an overt noun (i.e., they're just DPs/NPs all on their own)

knm - Kunama

Gender: None (Bender 1996:13)
Number: sg/pl + dual in some dialects (Bender 1996:12)
Case: yes but they all seem clitic-like

Adjectives: both orders of adjective and noun are possible, but N-Adj is preferred. Adjectives can't be distinguished morphosyntactically from nouns (p300)

mayd-a good, bay-a bad, umm-a black, ar-a white, saas-a wide, 'tokkor-a narrow, ger-a high, tall, far away, biib-a red, etc.

Case clitic attaches to the right edge of the entire constituent as in this example (Abay 2012, p 53)

(19) u'nu deda damédá maídosi gudʒa anda kiʃoke

u'nu deda damédá maíd-o=si gudʒa anda k-i-ʃo-ke

3SG child small beautiful -DST.SG-OBJ stick big Eu-3SG-give-AO

'He/she gave a big stick to the small beautiful child'

Thompson (1983:301): number is "attracted" to the adjective, but also says agreement is "optional" (??)

Adjectives always follow nouns. Number agreement is optional. In an adjectival phrase, plural or dual is "attracted" to the adjective, the noun remaining singular: sg. it-a damad-a a small house, du. it-a damad-ename two small houses, pl. it-a damad-e small houses. (Dual could also be ita damade baare or ita damad-ame, see 3.1. above). This avoids ambiguity in the plural and dual but

Thompson (1983:301)

Compare ded-aŋ-en-a-si nasoke I gave it to-this-my-child.
ded-aŋ-a mayd-o-a-si nasoke I gave it to that my good child. (i.e., to-that-good child-of-mine).

ayl-i-a umm-e-tta gaske He went towards his black cows.
it-ĩ-(a) and-o-e-la gonke They stayed in those their big houses (lit., house-their big-

Child-my-this-sg-obj
Child-my-sing good-this-sg-obj
Cow-his-sg black-pl-towards
House-their-sg big-those-pl-at

From Bender 1996: examples where the noun is definitely plural-marked in tandem with adjective (p41)

'big wide house/big wide houses'
ita saasa anda/ita saasa ande ~ ite saase ande
*ite saasa anda; *ite saase anda.

'big house/big houses'
ita anda/ita ande ~ ite ande

Numerals: modify plural nouns; whole NP is plural but numerals take the position of adjectives (Thompson 1983:304)

ka/ke šebe, ten men.

ka/ke Seb-e

Man ten-PL

Numerals, like other adjectives, can also take demonstratives, case suffixes, and possessives, e.g., ke kussum-oe, the, those five men, darke šeb-ene, these ten women, ella-si, to, for one, bar-o-e-kin, from the two, baar-í-e, (the) two of them.

Ke kussum-oe // man five-that.PL

darke Seb-ene // woman ten-this.PL

Numerals follow other adjectives, e.g., ita ande baare two big houses (reverse order of English), compare it(a/e) andename these two big houses (with dual suffix), makkabe ašaade satte pigs fat three, is(e) ande mujna šeb-kussume sattena fish big hundred and fifty three.

Ita ande baare // house big.PL two.PL

it-a/it-e and-ename // house-SG/house-PL big-this.DU

Makkabe aSaade satte // pig(PL??) fat.PL (?) three.PL

Abay 2012, p 82

kitaboma fase mudʒe bare kinákè

kitab-om-a fase mudʒe bare k-(i)-iná-kè

book-DST.SG-SG page hundred two Eu-3SG-have-AO

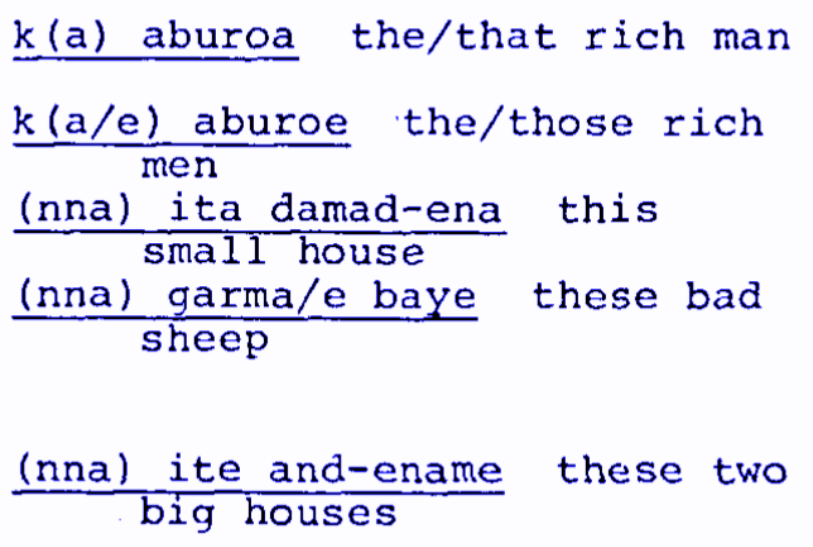
'The book has two hundred pages.'

Demonstratives: Seems like demonstratives agree in number even when they're suffixes

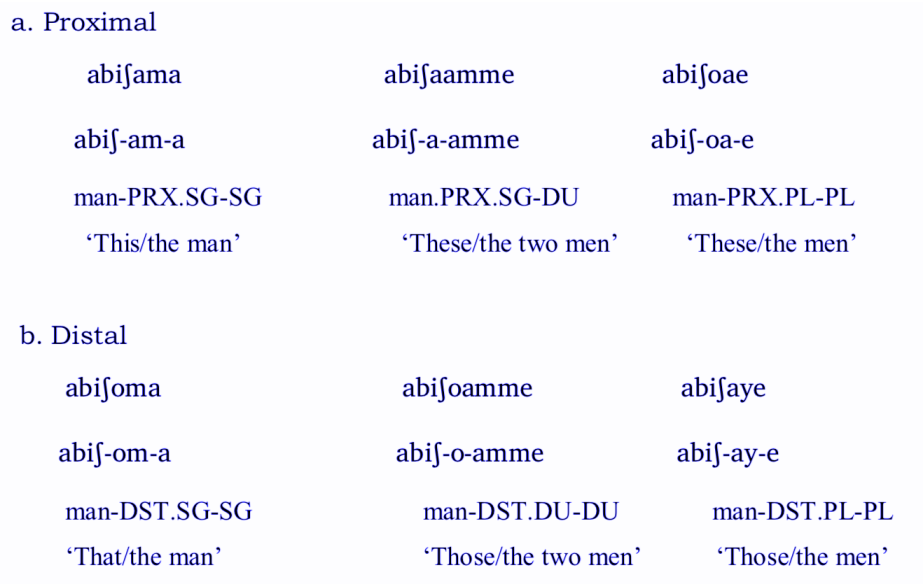
Thompson 1983:293

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Marda	(nna) ded-en-a this child	(nna) ded-ename these two children	(nna) ded-en-e these children
	(wayna) ded-o-a that/the child	(wayna) ded-oame those two children	(wayna) ded-o-e those children
Tika	(aa) ded-am-a this child	?	(aa) ded-ay-e these children
	(wa) ded-om-a/ded-awam-a that/the child	?	(wa) ded-oa-e those children

Thompson p312



P42 MA thesis



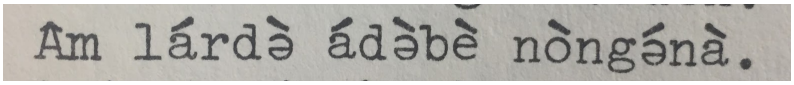
knr - Kanuri (Hutchison 1981:207)
Gender: None
Number: sg/pl
Case: 6 - 7 cases

(*Sometimes it looks like there isn't an example picture above a gloss and a translation, but the pictures sometimes do a weird thing where they seem to disappear but are still there; you just have to adjust them a little to get them to show back up.)

Kanuri has a SOV sentence structure.
Noun phrase = noun followed by adjective, then numeral, then demonstrative

What WALS calls case can be understood as postpositional marking. For example, the Genitive 'case' is explained as being:
NPx NPy + bè y's x (Pg. 197)
Here, the entire noun phrase acquires the genitive post position +bè to show genitive 'case.' As example sentence is given below:

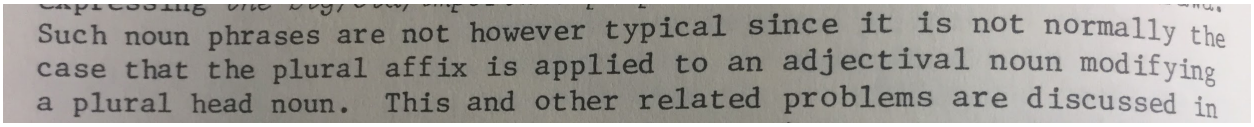
Pg. 207



Person (pl) country this+GEN know (1sg. present)
I know the people of this country.

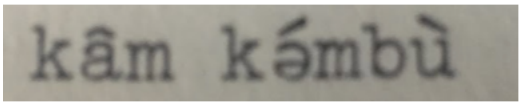
For the rest of the book, anything that might elsewhere be called case is called 'postpositional marking' by the author. On pg. 215, the author says "Kanuri does not have a case marking system according to the present analysis." Since 'case' can be proven to be represented by postpositions, I will not be looking for case concord within the noun phrase.

Adjectives:
Hutchinson does not clearly say whether adjectives will match their head noun for plurality. When giving irregular plural forms for some of the adjectival nouns, he says:

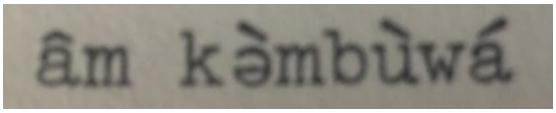

Such noun phrases are not however typical since it is not normally the case that the plural affix is applied to an adjectival noun modifying a plural head noun. This and other related problems are discussed in

Pg. 44
This seems to imply that perhaps adjectives are not always plural when their head nouns are. Since the adjectives are adjectival nouns, I would hypothesize the plural forms would be made in the same manner as normal nouns, that is, with the plural suffix +wá.

However, I was able to find multiple examples of plural adjectival nouns agreeing with the plural head nouns.

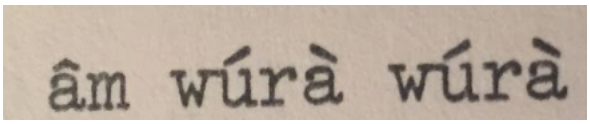


person (sg) blind
blind person



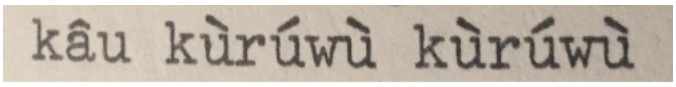
person (pl) blind + pl
blind people
Pg. 196

From these two examples, we can see that the adjectival noun ‘blind’ takes on the plural marker to match the number of the irregular plural noun ‘people.’



person (pl) important (pl)-redup
very important people
Pg. 196
Reduplication can also be used to pluralize an adjective, but in the example above, not only is there reduplication, but the word for important is also in an irregular plural form.

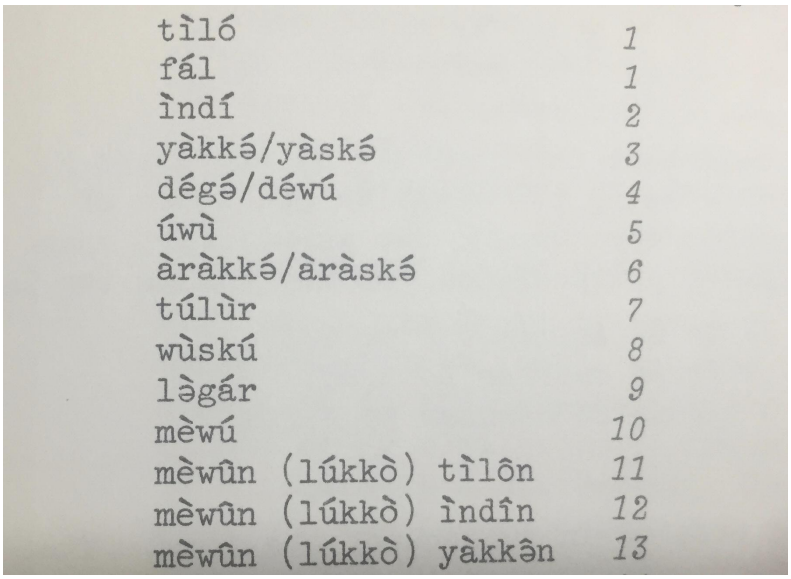
At this point, it kind of seemed that despite the author’s original claim, adjectives would change to match the plurality of the noun, but so far all the examples I was finding included the word for ‘person’ which has an irregular plural form, and oftentimes ‘people’ gets special treatment, right?



mountain tall (sg.) tall (sg.)
high high mountains
Pg. 196

In this example, the adjectives are singular, but they are reduplicated to show plurality. However, the problem occurs with the word ‘mountain’. I haven’t been able to find it elsewhere in the grammar, but it is does not show typical plurality as nouns do with +wá. However, it was not listed among the irregular plural nouns (of which there is are very few and it is a closed set), and it was not listed among the non-count nouns that are always taken to be plural. On pg. 195, Hutchinson says “As is apparent in certain of the following examples, this [reduplication] may occur to express plurality either with the singular or the derived plural form of the head noun.”

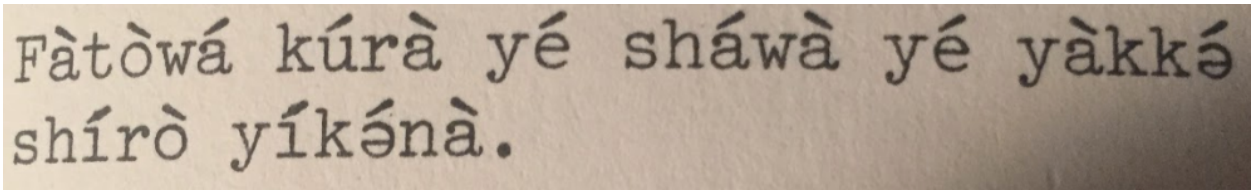
Numerals:
Numerals do not appear to agree in number with their head noun. “When plural numerals function as modifiers, the preceding head noun may be singular or plural.” Pg. 202.



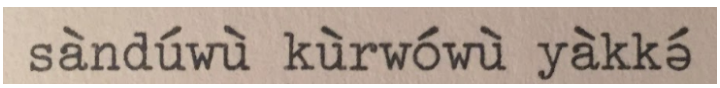
tìlɔ́	1
fál	1
ìndí	2
yàkkə́/yàskə́	3
dégə́/déwú	4
úwù	5
àràkkə́/àràskə́	6
túlùr	7
wùskú	8
làgár	9
mèwú	10
mèwûn (lúkkò) tìlôn	11
mèwûn (lúkkò) ìndîn	12
mèwûn (lúkkò) yàkkân	13

Pg. 203
Here is a list of numbers for reference for the following examples.

Following is an example of a number with a plural noun:



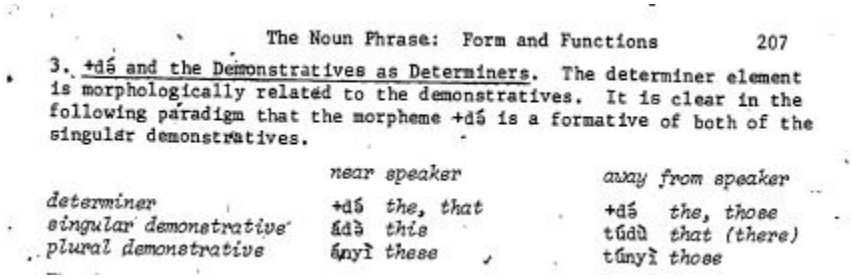
house+pl big(sg) also beautiful(sg) also three
him give (2S past)
I gave him three big and beautiful houses
Pg. 203
‘House’ is plural in this example, but the numeral for three remains unchanged. Here is an example of with a singular head noun:



trunk heavy three
three heavy trunks
Pg. 203

‘three’ remains unchanged even though the noun is now singular. Thus numerals appear to not shown number concord with their head noun.

Demonstratives:



The Noun Phrase: Form and Functions 207

3. +dá and the Demonstratives as Determiners. The determiner element is morphologically related to the demonstratives. It is clear in the following paradigm that the morpheme +dá is a formative of both of the singular demonstratives.

	near speaker	away from speaker
determiner	+dá *the, that*	+dá *the, those*
singular demonstrative	ádà *this*	tûdù *that (there)*
plural demonstrative	ányì *these*	tûnyì *those*

Would be better if we could find examples with overt nouns--- the fact they say “as determiners” makes me think that they _can_ be used with overt nouns, but it would be good to find an example with an overt noun if we can.

Demonstratives do agree with their head noun in plurality. The four demonstratives given are ‘this,’ ‘that,’ ‘these,’ and ‘those.’

Kèjî, njî ádè.

pleasant water this
It’s good, this water.
Pg. 174

Fêr ádè dôi.

horse this fast
This horse is fast.
Pg. 50

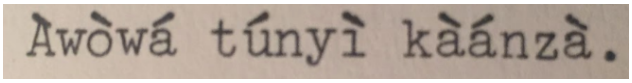
Fêr túdù dôi gènyí.

horse that fast negative nonverbal predicate
That horse is not fast.
Pg. 50

Fèròwá ányì lèzâiwâ.

girl + pl these not go
These girls are not going.

Pg. 50



thing + pl those theirs
Those things are theirs.
Pg. 207

From these examples, it can be seen that demonstratives do agree in number with their head noun.

koa - Koasati (Kimball 1991)

(p299) Cardinal numerals are verbs in Koasati--- take all verbal morphology (including switch reference)

(p343) “A marked nominal plural in Koasati is permitted only for nouns that refer to human beings … Plurality in Koasati is expressed obligatorily only in the verb (see Chapters 10 and 15)”
(p408) No adjectives (just calls them all noun modifiers; nominalized verbs)
(p414) demonstratives: no discussion of number-marking (or case-marking), and an example is presented with plural translation but no plural-marking in the Koasati example

19) má i:sa mí:t-on haccalí:ci-t
THAT HOUSE OTHER-obj:foc ERECT-Past

/má í:sa mí:ton haccalí:cit/

'He erected that other house.'

20) má:mi-n yá imaníhta-k ómmi-:k
BE:THEN THIS YOUNG:PERSON-subj BE-subjunct

/má:min yá iminíhtak ómmi:k/

'Then, as far as these young people are concerned...' (p414)

kor - Korean

Personal knowledge; no concord

krk - Karuk (Bright 1957)

I e-mailed Line Mikkelsen (who works on Karuk) and she said the following:

> To the best of my knowledge, there is no nominal concord. There is no gender or case. The demonstrative is invariant for number as is the definite article. Adjectives are typically compounded with the noun.

However, numerals have “classifiers” and they look fairly gender-like (p128)

ʔáxxąk pa=mu-ʔíffunih "two the-their-hair, i.e., two of their hairs."

ʔáxxak-avan pa=ʔávansas "two(-an.) the-men, i.e., two men."

Discussion of classifers from earlier (p70)

called CLASSIFIERS; they constitute a rather small group, all designating some unit of measure. The combination of numeral and classifier functions as an adverb of the determinative type (832). Examples of classifiers are ikxáRam "night" in ʔaxak-ʔíkxaram "two nights" and ʔátiva "basket-load" in kuyrak-ʔátiva "three basket-loads." Some nouns undergo a change of meaning when used as classifiers: thus ápxa·n "hat" but iθá-·pxa·n "one hatful" (a common measure of acorns); similarly fíθih "foot, i.e., pedal extremity" but iθa-fíθih "one foot, i.e., 12 inches."

None of the examples of demonstratives had plural nouns, so we can’t say for sure, but I have a feeling he would have mentioned something if they could be plural (combined with what Line said)

kro - Krongo

Coded as “no concord”, but we do not have examples.

kse - Koyraboro (Koroboro) Senni (Heath 1999)

Gender: no grammatical gender
Number: sg/pl, concord on dem
Case: only postpositional, no concord

Adjectives: Looks like you can get a plural adjective after a noun (but is it peripheral plural?) It’s peripheral. There is plural-marking on the “core NP”).
P115: plural on ‘alone’

d.	*aru*	*koonu-yaŋ*	‘men alone’	n adj-Pl
	man	alone-Pl		

Numerals: combine with singular nouns, certainly. No indication of any kind of marking
p145: two examples with numerals

e.	*boro*	*hiŋk-aa*	'the two people'	n num-Def
	person	two-DefSg		
f.	*kusu*	*beeri*	*hiŋka*	'two large pots'	n adj num
	pot	big	two		

Demonstratives: plural concord on demonstratives
p115 these examples; also note that dem + NNC is still singular!

b.	*bor-ey*	***w-ey***	'these/those people'	core NP + Dem
	person-DefPl	**Dem**-Pl		
c.	*aru*	*hiŋk-aa*	***woo***	'those two men'	core NP + Dem
	man	two-DefSg	**Dem**		

Pp 129-130: these next two examples

(129) a. *hug-oo* ***woo*** *ra*
house-DefSg **Dem** Loc
'in this/that house'

(129) b. *hug-ey* ***w-ey*** *ra*
house-DefPl **Dem-Pl** Loc
'in these/those houses'

Bonus! Definite article: shows number concord (p128)

In general, a DefSg noun in *-oo* has a corresponding DefPl in *-ey*. Thus *woy* '(a) woman', *woy-oo* 'the woman', *woy-ey* 'the women'; *hãyši* 'dog', *hãyš-oo* 'the dog', *hãyš-ey* 'the dogs'. The final-long-V stems that take DefSg *-w-oo* have DefPl counterparts in *-w-ey*, as in *tappii* 'carpet', *tappii-w-oo* 'the carpet', *tappii-w-ey* 'the carpets'.

kut - Kutenai (Morgan 1991)

Adjectives: Morgan's grammar seems to think that adjectives exist: most of them require a stative suffix to turn them into verbs (as opposed to normal verbs, which do not necessarily require that). They have to be adverbialized to be used attributively, I think? Morgan p393

Example WO.7. FW

Wiɬiɬ pusni.	'It is a large cat'.
/wiɬ-iʔɬ	pusˌni/
big-ADVERBIALIZER	catˌINDICATIVE

P403: says “it is not possible to directly state the order of nouns and modifying adjectives in Kutenai, because adjectival stems in Kutenai are a sub-class of intransitive verbal stems.”

(c) kwiɬqa pus

/kˌwiɬ-qa-ʔ	pus/
SMˌbig-STV-IN	cat
that he/she/it is big,	the cat
~that they are big,	~the cats

'the big cat'.

(p407) there are demonstratives and demonstrative-like words

There are grammatical words in Kutenai which form nominal phrases with a following nominal stem, ostensibly modify the nominal stem. These include the deictic words /na/ 'this', /ʔin/ 'that (nearby)', /quʔ/ 'that (yonder)', the determiner /niʔ/ 'the', and the quantitative word /q̓api/. This is an arrangement of words which is invariant. It is not

(p410-413) discussion of how D-like words are also pronouns and can take verb-like inflection; cases of attribution may actually be kind of like appositives or relative clauses. Still no examples of concord. I’m calling it! (MN)

Update! I found a Dryer paper on demonstratives, and in fact, they distinguish proximate and obviative forms! Really seems like we’d want to call this concord.

na	‘this’	125	nas	‘this, obviative’	128
ʔin	‘that’	41	ʔis	‘that, obviative’	71
quʔ	‘yon’	46	quʔs	‘yon, obviative	153
ʔinu	‘that’	8	ʔinuʔs	‘that, obviative’	0

(p1)

taxa-s	n=ʾik-ni	skinku¢	niʔ-s	ʔa·kuɬak-s
then-OBV	INDIC=eat-INDIC	coyote	the-OBV	meat-OBV

‘then Coyote ate the meat’

(p2)

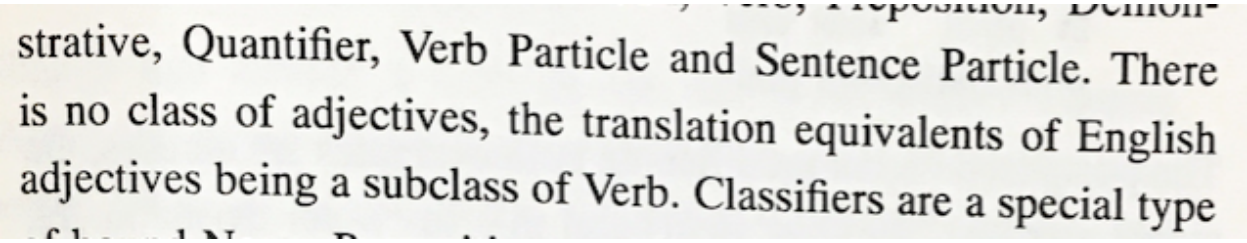
n=ʼuqukiyka‡ ʔik-ni pus ʔi-s ʔaȼuʔ-s
INDIC=out.of eat-INDIC cat that-OBV dish-OBV
‘a cat ate out of that dish.’ (p3)

I am turning this into a yes!

kyl - Kayah Li (Eastern)

Examples from Solnit 1997

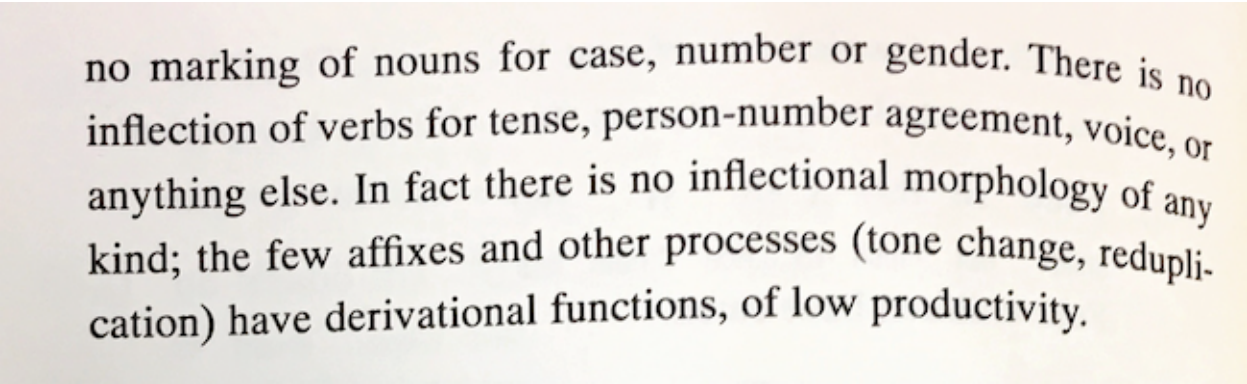
Pg. 5



strative, Quantifier, Verb Particle and Sentence Particle. There is no class of adjectives, the translation equivalents of English adjectives being a subclass of Verb. Classifiers are a special type

Adjectives do not exist, and therefore cannot express concord.

Pg. 8



no marking of nouns for case, number or gender. There is no inflection of verbs for tense, person-number agreement, voice, or anything else. In fact there is no inflectional morphology of any kind; the few affixes and other processes (tone change, reduplication) have derivational functions, of low productivity.

Additionally, the language does not have case or gender, does not mark nouns for plural, and does not seem to have any kind of agreement or concord.

lad - Ladakhi

Examples from Korshal 1979

pg.144

number suffix/numerals and case suffixes. Thus the order of elements is as follows :
± Dem.Pro.+Noun+Qual. Adj.+Numeral/number suffix+ Case suffix.

There is no gender in Ladakhi (pg. 56). Additionally, I do not believe there can be any concord because each element of a noun phrase, including the demonstrative, numeral, and adjective, are all linked together in a specific order and then marked with number and case at the very end. Therefore, adjectives for example no not agree with a noun in case, but instead the entire phrase/word is marked with case with a single suffix.

pg.144

1. ṭhug—gu —rom—po — gun—ni.....
   N. Qul.Adj. Pl.Suf.Erg. The fat boys...
   boy fat
2. ṭhug—gu —rom—po — ñis—si.....
   N. Qul.Adj. Numr. Erg. Two fat boys...
   boy fat two
3. i — ṭhug—gu — rom—po—ñis.....
   Prox. N. Qul.Adj. Numr. Dir. These two fat
   Pro. boys....
   this boy fat two
4. ŋə—təŋ khəŋ—pə—rde—mo—ñis—lə dug—gət.
   I.P.Pro. N. Qul.Adj. Numr. Dat. Intr.V.Re.
   Incl.Pl. Pr.
   Dir.
   we house beautiful two live
   We live in two beautiful houses.

   ŋə—təŋ khəŋ—pə—rde—mo—gun—nə dug—gət.
   I.P.Pro.Incl. N. QulAdj. Pl.Suf. Dat. Intr.V.Re.
   Pl.Dir. Pr.
   we house beautiful live
   We live in the beautiful houses.

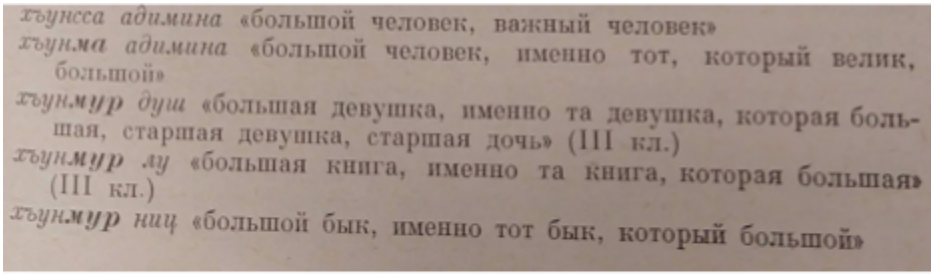
Above are several examples. In example four, the noun *khə/n/-pə* ‘house’ is connected to the adjective *rde-mo* ‘beautiful’, which is connected to the numeral *ñis* ‘two’, which is finally connected to the dative case marker *lə*.

lak - Lak (Zhirkov 1955)

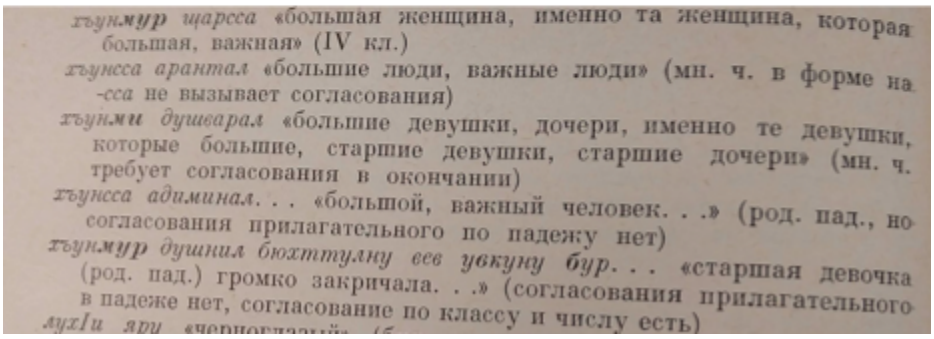
Zhirkov, L.I. Lakskii iazyk; fonetika i morfologiia. Moskva, izd-vo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1955.

Prepared by Lyosha

5 noun classes; number; case
Pp. 45-46, showing an adjective agreeing in gender/number but not case



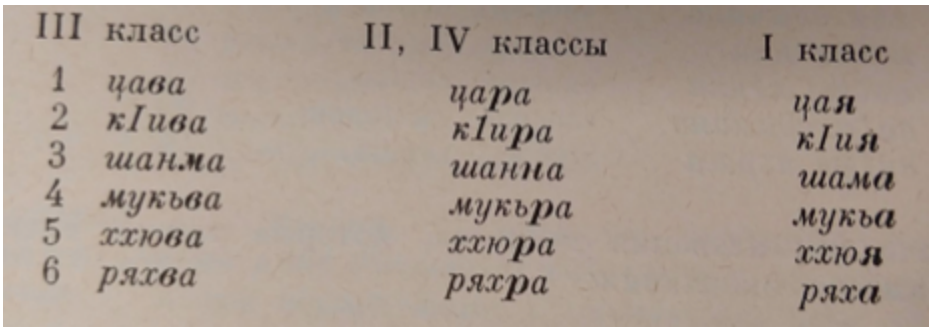
хъунсса адимина «большой человек, важный человек»
хъунма адимина «большой человек, именно тот, который велик, большой»
хъунмур душ «большая девушка, именно та девушка, которая большая, старшая девушка, старшая дочь» (III кл.)
хъунмур лу «большая книга, именно та книга, которая большая» (III кл.)
хъунмур ниц «большой бык, именно тот бык, который большой»



хъунмур щарсса «большая женщина, именно та женщина, которая большая, важная» (IV кл.)
хъунсса арантал «большие люди, важные люди» (мн. ч. в форме на *-сса* не вызывает согласования)
хъунми душварал «большие девушки, дочери, именно те девушки, которые большие, старшие девушки, старшие дочери» (мн. ч. требует согласования в окончании)
хъунсса адиминал. . . «большой, важный человек. . .» (род. пад., но согласования прилагательного по падежу нет)
хъунмур душнил бюхттулну вев увкуну бур. . . «старшая девочка (род. пад.) громко закричала. . .» (согласования прилагательного в падеже нет, согласование по классу и числу есть)

Translation: qunssa adimina *“a big person, an important person”*
qun**ma** adimina *“a big person, specifically the one that is important or big”*
qun**mur** dush *“a big maiden, specifically the one that is big; older maiden, eldest daughter” (class III)*
qun**mur** lu *“a big book, specifically the one that is big” (class III)*
qun**mur** nits *“a big bull, specifically the one that is big”*
qun**mur** shyarssa *“a big woman, specifically the one that is big or important” (class IV)*
qunssa arantal *“big people, important people” (plural form with -ssa doesn’t agree)*
qun**mi** dush^{w}aral *“big maidens or daughters, specifically ones that are big” (plural form requires agreement in suffixes)*
qunssa adiminal... *“big or important person... ” (gentive case, but adjectives don’t agree by case)*
qun**mur** dushnil byukhmmulnu vev uvkunu bur... *“the older girl (genitive case) screamed loudly” (adjectives do not agree in case, but agreement by class exists)*

<u>Numerals</u>
P. 53, showing numerals agreeing in class; states that they don’t agree in case but provides no examples; nouns in collocation with numerals are singular.



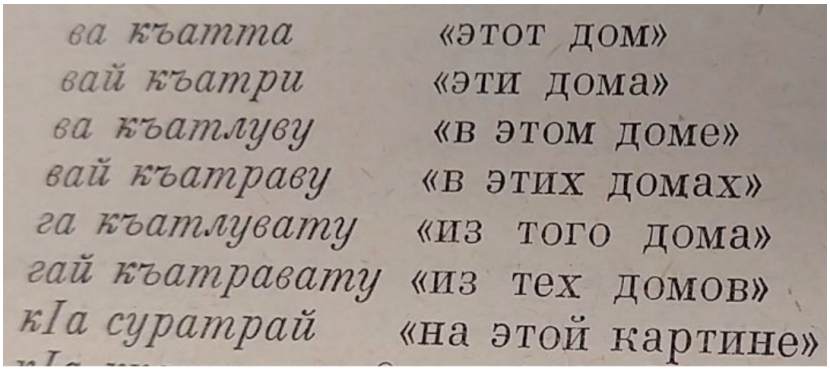
III класс	II, IV классы	I класс
1 цава	цара	цая
2 кIива	кIира	кIия
3 шанма	шанна	шама
4 мукьва	мукьра	мукьа
5 ххюва	ххюра	ххюя
6 ряхва	ряхра	ряха

Translation:

III class	*II, IV classes*	*I class*
1 tsava	tsara	tsaya
2 k'iva	k'ira	k'iya
3 shanma	shanna	shama
4 muqʷ'a	muq'ra	muq'a
5 khkhyuva	khkhyura	khkhyuya
6 ryakhʷa	ryakhra	ryakha

Demonstratives: agree in number but not case, and there is no mention of class…

P. 73: demonstratives showing number agreement but not case agreement



ва къатта	«ЭТОТ ДОМ»
вай къатри	«ЭТИ ДОМА»
ва къатлуву	«В ЭТОМ ДОМЕ»
вай къатравu	«В ЭТИХ ДОМАХ»
га къатлуватu	«ИЗ ТОГО ДОМА»
гай къатраватu	«ИЗ ТЕХ ДОМОВ»
кIа суратрай	«НА ЭТОЙ КАРТИНЕ»

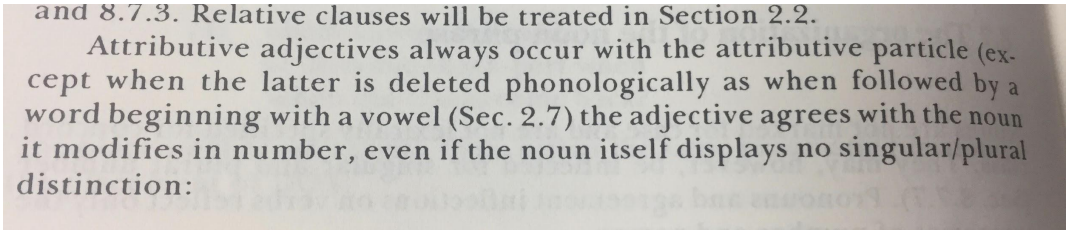
va q'amma	*"this house"*
vay q'ampu	*"these houses"*
va q'amluvu	*"in this house"*
vay q'amravu	*"in these houses"*
ga q'amluvamu	*"out of that house"*
gay q'amravamu	*"out of those houses"*
k'a suramray	*"on this painting"*

What I couldn't tell from Lyosha's work is whether *k'a* was another demonstrative (another demonstrative root) or whether it was agreeing in class. I think it was another root, though.

Ian - Lango (Noonan 1992)

Gender: None
Number: sg/pl
Case: None

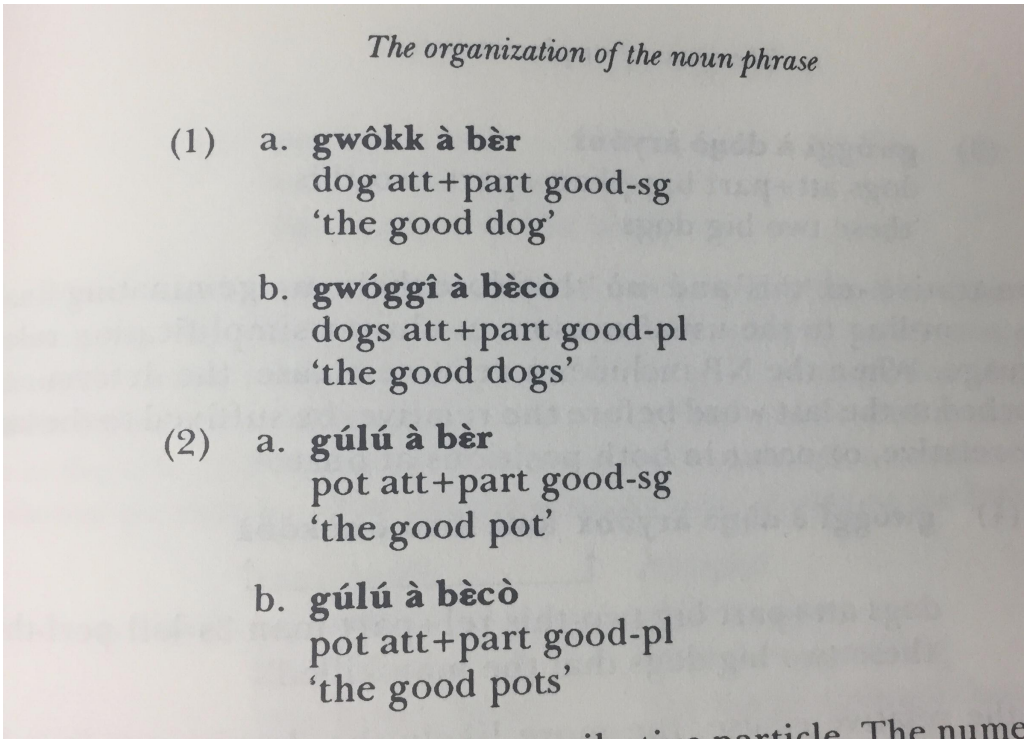
Adjectives:



and 8.7.3. Relative clauses will be treated in Section 2.2.

Attributive adjectives always occur with the attributive particle (except when the latter is deleted phonologically as when followed by a word beginning with a vowel (Sec. 2.7) the adjective agrees with the noun it modifies in number, even if the noun itself displays no singular/plural distinction:

Pg. 154



The organization of the noun phrase

(1) a. **gwôkk à bèr**
dog att+part good-sg
'the good dog'

b. **gwóggî à bècò**
dogs att+part good-pl
'the good dogs'

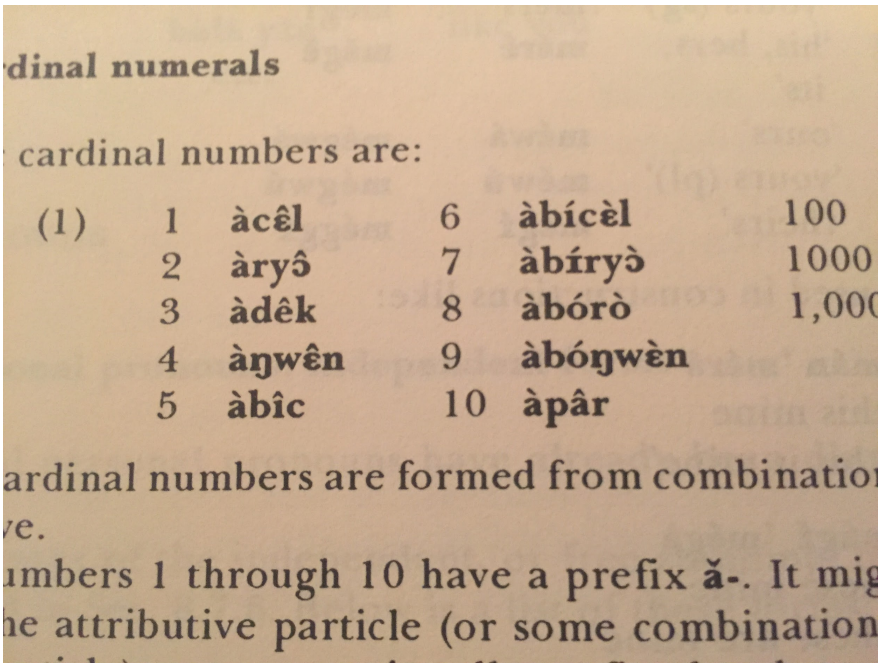
(2) a. **gúlú à bèr**
pot att+part good-sg
'the good pot'

b. **gúlú à bècò**
pot att+part good-pl
'the good pots'

Pg. 155

In the first example, the word for 'dog' does change from 1a to 1b to demonstrate the singular and plural forms of the noun. Likewise, the adjective for 'good' changes to reflect the plurality of the noun in 1b. 2a and 2b have the same format, though the noun remains unchanged from singular to plural.

Numerals:



dinal numerals

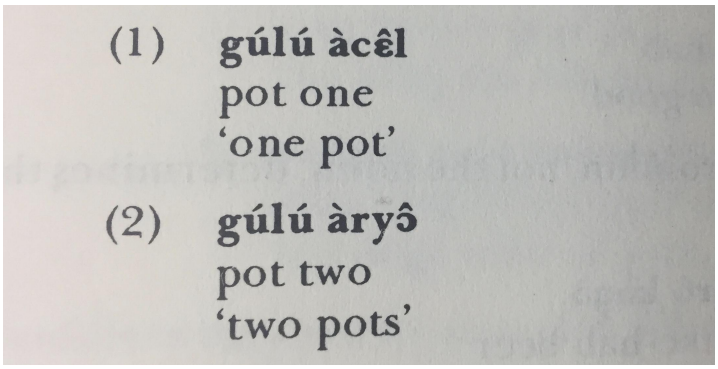
cardinal numbers are:

(1)	1	**àcɛ̂l**	6	**àbícɛ̀l**	100
	2	**àryɔ̂**	7	**àbírɔ̀**	1000
	3	**àdêk**	8	**àbórò**	1,000
	4	**àŋwɛ̂n**	9	**àbóŋwɛ̀n**	
	5	**àbîc**	10	**àpâr**	

ardinal numbers are formed from combinatio
ve.
umbers 1 through 10 have a prefix **ă-**. It mig
he attributive particle (or some combination

Pg. 110

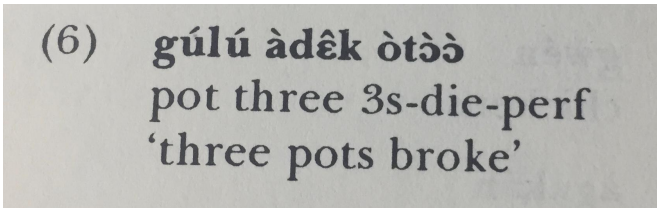
Here is a list of numerals for reference for the following examples.



(1) **gúlú àcɛ̂l**
pot one
'one pot'

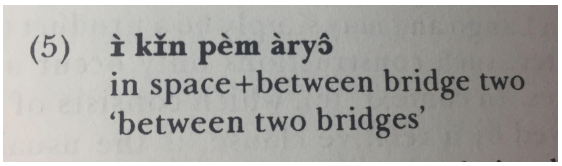
(2) **gúlú àryɔ̂**
pot two
'two pots'

Pg. 167



(6) **gúlú àdêk òtɔ̀ɔ̀**
pot three 3s-die-perf
'three pots broke'

Pg. 168



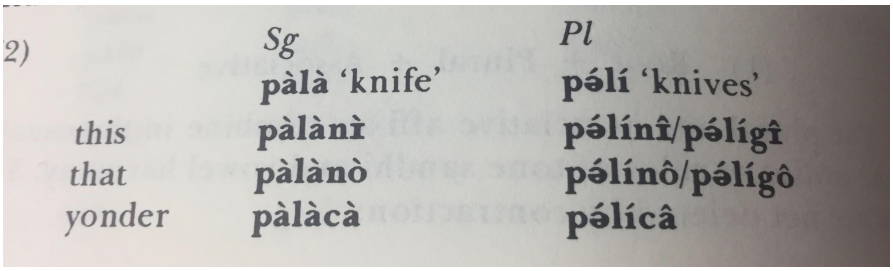
(5) **ì kǐn pèm àryɔ̂**
in space+between bridge two
'between two bridges'

Pg. 171

From the examples above, we see that the numerals do not inflect for number. There is no concord for numerals.

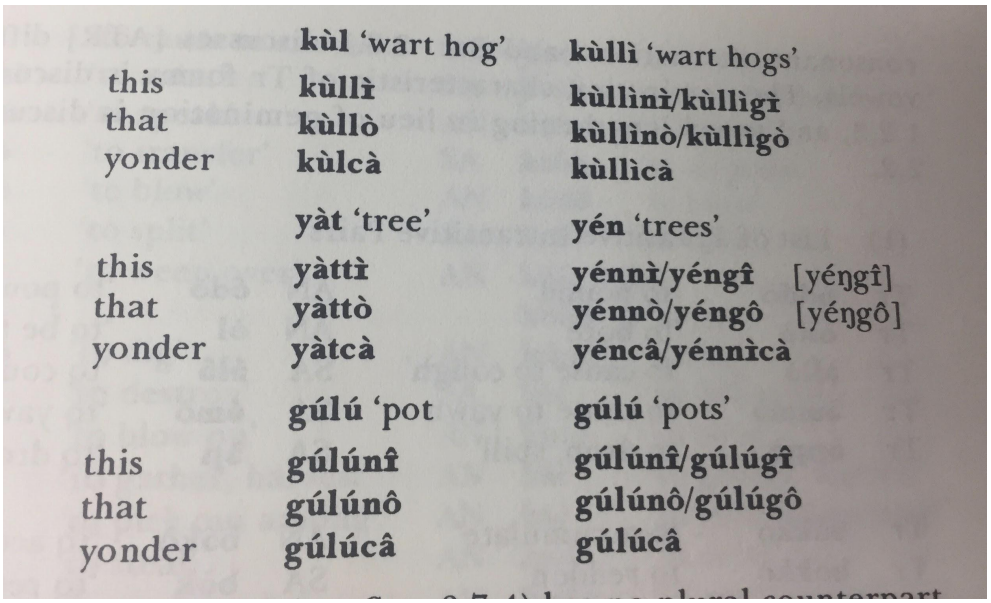
Demonstratives:

Pg. 86
Here is the list of determiners for future reference for the following examples.



2)	*Sg*	*Pl*
	pàlà 'knife'	**pə́lí** 'knives'
this	**pàlànì**	**pə́línî/pə́lígî**
that	**pàlànò**	**pə́línô/pə́lígô**
yonder	**pàlàcà**	**pə́lícâ**

Pg. 86



	kùl 'wart hog'	**kùllì** 'wart hogs'
this	**kùllì**	**kùllìnì/kùllìgì**
that	**kùllò**	**kùllìnò/kùllìgò**
yonder	**kùlcà**	**kùllìcà**
	yàt 'tree'	**yén** 'trees'
this	**yàttì**	**yénnì/yéngî** [yéŋgî]
that	**yàttò**	**yénnò/yéngô** [yéŋgô]
yonder	**yàtcà**	**yéncâ/yénnìcà**
	gúlú 'pot	**gúlú** 'pots'
this	**gúlúnî**	**gúlúnî/gúlúgî**
that	**gúlúnô**	**gúlúnô/gúlúgô**
yonder	**gúlúcâ**	**gúlúcâ**

Pg. 87
From these two examples, we see that the demonstratives take the form of suffixes added to the end of the noun. The book makes the distinction between singular and plural, but the noun alone seems to change and the demonstratives seem to take different forms only to reflect distance.

-nì has a little used plural counterpart **-gì**. Its use seems confined to nouns which lack distinctive plurals, thereby insuring for them a plural interpretation. It is not obligatory with these forms, however, and it was never recorded spontaneously on any noun otherwise marked for plurality. So, **gúlúnî** can mean either 'this pot' or 'these pots' since **gúlú** has no distinctive plural; however, **gúlúgî** can only mean 'these pots'. The noun **gwóggî** 'dogs' is distinctively marked for plurality (the singular is **gwôk**): both **gwóggínì** and **gwóggígì** therefore mean 'these pots', but only the former is likely to be heard.

-nò also has a plural counterpart **-gò**, but this form was never spontaneously offered, even with words like **gúlú**. Nonetheless, **gúlúgô** was understood as meaning 'those pots' though one informant complained it sounded more like Luo than Lango.

-cà and **-kà** are synonymous, but **-kà** is quite rare. **-cà/-kà** have a little used plural counterpart **-ìcà**, which is found only after words ending in consonants. Like **-cà** itself, the initial /**ì**/ in this form is not subject to vowel harmony. **-ìcà** conditions gemination of preceding consonants.

Pg. 86

So this paragraph states that there are plural forms for 'this' and 'that' but that they are used rarely enough that the singular forms can be used the same way as the plural. Overall, I'm a little unsure of what to put for the demonstratives.

lat - Latvian

Adjectives:

Adjectives inflect for gender, definiteness, number, and case.

Masc. and fem indefinite declensions, by case, for the singular and plural.

MASCULINE

	Singular		Plural	
Nom.	*lab-s*	*vīr-s* 'a good man'	*lab-i*	*vīr-i* 'good men'
Acc.	*lab-u*	*vīr-u*	*lab-us*	*vīr-us*
Gen.	*lab-a*	*vīr-a*	*lab-u*	*vīr-u*
Dat.	*lab-am*	*vīr-am*	*lab-iem*	*vīr-iem*
Loc.	*lab-ā*	*vīr-ā*	*lab-os*	*vīr-os*

(p. 51)

FEMININE

	Singular		Plural	
Nom.	*lab-a*	*pļav-a* 'a good meadow'	*lab-as*	*pļav-as* 'good meadows'
Acc.	*lab-u*	*pļav-u*	*lab-as*	*pļav-as*
Gen.	*lab-as*	*pļav-as*	*lab-u*	*pļav-u*
Dat.	*lab-ai*	*pļav-ai*	*lab-ām*	*pļav-ām*
Loc.	*lab-ā*	*pļav-ā*	*lab-ās*	*pļav-ās*

(p. 52)

Indefinite vs. definite declensions of a masc. singular adjective.

	Indefinite declension		Definite declension		Translation of definite series
Nom.	*vec-s*	*nam-s*	*vec-ai-s*	*nams*	the old house
Acc.	*vec-u*	*nam-u*	*vec-o*	*namu*	the old house
Gen.	*vec-a*	*nam-a*	*vec-ā*	*nama*	of the old house
Dat.	*vec-am*	*nam-am*	*vec-aj-am*	*namam*	to the old house
Loc.	*vec-ā*	*nam-ā*	*vec-aj-ā*	*namā*	in the old house

(p. 113)

Numbers mark for gender in their base forms.

Masc.	Fem.	
viens	*viena*	one
divi	*divas*	two
trīs	*trīs*	three
četri	*četras*	four
pieci	*piecas*	five
sešī	*sešas*	six
septiņi	*septiņas*	seven
astoņi	*astoņas*	eight
deviņi	*deviņas*	nine
desmit	*desmit*	ten

(p. 159)

While not explicitly discussed in the text below, compare the endings of the number-noun phrases below to the adjective endings noted above.

All these forms, with the exception of *trīs* and *desmit*, are declined like ordinary adjectives in the plural, e.g.,

pieci zirgi; sešas akas; ar astoņiem draugiem;
zem divām grāmatām; visos septiņos namos, etc.

(p. 160)

Masc.pl.nom, fem.pl.nom/acc/loc, masc.pl.dat, etc. Thus, attributive cardinals mark for **gender, number, and case.** Numbers do not mark for definiteness; or rather, they are always in the indefinite.

Note that although these numerals follow an adjectival declension, none of them has definite endings.

(p. 160)

A Short Grammar of Latvian, Mathiassen

Demonstratives mark for gender, number, and case.

	Masculine				Feminine			
	SG		PL		SG		PL	
N	šis	tas	šie	tie	šī	tā	šīs /šās	tās
G	šī /šā	tā	šo	to	šīs	tās	šo	to
D	šim	tam	šiem	tiem	šai	tai	šīm	tām
A	šo	to	šos	tos	šo	to	šīs /šās	tās
L	šajā šai šinī	tajā tai tanī	šajos šais šinīs	tajos tais tanīs	šajā šai šinī	tajā tai tanī	šajās šais šinīs	tajās tais tanīs

(p. 68)

No mention of definiteness marking.

lav - Lavukaleve

(From Terrill (1999))

Demonstratives agree in gender and number (plurals do not agree in gender) (p54).

There are two subtypes of demonstratives: demonstrative pronouns, consisting of two paradigms, **foia** and **oia**, and a demonstrative modifier **hoia** (cited in their feminine singular medial forms[4]). Demonstratives each have a paradigm of inflecting forms, marking gender, number, and three degrees of distance of the referent from the speaker, with a further distinction made in the distal category between specific and non-specific location.

To be really sure, we should find an example where the demonstrative is actually modifying a noun, because in some lgs, only bare demonstratives inflect (and modifying demonstratives do not)

Demonstratives with overt nouns:

Agree for gender and number, until the plural, which does not mark for gender:

hoia ‘this’

		PROXIMAL	MEDIAL	DISTAL 1	DISTAL 2
SG	MASC	hona	hoina	heana	hoana
	FEM	ho	hoia	hea	hoa
	NEUT	hoga	hoiga	heaga	hoaga
DU	MASC	honala	hoinala	heanala	hoanala
	FEM	hol	hoiaol	heaol	hoaol
	NEUT	hogala	hoigala	heagala	hoagala
PL		hova	hoiva	heava	hoava

(p 163)

See /hoiva/ ‘those’, which has inflected for pl. but not gender in (23), and compare to /heana/ ‘that’ in (24), which has inflected for both sg. and m.

23) **"Onu** **ga** **ema** ***rumaul***

o-	nu	ga	e-	ma	rum	-aul
3sgPOSS-	hair(n)	sgnArt	3sgnO-	take	room	-pl

iloilov ***hoiva*** **vona** **esula**

iloilo	-v	hoiva	vo-	na	e-	su	-la
different	-pl	MOD.MED.pl	3plO-	in	3sgnO-	tie	-EXT

esula **keleava"** **hide ore.**

e-	su	-la	kelea	-va	hide	o-	re
3sgnO-	tie	-EXT	walk	-PCTIMP.sg	thus	3sgS-	say

"Take his hair, then walk around and tie it up all over the place in those different rooms" she said. *jn2 093*

24)

Aka	***Suvala***	***heana***	**fin**	**aearem**				**hin.**
aka	Suvala	heana	fin	a-	ea	-re	-m	hin
then	Suvala(m)	MOD.DIST1.sgm	3sgmFOC	1sgS-	talk.about	-FUT	-sgm	3sgmEFOC

I'll talk about that Suvala island over there *sv 002*

(p 164)

Cardinals show concord in gender and number.

5)	**Aka**	**loval**	**sevi**	**fiv**	**malang**		**ga.**
	aka	loval	sevi	fiv	ma-	langi	ga
	then	giant.trevally(pl)	eight	3plFOC	3plPOSS-	name(n)	sgnArt

The eight fishes, they are called loval.

Savatam		***na***	**fin**	**fafas**	**hin.**
savata	-m	na	fin	fafas	hin
ninth	-sgm	sgmArt	3sgmFOC	fafas(m)	3sgmEFOC

The ninth is a fafas. *b1 050-051*

(p 71)

The first number here /sevi/ ‘eight’ shows no concord. However, /savatam/ ‘ninth’ has agreement for the number and gender of the noun it refers it.

Ah, okay! A clarification: *eight* and *ninth* are both numerals, but they are different kinds of numerals. Things like *eight* are called cardinal numerals, and things like *ninth* (or *eighth*) are called ordinal numerals, and cardinal numerals and ordinal numerals are often distinguished morphologically (and possibly syntactically). In many languages, ordinal numerals are basically adjectives. So, did Terrill mention anything about cardinal numerals ever showing concord?

Only the cardinals 1 and 2 show concord.

The numbers ‘one and ‘two’ also have irregular agreement forms: ‘one’ **telako** (f, n)

---

telakom (m); ‘two’ **lelaol** (f), **lelemal** (m), **lelagel** (n). The other numbers do not agree with their head noun; in this respect they are like **bakel** ‘big’.

(p 49-50)

Compare (39), with no concord on /oa/ ‘six’, to (41), with gender agreement on /lelemal/ ‘two’.

39)	**Ngai**	**molev**	***oa***	***ruvalev***		**fiv**	**alev.**		
	ngai	molev	oa	ruvale	-v	fiv	a-	le	-v
	1sg	canoes(pl)	six	huge	-pl	3plFOC	1sgS-	see	-pl

I saw six big canoes *e3 005c/1*

(p 81)

41)	**Hoikariom**			**ngai**	***sevo***	**lelemal**	**koi**	**amamal.**		
	hoika	-ri	-om	ngai	sevo	lelemal	koi	a-	ma	-mal
	there.MED	-PSNV	-m/n	1sg	vow(m)	two.m	also	1sgS-	take	-du

There now I took two more vows. *am 044*

(p 81)

Adjectives have concord for gender and number.

they have no inherent gender or number, but agree in gender and number with their head noun, using the Agreement Suffix paradigm also used by verbs
(pg 47)

Adjectives agree in gender (m, f, or n) and number (singular, dual, plural)

8)	**Aka**	**foiga**	***mina***	***ho'bea***		***la***	**feo.**
	aka	foiga	mina	ho'bea	-a	la	feo
	then	PN.MED.sgn	thing(f)	good	-sgf	sgfArt	3sgfFOC

And it's a good thing. *jo 035*

(pg 47)

The Agreement Suffix paradigm in Lavukaleve, showing the agreement system (including not marking for gender on plurals):

THE AGREEMENT SUFFIX

	SG	DU	PL
MASC	-m	-mal	-v
FEM	-a	-aol	
NEUT	-ø	-gel	

(p 232)

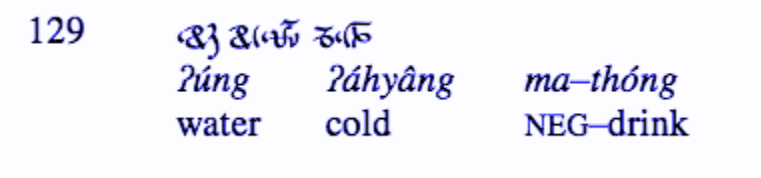
lep - Lepcha (Plaisier 2007)

Gender: none (p47) . but maybe human v nonhuman

Number: suffix on nouns, allomorphy for humanness (p48). It's also not REALLY plural in a grammatical sense== means "manifoldness"; "X and associates"; follows entire NP

Adjectives: No mention of agreement in adjectives and very few examples of attributive adjectives in the grammar in general.

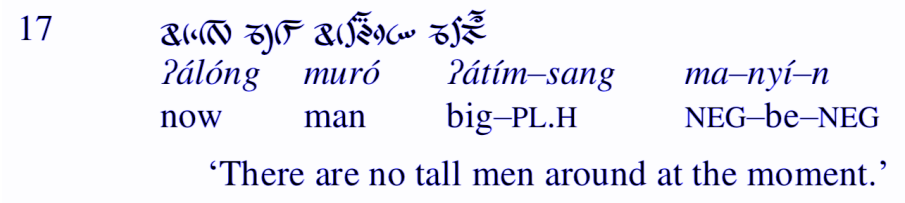
(p. 86-87) No gender on noun or on adjective, no number, no case, no definiteness.



129			
	ʔúng	*ʔáhyâng*	*ma–thóng*
	water	cold	NEG–drink

'Do not drink cold water.'

P52: plural word follows entire NP, so it is suffixed on 'big', which follows 'man'.



17				
	ʔálóng	*muró*	*ʔátím–sang*	*ma–nyí–n*
	now	man	big–PL.H	NEG–be–NEG

'There are no tall men around at the moment.'

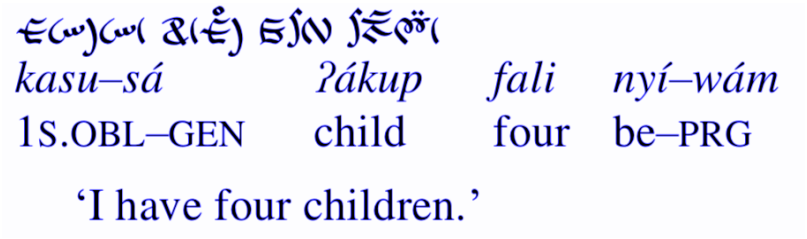
P80

hó sa	*go–re*	*tyól*	*ʔáryúm*	*gum*
2S with	1S–DEF	friend	good	be.AST

'You and I are good friends.'

Numerals:

P 50

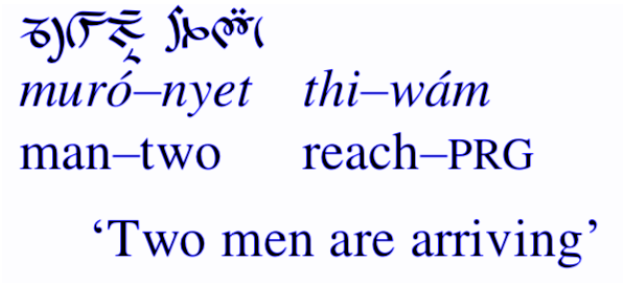


kasu–sá	*ʔákup*	*fali*	*nyí–wám*
1S.OBL–GEN	child	four	be–PRG

'I have four children.'

cha lacks a singular. A form such as *cho* 'book', in *cho sám* 'three books' is simply not marked for number.

P54



muró–nyet *thi–wám*
man–two reach–PRG

'Two men are arriving'

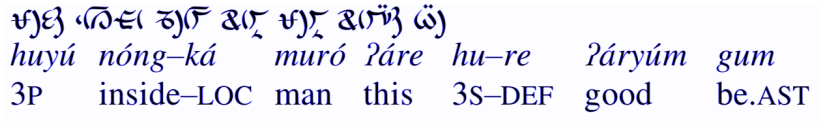
No concord mentioned on numbers.

The numeral forms discussed above are used in counting. Attributive forms of the numerals are formed by adding the factitive marker -*bú* to the numeral, e.g. *kátbú* 'the first'. Some speakers add the form *frón* 'number' and prefer to say *kátfrónbú*, 'the first', or *nyetfrónbú*, 'the second', etc. (p. 91)

Counting numbers had no inflection, and the attributive forms are only marked as attributive, not marked to reflect properties of the noun head.

Demonstratives: only mark for deixis; no concord.

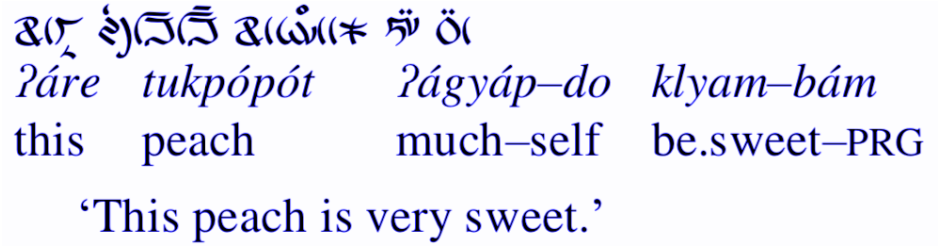
P58



huyú *nóng–ká* *muró* *?áre* *hu–re* *?áryúm* *gum*
3P inside–LOC man this 3S–DEF good be.AST

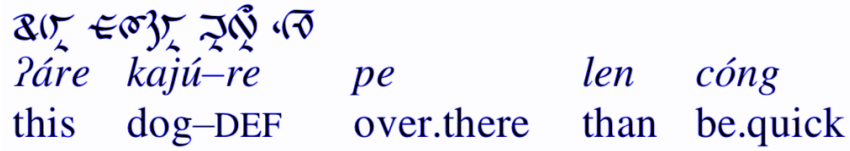
'Among them, this man, he is good.'

p87



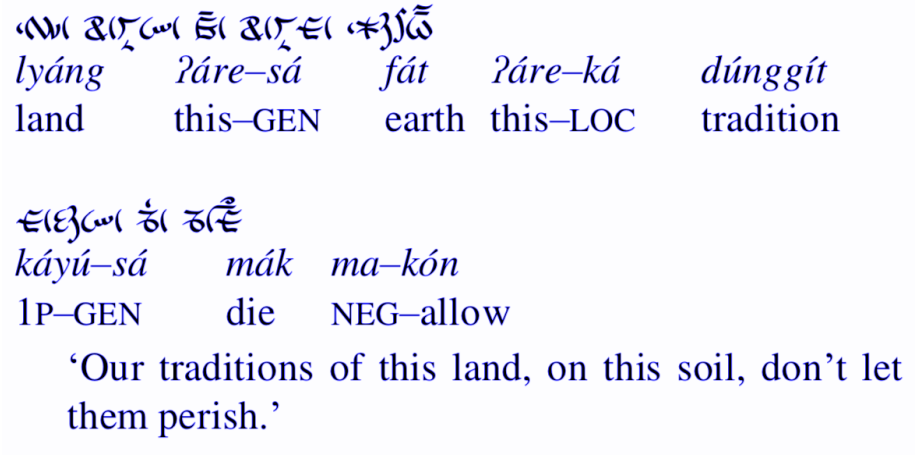
?áre *tukpópót* *?ágyáp–do* *klyam–bám*
this peach much–self be.sweet–PRG

'This peach is very sweet.'



?áre *kajú–re* *pe* *len* *cóng*
this dog–DEF over.there than be.quick

P101

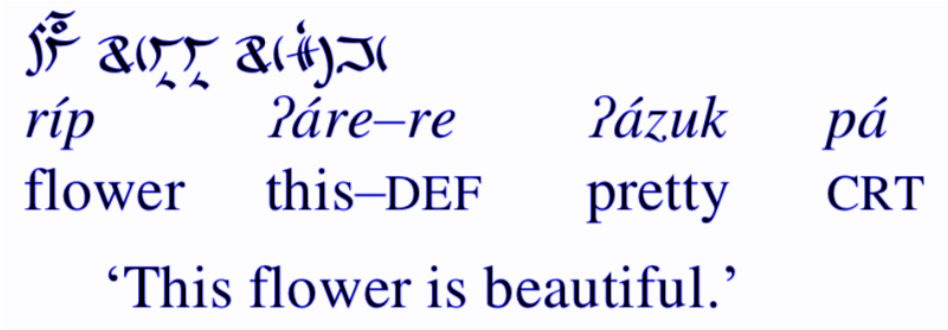


lyáng	*ʔáre–sá*	*fát*	*ʔáre–ká*	*dúnggít*
land	this–GEN	earth	this–LOC	tradition

káyú–sá	*mák*	*ma–kón*
1P–GEN	die	NEG–allow

‘Our traditions of this land, on this soil, don’t let them perish.’

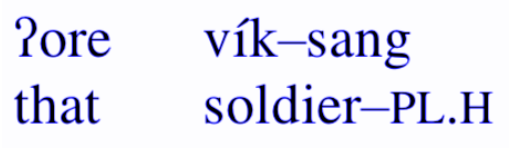
P129: def marker on outside of Dem



ríp	*ʔáre–re*	*ʔázuk*	*pá*
flower	this–DEF	pretty	CRT

‘This flower is beautiful.’

P175 no doubling of plural marker on dem



ʔore	vík–sang
that	soldier–PL.H

lez - Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993)
Case: 18
Number: distinguishes sg/pl on nouns (incl. Pluralia tantum!)
Gender: none (but existed at one time)

Adjectives and demonstratives (p262): neither reflects gender (these examples are representative)

(694) a. *i* *güzel* *cükw-er*
this beautiful flower-PL
'these beautiful flowers'

b. *a* *baxtlu* *deq'iq'a-jar* (J84:5)
that happy minute-PL
'those happy minutes'

(695) *güzel* *i* *cükw-er*
beautiful this flower-PL
'these beautiful flowers'

Also, this example shows the lack of case concord (p263)

(696) *četin* *i* *šart'-ar-a* (DD71,2:10)
difficult this condition-PL-INESS
'under these difficult circumstances'

Numerals: he states in the grammar that they do not inflect when they are attributive. I apparently did not get an example, but the grammar was written by Haspelmath. Here is an example of the numeral 'one' failing to bear the case-marking of the noun it is modifying.

(581) *Žiraf.di* *q̃ib* *sa* *q'aq'an* *tar.ci-n* *xil.e-l* *ecig-na.*
giraffe(ERG) frog one high tree-GEN twig-SRESS put-AOR
'The giraffe put the frog on a twig of a tall tree.' (K86,3:2)

Haspelmath 1993:230

Adjectives, numerals, and demonstratives can all be “substantivized”, which means they are appearing without an overt noun head. In these instances, they can inflect for case and number (although adjectives require an additional suffix).

lkt - Lakhota (Ingham 2003)

Gender: anim/inanim
Number: sg/du/pl but not marked on nouns; present on modifiers
Case: none

Adjectives: Van Valin p.69

2.0.4. Adjectives are not a distinct part of speech in Lakhota as they are in English; they are merely a subset of the class of stative verbs. They always follow the nouns they modify, and so the structure of an NP with an adjective mirrors that of a clause with one NP and a stative verb (see B1, 94-6, 182-3, 320-2).

Van Valin p. 60

(63) wicha'ŝa hã'ska to'pa ki hena' iyu'ha
man tall four the those all
'All four of the tall men'

Hã’ska here doesn’t have plural *pi* or reduplication, but then later it was indicated as having 3singular P agreement… Oh, looking at Ingrahm, I think it’s a zero-marker

P. 69

c. nokŝi'la hã'ska ki iyu'ha waya'wapi oki'nipi.
boy tall the all they-read they-can
'All of the tall boys can read.'

Ullrich 2018 p. 87-- no number marking on *tall* here

(c) *Hokšíla **háŋska** waŋ hí.*

hokšíla	*háŋskA*	*waŋ*	*Ø-hí*
boy	tall	INDEF.SG	3SG.A-come

A **tall** boy came. (data: RFT 1992)

(d) *Hokšíla **háŋska** eyá hípi.*

hokšíla	*háŋskA*	*eyá*	*Ø-hí-pi*
boy	tall	INDEF.PL	3A-come-PL

Some **tall** boys came. (data: MLH 1996)

Ullrich (2018:92-93) shows that adjectives in DPs without determiners DO get reduplicated to indicate plurality.

(c) ***Olówaŋ waštéšte** ahíyaye.*

olówaŋ	*waštéšte*	*a-Ø-Ø-híyayA*
song	good-redup	carry-INAN-3SG.A-stem

He sang **good songs**.
(data: EDT-Aut-6, sentence 25)

(d) ***Wíkȟaŋ háŋskaska** káğa ké.*

wíkȟaŋ	*háŋska-ska*	*Ø-Ø-káğA*	*ké*
rope	long-REDUP	INAN-3.A-make	HSY

He made **long ropes**, it is said.
(data: EDT-Col-4, sentence 74)

De Reuse 1977:69: no page numbers-- here we have TWO adjectives and each one reduplciates, so it's not just rightmost adjectives that get marking

šų̀ȟpála#čigčík̀ala#čhebčhèpa 'fat little puppies'

(puppy=be-little=Red=be-fat=Red)

pšithó#šašà#thą̀gthą̀ka 'large red beads' (BL:19-1)

(bead=be-red=Red=be-large=Red)

Numerals: De Reuse (1977:113) gives this list of numerals

yámni 'three'

tópa[s] 'four'

zápta 'five'

šákpe 'six'

šakówi 'seven'

šaglóǧa 'eight'

napčíyuka[s] 'nine'

wikčémna 'ten'

P134 says the numerals are “VS”s and the NP contains a relative S; no number marking on numerals as far as we can tell.

šúka yámni ki lená 'these three dogs' (BL:5-11)

(dog SØ=be-three Art Dem)

šukawakhá šaglóǧa ki kaná 'those eight horses' (BL:

(dog-mysterious SØ=be-eight Art Dem) 5-12)

Demonstrative: Ingham 2003:39

	singular	dual	plural
near	le	lenaos	lena
neutral	he	henaos	hena
far	ka	----	kana

b) With a noun

le wic'aśa ki, wic'aśa ki le 'this man'

wic'aśa ki lena, lena wic'aśa ki 'these men'

ka wic'aśa ki, wic'aśa ki ka 'that man'

Van Valin p. 60

(63) wicha'ŝa hã'ska to'pa ki hena' iyu'ha

man tall four the those all

'All four of the tall men'

mab - Maba (Weiss 2009)

Gender: just numeral classifer series

Number: singular, plural, singulative, pluralitive-- classic North African number system

Case: just clitic postpositions

p91 There are some nouns with singular/plural forms; also this language has “singulatives” where sometimes singular is marked and plural is unmarked. There are multiple plural affixes. This is just one.

A little bit on the number system here...

175. (a) kámbà-g — garçon-SG — garçon
(b) kàmbá-ɲì: — garçon-PL — garçons

176. (a) kàsì-g — œil-SG — œil
(b) kàsì-ɲí: — œil-PL — yeux

177. (a) ŋgúrì: — sac — sac en cuir
(b) ŋgúr-ɲì: — sac-PL — sacs en cuir

OK, this is a bit wild. Some nouns have no number marking, and they are either inherently singular or inherently plural. You can see the number from the adjective (p97)

202. (a) írí: kùllà-g — léopard grand-SG — grand léopard
(b) *írí: kúlléy — léopard grand

So here, leopard is inherently singular. An unmarked adjective can’t modify it.

203. máʃú: kùllì-sír — homme vieux-PL — vieillards

Here, ‘man’ is inherently plural, so it goes with a plural adjective.

Adjectives: Looks like they agree in number in a similar way to other elements. But there are some places where it doesn’t agree. Unmarked form is used “when the noun is inanimate singular or mass” (p144). There is a whole section on adjectives but there are no attributive examples there.

(p182)

450. (a) jú-g kùllà-g wà:=gù — jarre-SG grand-SG DEM=SG.DEF — cette grande jarre

jarre = earthenware jug/jar

p.182

451. (a) dɛ́ː èmbɛ́ː fɛ̀fɛ́r-túː=nu
vache 1S.POS blanc-PL=DEF
mes vaches blanches

(b) dɛ́ː fɛ̀fɛ́r-túː èmbɛ́ː=nu
vache blanc-PL 1S.POS=DEF
mes blanches vaches

P.408

1115. (a) dɛ̀-g kɔ̀dúnɔ̀-g t-ìŋ-í
vache-SG gros-SG 3S-manger-DECL
La vache grasse broute.

(b) kàŋ kùllà-g t-ár-à
humain.SG grand-SG 3S-venir-PAS
Une personne grande est venue.

(c) mɔ̀nsɔ̀ːnɔ́-g tɔ̀lúwɔ̀-g t-ùs-í-r-ì
arachide-SG mou-SG 3S-cuire\MOY-PAS-PL-DECL
L'arachide molle est cuite.

N]S. PL Adj] S. PL V] S. PL

1116. (a) dɛ̀ː-túː fɛ̀fɛ́r-túː w-ìŋ-í
vache-PL blanc-PL 3P-manger-DECL
Les vaches grasses broutent.

(b) kàmbá-ɲìː kùllì-sír w-ár-à
garçon-PL grand-PL 3P-venir-PAS
De grands garçons sont venus.

Numerals: 1-6 have classifiery type series. Chart and examples below from pp155-156

	Série 1	Série 2	Série 3
un	tɛ́g	tɔ́ː	
deux	mbàːr	mbíːr	mbùl
trois	kùŋàːl	káyàŋ	
quatre	àssàːl	ássíː	
cinq	tùːr	túːr	
six	sìttàːl	síttíː	

	Paramètres
Série 1	Humains, insectes, oiseaux, plantes et non animés singulatif / pluriel
Série 2	Non animés singulier / pluratif (sauf plantes)
Série 2; Série 1 / série 2[1]	Grands quadrupèdes
Série 1; Série 1 / série 2	Petits quadrupèdes

		Locuteur 1 et Locuteurs 2	Locuteur 1	Locuteurs 2	
ANIMES	Humains	kámbàg mbà:r kàmbáɲì: mbà:r			*garçon*
		kàŋ mbà:r káy mbà:r			*personne*
	Grands quadrupèdes		tórmbɔ̀g mbí:r tórmbɔ̀sì: mbí:r	tórmbɔ̀g mbà:r tórmbɔ̀sì: mbí:r	*chameau*
			látàr mbí:r làtàrí: mbí:r	látàr mbà:r làtàrí: mbí:r	*varan*
	Petits quadrupèdes		jɔ́g mbà:r jɔ̀:sí: mbà:r	jɔ́g mbà:r jɔ̀:sí: mbí:r	*brebis*
	Reptiles, oiseaux, insectes	túrnjìg mbà:r túrnjì: mbà:r			*cigogne*
		gɔ́rmbɔ̀l mbà:r gɔ́rmbɔ́ljɛ̀: mbà:r			*margouil-lat*
NON ANIMES	Plantes	sùŋgɔ̀g mbà:r súŋgɔ́: mbà:r			*arbre*
	Non animés –**g** / **V:**	kànjig mbà:r kànjí: mbà:r			*os*
	Non animés –**V:** / CV	kárá: mbí:r kàrɲí: mbí:r			*mains*

These examples all involve forms of the numeral *mbà:r/mbí:r* ‘two’

Numerals higher than 6 don’t have multiple forms.

Demonstratives: Demonstratives distinguish singulative and non-singulative forms. (p105)

218. (a) kámbà-g wà:-g
garçon-SG DEM-SG
ce garçon

(b) sùŋgɔ̀-g wà:-g
arbre-SG DEM-SG
cet arbre

(c) írí: wà:-g
léopard DEM-SG
ce léopard

219. (a) súŋgɔ́: wáŋ
arbre DEM
ces arbres

(b) mésɛ́: wáŋ
case DEM
cette case

(c) kàmbá-ɲì: wáŋ
garçon-pl DEM
ces garçons

(p153) Here is a chart-- it has full forms

	SINGULATIF	SINGULIER	PLURIEL, PLURATIF
PROCHE	tìg máʃíg tìg *cet homme*	tíŋ táŋ tíŋ *cette maison*	tíŋ tàŋtú: tíŋ *ces maisons*
'NEUTRE'	wà:g máʃíg wà:g	wáŋ táŋ wáŋ	wáŋ tàŋtú: wáŋ
ÉLOIGNÉ	ílèg máʃíg ílèg	ílɛ́ŋ táŋ ílɛ́ŋ	ílɛ́ŋ tàŋtú: ílɛ́ŋ
FORMES DÉFINIES	tìgú wà:gú ílɛ́gù	tíŋgú wáŋgú ílɛ́ŋgú	

Tableau 24 : Déictiques

mak - Makah (Matt Davidson and Adam Werle, p.c.)

Matt Davidson is a specialist in Makah and Adam Werle also works on Makah and related languages. I e-mailed them and they said there basically isn't concord in Makah, although it does have classifier suffixes on numerals (like Yurok), and I think this is a borderline case.

ʔaƛqapɬ pikuʔuˑ 'two trinket baskets' (-qapɬ for roundish objects)
ʔaƛaˑċiq čapac 'two canoes' (-ċiq for long thin objects; the long /a/ is epenthetic)
ʔaƛaˑṗeyiɬ ɬuʔaɬ 'two boards' (-ṗeyiɬ for long broad objects; the /a/ is again epenthetic)

So the ʔaƛ is 'two' and then there are suffixes. The suffixes are optional. I get that these are semantically based and so they don't seem like gender, but honestly, I'm not sure if it makes a difference formally-speaking. However, this case does seem different from more obvious examples of concord.

mal - Malagasy (Keenan & Polinsky 1998:567)

(9) (a) io trano io
this house this
'this house'

(b) ireo trano ireo
these house these
'these houses'

(c) iny trano iny
that house that
'that house (far)'

(d) ireny trano ireny
those house those
'those houses (far)'

Keenan & Polinsky state that demonstratives are unusual because they show number agreement, and demonstratives are essentially the only category bearing number inflection in the entire language (exception : 2nd person pronoun). Interestingly, the noun does not show number-- only the demonstrative.

map - Mapudungun/Mapuche (Smeets grammar)

No concord, as far as I can tell. For starters, no gender. Attributive demonstratives do not appear to show number inflection

(p84)

tüfa-chi 'this'
tüfey-chi 'that'
tüye-chi 'that over there'

(6) *tüfey-chi fülor, chem üy nie-y am?*
these-ADJ flower, what name have-IND^{4}-3^{3} PART
'these flowers, what name do they have?'

We have to trust the translation here (i.e., that it is actually plural), but there is no special marker of plurality on the demonstrative. In discussing forms of demonstratives (84-87), Smeets makes no reference to number inflection.

(1) *külá lüq ruka*
three white house
'three white houses'

(2) *tüfa-chi lüq ruka*
this-ADJ white house
'these white houses'

(3) *tüfa-chi külá lüq ruka*
this-ADJ three white house
'these three white houses'

Nothing special on numerals or adjectives either--- again, we have to trust Smeets translation (especially of the one with no numeral).

It's of course possible that the noun is really "singular" with the numeral (since that happens), but with the demonstrative, it is

unlikely that Smeets would translate it as plural if what it actually meant was “this white house”.

mar - Maricopa (Gordon 1981/1986)

Need data, but we had this note: “Adjectives and demonstratives can have case endings attached, but they don't match the nouns; instead they seem to just tag along at the end of NPs (p. 48)”

mau - Maung (Mwang Singer 2006)

Gender: 5
Number: 1, 2, 5* (*not very commonly used at all), plurality marked on nouns
Case: No case

Adjective:
Pg. 21

(2-6)
a.
Waka-pa *iw-aya-wng* *ja* *kiyap.*
DEM.D.LL-EMPH1 3pl/3MA-see-PP MA fish

They saw a fish there.

Atjak1 014

b.
Ja *karrkpin* *i-langali-ng.*
MA big 3MA-stand-PC

A big one was there.

Atjak1 015

The use of the Masculine article in (2-6b) helps to link it to the referent *kiyap* 'fish' from the previous sentence.

Pg. 22

(2-7)
Ngarrung-atpu-ng *[ta* *murlil* *ta* *karrkpin].*
1pl.ex/3LL-have-PP LL ceremony LL big

We had a big ceremony.

It looks like there are articles that must precede adjectives, and these articles communicate gender instead of the adjectives themselves inflecting to show gender. The top example has an adjective with a referent in a different sentence though.

(4-112)
Nuka *[ja* *karrkpin* *ja* *marryun].*
DEM.P.MA MA big MA boy

This is a big boy.

Pg. 141: Here the adjective just has a preceding article matching the gender of the noun.

(3-8)

"Ma-pa, anngа-ma-nyi [mata ma-lijap mata ma-rntulyak mata warlk]."
o.k.-EMPH1 2sg/3VE-get-I2 VE VE-small VE VE-long VE stick

"Go and get a small long stick."

PM Text 3:28

Nominals with a modifying function may precede the head nominal as in (3-7) - (3-8) or follow the head as in (3-9).

(3-9)

"[Warlk mata ma-lurtpuj-ut] anngana-ma-ø-ga!"
stick VE VE-short-PL 2sg/3VE.F-get-NP-HITH

"Get some short sticks!"

PM Text 3:36

Pg. 95

The second example in this set shows a plural marker attached to the adjective short, though the noun for stick does not inflect for plurality. Since the adjective follows the noun, it might be that this plural marker is just attached to the end of the whole DP/NP. Oh, nevermind, I see later that there are otherwise plural words? Seems like a crazy plural system!

Numeral:

(2-18)

Pata ngarrkarrk arrarrkpi awu-yama-ngung kirrkju.
PL two man 3pl-work-PC both

The two men were both working.

(Hewett et al. 1990)

Complex numerical terms are often constructed by using numerals in conjoined NPs as in (2-19) and (2-20).

(2-19)

Puka pata arrarrkpi, [ngarrkarrk warramumpik] la [ngarrkarrk la
DEM.P.PL PL person two woman CONJ two CONJ

ngarrkarrk arrarrkpi] k-awuntu-wu-n angkat la wemin.
two man PR-3pl/3pl-HIT-NP farewell CONJ 3pl.CONTR

These people, two women and four men, are farewelling each other.

Reciprocals7 013

(2-20)

Wurrkamaj yurnu la ngarrkarrk la ngarrkarrk ja kurrana.
palm hand CONJ two CONJ two MA moon

Nine months.

Warranyngiw1 061

Mawng has two commonly used numerals: the bound nominal root *-arakap* 'one' and the free nominal *ngarrkarrk* 'two'. There is an additional complex term *wurrkamaj yurnu* 'five (literally: underside of hand)' which is not commonly used[18]. The numeral

Pg. 27

In the examples above, the word for two does not appear to change or receive any kind of article prefixes like adjectives. Even when combined with the word for woman and the word for man, neither of the numerals change despite the change in gender between these two nouns. Similarly, the second picture shows no agreement in any way for the words for five and two to match 'moon.'

The numeral *-arakap* 'one' takes the human plural prefix *wi-* when part of a complex numeral referring to humans as in (2-21) although it still means 'one'.

(2-21)

```
Puka     pata ngarrkarrk la   w-erakap warramumpik aw-ura-n   ap.
DEM.P.PL PL   two         CONJ PL-one   woman       3pl-go1-PP sit.down

These three women come and sit down.
                                                    Reciprocals7 015
```

The agreement in the expression *ngarrkarrk la w-erakap* 'three' in (2-21) suggests that the expression has grammaticalised and is not a conjoined NP. It is better analysed as a multiword expression within which the prefix of *-arakap* 'one' shows agreement with the head of its NP.

Pg. 27

In the example above, the author discusses how the phrase for three should not be analyzed as a conjoined noun phrase but rather as a multiword expression that has the characteristic of agreement. This seems to imply that numerals do not typically show agreement for plurality.

(3-5)

```
la   [pata  ngarrkarrk  warranyngiw] aw-ura-n     tuka  waryat.
CONJ  PL    two         child        3pl-go1-PP   LOC   rock

And the two children went to the rock.
                                                  Information14 061
```

Pg. 97

Here the word for two doesn't display any gender information. There is a plural demonstrative, but beyond that, no other number information seems to be available in the clause.

conjunct *panikin* 'billy (MA)' despite the overt Masculine agreement of the numeral *y-arakap* 'MA-one' with *panikin*.

(3-21)

Ngapi	*nganym-aya-n*	*ngarrkarrk*	*warlk*	*la*	*ngarrkarrk*	*la* *y-arakap*
1sg	1sg/3VE-see-NP	two	stick(VE)	CONJ	two	CONJ MA-one

panikin.
container(MA)

I can see two sticks and three buckets.

Information12 068

Pg. 150

In this example, while conveying the idea of a third object, there is a gender marking matching the noun attached ‘arakap’ (one), but not for ‘ngarrkarrk’ (two).

(4-134)

M-arakap	*anjirla*	*inny-aka-n-pi*	*i-maju-ngan.*
VE-one	spear	3MA/3MA-throw-PP-TWDS	3MA-die-PP

He knocked him down and killed him with only one spear (i.e. on his first attempt).

C+H Text 2:19

Pg. 148: The numeral one has a prefix conveying gender information even though it is not attached to other numerals to convey ‘three’ or ‘nine.’ I hypothesize that the numeral one shows concord for gender, but since it is singular, it does not show concord for plurality unless when being used to describe groups of human beings greater than two. Other numerals do not show concord.

Demonstratives:

(2-31)

Juka	*marrik*	*iny-mi-ø*	*puluny*	*la*	*k-anga-la-ø*	*drink.*
DEM.P.FE	NEG	3FE-DO-I1	smoke	CONJ	PR-3GEN/3LL-drink-NP	Eng.

This one isn't smoking, she's drinking a drink.

Information1 117

(2-32)

Naka	*k-i-mi-n*	*puluny.*
DEM.D.MA	PR-3MA-DO-NP	smoke

That one is smoking.

Information1 116

Pg. 30

The demonstrative ‘juka’ in the top sentence matches the proximal feminine article shown in the paradigm below. It agrees in gender with the feminine pronoun. The sentence below has the masculine distant demonstrative ‘naka.’ This example shows that demonstratives are marked for gender.

Table 7 Proximal and distal demonstratives and the article

	Proximal	Distal	Article
Root	*-uka*	*-aka*	*-a ~ -ata*
MA	*nuka*	*naka*	*ja*
FE	*juka*	*jaka*	*jita*
LL	*tuka*	*waka* *taka*	*ta*
VE	*muka*	*maka*	*mata*
ED	*tuka*	*taka*	*ta*
PL	*puka*	*paka*	*pata*

Pg. 31
The paradigm above shows that there ought to be demonstratives for plural nouns.

(2-21)
Puka pata ngarrkarrk la w-erakap warramumpik aw-ura-n ap.
DEM.P.PL PL two CONJ PL-one woman 3pl-go1-PP sit.down

These three women come and sit down.

Reciprocals7 015

Pg. 27
The plural proximal demonstrative ‘puka’ is used above to match the plurality of the three women.

(3-5)
la [pata ngarrkarrk warranyngiw] aw-ura-n tuka waryat.
CONJ PL two child 3pl-go1-PP LOC rock

And the two children went to the rock.

Information14 061

Pg. 97
Here the plural article ‘pata’ is used to match ‘children.’ Thus, demonstratives match in gender only when they are singular, but they also match in plurality when a noun becomes plural.

may - Maybrat (Dol 2007)

Gender: Masculine vs. unmarked
Number: unmarked on nouns
Case: no case marking, so far as I can tell

Adjectives: Dol does not make a distinction between adjectives and verbs, despite the fact that only some “verbs” can be used attributively. In any case, attributive “verbs” show gender concord.
(p71)

(48) *pi* *y-anes* *re-t-o*
man 3M-old location.SPEC-near-U
'that old man'

(49) *ku* *m-of* *re-f-o*
child 3U-good location.SPEC-very.near-U
'this good child'

Dol insists on calling these "person prefixes" and indicating person in the glosses, but gender is only distinguished on 3sg prefixes, and so we could just as easily say that they're gender markers à la Bantu. There are also some examples with multiple adjectives, but sometimes the prefix is missing, and this is phonologocially determined (discussed earlier in the book). She calls them 'covert prefixes'. Here are some on p.129

(12) *ku* *ø-kiniah* *m-of* *t-o*
child ø-small 3U-nice near-U
'these nice small children'

(13) *ara aut* *m-api* *ø-kapes* *s-au*
{*Albizzia* sp.} 3U-big ø-huge one-3U
'one very big "*Albizzia* sp. tree"'[1]

But here's one on p128 where both prefixes persist.

(3) *tfo* *m-kek* *m-aku* *s-au*
machete 3U-red 3U-small one-3U
'one small red machete'

Numerals: Only the numeral for *one* takes gender marking. (p130)

(18) *ku* *ø-kiniah* *m-ana* *tiet*
child ø-small 3U-head four
'four small children'

(20) a. *apit tawe* *m-akan* *s-au*
{banana tawe} 3U-seed one-3U
'one *tawe* banana'

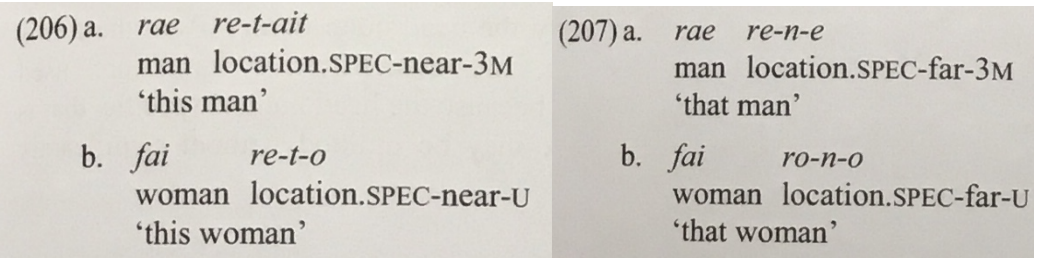
b. *apit tawe* *m-ana* *s-au*
{banana tawe} 3U-head one-3U
'one *tawe* banana'

(21) a. *awiah* *m-ake* *eok*
taro 3U-fruit two
'two taros'

b. *awiah* *m-ana* *eok*
taro 3U-fruit two
'two taros'

These are the “classifier” examples that she gives, but they’re really just possessive constructions, not morphosyntactic classifiers.

Demonstratives: demonstratives agree in gender but also sometimes don’t in a way that I didn’t fully understand. Here are some examples from p99



(206) a. *rae* *re-t-ait*
man location.SPEC-near-3M
‘this man’

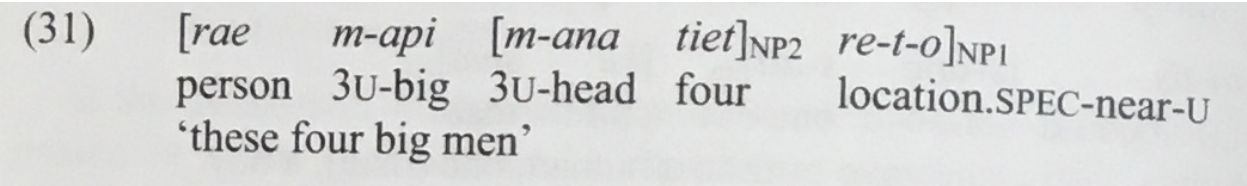
b. *fai* *re-t-o*
woman location.SPEC-near-U
‘this woman’

(207) a. *rae* *re-n-e*
man location.SPEC-far-3M
‘that man’

b. *fai* *ro-n-o*
woman location.SPEC-far-U
‘that woman’

There is a third degree of distance, but this at least shows the gender agreement. There were also some examples (I didn’t save them, unfortunately) where the unmarked gender was used even though the head was masculine.

It is hard to see whether demonstratives agree in number because the system is convergent to unmarked gender in the plural, so it would have to be a masculine plural. Since she does not mention number agreement in the section on demonstrative, I will take her at her word. I also looked through 100 pages for a plural “men” and didn’t find one. Closest thing I found was this on p. 132



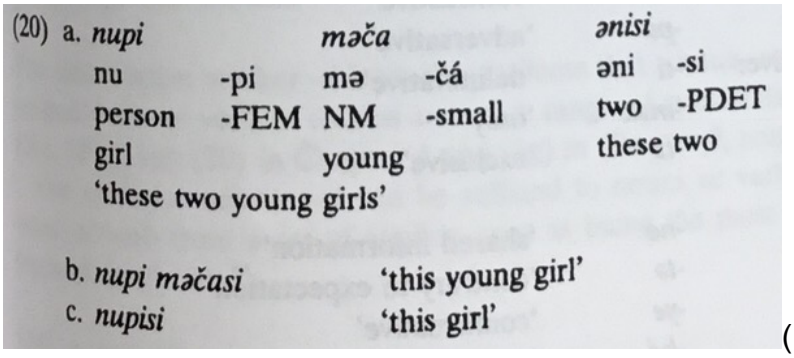
(31) [*rae* *m-api* [*m-ana* *tiet*]$_{NP2}$ *re-t-o*]$_{NP1}$
person 3U-big 3U-head four location.SPEC-near-U
‘these four big men’

It’s hard to know what’s going on here. At first I thought that all the “unmarked” gender modifiers were agreeing with “head”, but now I’m not so sure. In any case, we can’t really call this plural concord, I don’t think, due to the syncretism. We’d want a clear exponent of plurality.

mei - Meithei (Chelliah 1997)

Meithei does not have concord. There is an attributive marker *ə-* that attaches to things to make them attributive, but there’s no inflection/agreement on those attributive things.

Gender system: *-pi/bi* ‘female’, *-pa/ba* ‘male’, but unproductive
Number system: optional *-siŋ*
Case system: 6 case suffixes (+ zero marking), marked on right edge of NP

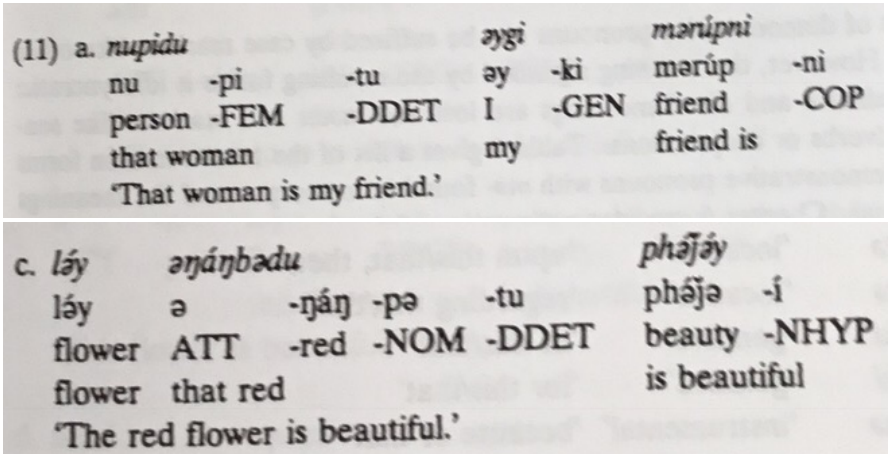

(20) a. *nupi* *məča* *ənisi*
nu -pi mə -čá əni -si
person -FEM NM -small two -PDET
girl young these two
'these two young girls'

b. *nupi məčasi* 'this young girl'
c. *nupisi* 'this girl'

(P249)

Here we see the demonstrative *-si* attaching to the right edge regardless of what that element is (20a-c), and it does not match the feminine suffix or express dual/plural number.

P.81


(11) a. *nupidu* *əygi* *mərúpni*
nu -pi -tu əy -ki mərúp -ni
person -FEM -DDET I -GEN friend -COP
that woman my friend is
'That woman is my friend.'

c. *láy* *əŋáŋbədu* *phə̃jáy*
láy ə -ŋáŋ -pə -tu phə̃jə -í
flower ATT -red -NOM -DDET beauty -NHYP
flower that red is beautiful
'The red flower is beautiful.'

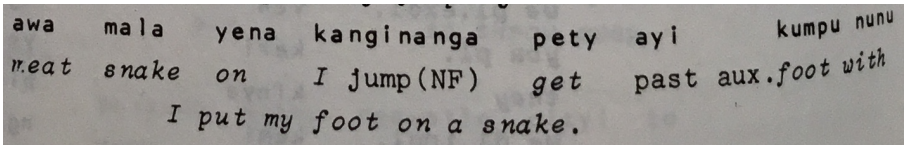
Here we see again no agreement for the demonstrative *-tu* nor for the adjective 'red' in (11c). Not shown here, but ont he same page there are free form demonstrative examples and they also don't show agreement--- they are the same as above except suffixed to the attributive schwa rather than to the preceding noun.

mku - Maranungku (Tryon 1970)

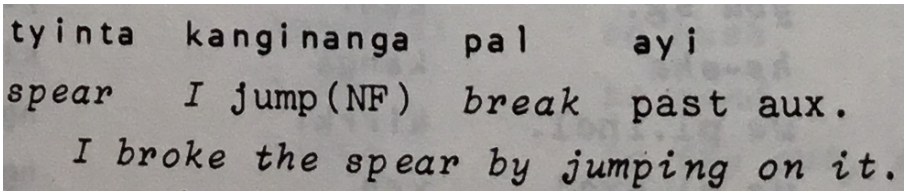
Gender: 4 (sort of), but not really obligatory(?). Below from p12

- *Awa*: any animal or insect which may be edible
- *Yili*: tools, weapons, all wooden instruments
- *Miya:* vegetable food of any type
- 0: parts of body, kinship terms, "natural phenomena" ; does not have a special marker

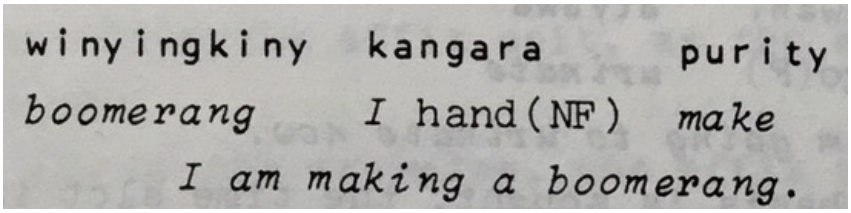
p34: Gender in use *awa*


awa mala yena kanginanga pety ayi kumpu nunu
meat snake on I jump(NF) get past aux. foot with
I put my foot on a snake.

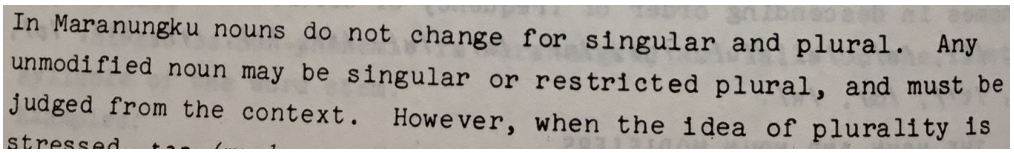
p34: but not used here for *spear* (it could possibly be class IV tho)



p45: gender not used for boomerang



Number: sg/dl/pl only in pronouns/verbs (p12)

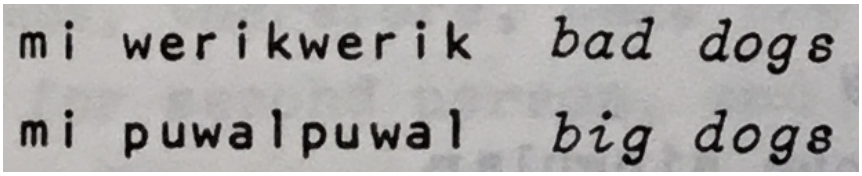

In Maranungku nouns do not change for singular and plural. Any unmodified noun may be singular or restricted plural, and must be judged from the context. However, when the idea of plurality is

Case: none, so far as I can tell

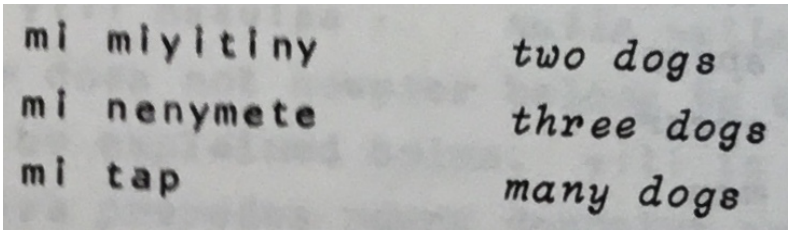
Adjectives: when plurality is “stressed” (e.g., more than 4 or 5, I guess?), adjectives can be reduplicated. I would be very surprised if this was obligatory based on the discussion.

P13 basic adjective

P13 reduplicated adjectives



Numerals: follow the noun; no special marking. Only native numerals up to 5.



Demonstratives:

pp13-14

mi kenki	*this dog*
kantu keni	*that man*

peku keni	*that woman*
ngatta yuwa	*that house*
kantu yuwa	*that man*

P16 here are osme complex DPs: N-Adj-Dem-Num-Poss

mi natla miyitiny	*two good dogs*
mi natla miyitiny ngany	*my two good dogs*
ngatta yuwa nenymete	*those three houses*
mi natla yuwa	*that good dog*

mnd - Mandarin

Personal knowledge; no concord

mrd - Marind (Olsson 2017)

Gender: 4 genders
Number: some nouns do not reflect number but modifiers can; some nouns (a small group) reflect gender (pp125-126)
Case:

Adjectives: p76 many adjectives form compounds

> Examples of compounds with property words as the first members are: *yaba-basik* 'big pig', *kosi-basik* 'small pig', *dohu-basik* 'brown (lit. red) pig'. These are structurally

Here, *dohu-basik* shows gender agreement (class II) with pig.

p77 only 16 property words (adjectives) show agreement.

Table 4.2: Gender agreement on adjectives.

Gloss	I sg	II sg	I/II pl	III	IV
'light (weight)'	*akek*	*akuk*	*akik*	*akak*	*akik*
'mid-size'	*samlaɣen*	*samlaɣun*	*samlaɣin*	*samlaɣan*	*samlaɣin*
'short'	*dahwages*	*dahwagus*	*dahwagis*	*dahwagis*	*dahwagis*
'long'	*wagatok*	*wagatok*	*wagituk*	*wagatok*	*wagituk*
'old, ancient'	*taname*	*tanamu*	*tanami*	*tanama*	*tanami*
'thin'	*halahel*	*halahul*	*halahil*	*halahal*	*halahil*
'thin'	*palapel*	*palapul*	*palapil*	*palapal*	*palapil*
'strong'	*tage*	*tagu*	*tagi*	*taga*	*tagi*
'soft'	—	*ɣahyuhy*	*ɣahih*	*ɣahyahy*	*ɣahih*
'sharp'	—	—	—	*ɣaɣaɣaɣ*	*ɣaɣaɣiɣ*
'dull'	—	—	—	*ɣandaɣal*	*ɣandaɣil*
'ripe'	—	—	—	*eho*	*ihu*

ble 4.3.

Table 4.3: Gender agreement on three color adjectives.

Gloss	I sg	II sg	I/II pl	III	IV
'white'	*kohi*	*kohu*	*kohi*	*kohi*	*kohi*
'red'	*dohi*	*dohu*	*dohi*	*dohi*	*dohi*
'black'	*kunayhi*	*kunayhu*	*kunayhi*	*kunayhi*	*kunayhi*

p139 sometimes adjectives are just compounded with nouns

Compound	gloss	meaning
kosi-aliki	small-river	'small river'
keh-onggat	tall-coconut	'tall coconut palm'
noɣ-anim	new-people	'young people'
dohi-anem	red-man	'fair-skinned man; albino'
kunayhi-adaka	black-water	'coffee'
ndom-bekay	bad-heart	'disappointed, unhappy'

P155 okay, now it sounds like they're always compounded, but they can still agree inside of the compound

dohi-jeriken

red:III-jerrycan(m)(III)

P179 great!! A full list!

(240) Agreement on the adjective *samlaɣVn* ‘mid-size’

a.	*samlaɣ**e**n-patul*	‘mid-size boy’	(I)
b.	*samlaɣ**u**n-kyasom*	‘mid-size girl’	(II)
c.	*samlaɣ**i**n-patul*	‘mid-size boys’	(I/II.pl)
d.	*samlaɣ**i**n-kyasom*	‘mid-size girls’	(I/II.pl)
e.	*samlaɣ**a**n-da*	‘mid-size sago palm(s)’	(III)
f.	*samlaɣ**i**n-bomi*	‘mid-size termite mound(s)’	(IV)

Numerals: Numerals are not listed among the agreeing categories on p191; really only two native numerals and they count in Malay (I think?) otherwise.

P160 *anim* ‘people’ is plural (singular *anem/anum*), gender I/II

(186) a. *inah anim k-a- naɣam*
two people PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- many.come

b. *anim inah k-a- naɣam*
people two PRS.NEUT-3sg.A- many.come

Both: ‘Two people are coming.’

P161 note the plural demonstrative

(187) Describing hunters trying to bring their catch back to the village.
inah anim i-pe, mbaymbay k-a sinik
two people I/II.pl-DIST unable PRS.NEUT-3sg.A carry
‘Those two people, they can’t carry it.’ [0050.28062015.3.wbi]

P103 Here’s one that is gender III, still no change

(92) *inah yahun ø-ø-um- bamet-a-m tamuɣ ti*
two canoe(III) NEUT-3sg.A-FRUS- run.PLA-EXT-VEN food with:III
‘Two trucks were going to come with food (but didn’t).’
[0191.27112016.3.wbi]

Demonstratives: pp 83-84 Dem-N, N-Dem, Dem-N-Dem

(55) *ɣap e-pe ebta k-ak-e-y- haman*
night(III) III-DIST sago.thatch(IV) DIR-1.A-1pl-ACPN- many.sit
‘That night we sat [making] sago thatch roofing.’ [0276.17102016.1.wbi]

(56) The speaker describes how he waited in vain for his friend during a hunt.
e-pe anem mandin menda-b-ø- ihe⟨n⟩ab
I-DIST man(I) long.ago PERF-ACT-3sg.A- pass⟨1.U⟩
‘That man had already gone past me long ago.’ [0058.28062015.2.wbi]

P84

(57) *a-na- og i-pe duwet i-pe!*
IMP-1.DAT- give IV-DIST money(m)(IV) IV-DIST
'Give me that money!' [0398.27112016.4.wbi]

P86 this one shows a plural demonstrative

(61) *deg-anim i-han, Yawimu, mbya ka-n-is-ap- o-tad-e*
forest-people I/II.pl-REM Y. NEG PRS.NEUT-3pl.A-SEP-CT- PLA-burn-IPFV
'The forest people over there, in Yawimu, they don't bake [the sago loaves].'
[20052015.4.dmh]

P178

(238)
a. *patul e-pe*
boy I-DIST
'that boy'

b. *kyasom u-pe*
girl II-DIST
'that girl'

c. *patul i-pe*
boy I/II.pl-DIST
'those boys'

d. *kyasom i-pe*
girl I/II.pl-DIST
'those girls'

P179

(239)
a. *da e-pe*
sago III-DIST
'that sago palm'
'those sago palms'

b. *bomi i-pe*
termite.mound IV-DIST
'that termite mound'
'those termite mounds'

mrl - Murle (Arensen 1985: Murle Grammar)

Murle has number agreement for demonstratives and adjectives

Demonstratives (pg 99-100)

Acin maa nicini kajac.
sees lion this kob
'This lion sees a kob.'

Aruk ɛɛti orozɛ nicigi.
beats man dogs these
'The man beats these dogs.'

Adjectives (pg 100-101)

Kanoti naana ɛɛt ci wun.
I look I man tall
'I am looking for the tall man.'

Kacin ɔl ci appintik ba wuntik.
I see men big and tall
'I see the big tall men.'

RK- These sentences are the only comparison of the same adjective both sg and pl in the grammar (look at the word for tall). They're probably not the best, as the word for "tall" is one of the only known irregular adjectives (usually the stem does not change before adding the plural suffix), but it still works.
Note that adjectives can pluralize with two different suffixes: -ik and -ɛ. This is **not** two different classes of adjectives, each taking a different suffix; all adjectives exist with both forms, and speakers are given the choice between the two. It is stated that "some Murle prefer to use [the -ɛ suffix] when the adjective modifies a person", but there doesn't seem to be any further elaboration- should this be considered gender? I would probably argue no, but there's a valid case to be made.
I was gonna ask if there was a gender system based on the first two examples (like, can we be sure that the "these" vs "this" distinction is only reflecting a number distinction and not a number + gender distinction. WALS does say it has no gender, though, so that is at least promising. What you have described at the end does make me want to say yes… but perhaps not a robust system of gender… (MN)
UPDATE: I'm saying this is no gender since we don't have good evidence.

mrt - Martuthunira (Dench 1994)

Gender: None
Number: sg, plural, two, three, 'a little'
Case: 7 cases

Adjectives: Pg. 55

With such wide-ranging patterns of use it is clear that a classification into nominal subclasses is not nearly as neat as that suggested for Yankunytjatjara. There is no set of necessary and/or sufficient conditions which allow the definition of noun versus adjective. They cannot be distinguished by the ability of just one class to function as the head of a noun phrase (that is, unless we argue for radical ellipsis of heads in some noun phrases – see §8.5). This is not to deny the fact that individual nominals have greater or lesser ability to occur in particular frames. However, these possibilities of occurrence cannot be predicted by general syntactic or semantic rule. Such information would need to be stated in the lexical entry for each nominal.

Dench describes that adjectives and nouns are hard to distinguish because both can often appear as the head of a noun phrase and that ‘adjectives’ are more accurately described as being nouns modifying noun phrases.

Pages 54-55

HEAD OF NOUN PHRASE

(3.1) a. *Nhuwana-yi pawulu-ngara parrani-Ø yilangu nyina-lu pinkarranyu-la.*
2PL-VOC child-PL return-IMP here sit-PURPss dry-LOC
You children come back here and stay in the dry.

MODIFIER IN NOUN PHRASE

(3.2) a. *Nhulaa manku-Ø, pinkarranyu kalyaran!*
near.you grab-IMP dry stick
Grab that, a dry stick!

SIMPLE ASCRIPTIVE

(3.3) a. *Nhiyuthanuwa pinkarranyu paju nganaju mungka-lwaa.*
this bread dry REAL 1SG.ACC eat-PURPs=o
This bread is too dry for me to eat. (trans.)

SECOND PREDICATION

(3.5) a. *Nhulaa wartirra wiru thanuwa-a thurnta-rninyji kayulu-wirriwa-a,*
near.you woman want damper-ACC knead-FUT water-PRIV-ACC

pinkarranyu-u.
dry-ACC
That woman wants to knead damper (bread) without water, dry.

COPULA ASCRIPTIVE

(3.4) *Ngulangu yirrala-la, jalyuru-la-rru, ngunhu-ngarapawulu-ngara*
there sheet-LOC hole-LOC-NOW that.NOM-PL child-PL

nyina-layi pinkarranyu waruul-wa-rru.
be-FUT dry still-Ø-NOW
Under the sheet, those children will stay dry then.

When the adjective 'dry' acts as a modifier to a noun phrase, it doesn't appear to be inflected as it sometimes does in other roles.

(3.9) *Ngarnarna nhawu-layi kupiyaji-i wuntu-ngara-a-thurti*
1PL.EXC see-FUT little.PL-ACC boy-PL-ACC-CONJ

ngurrinymarta-ngara-a-thurti panyi-rnura-a.
girl-PL-ACC-CONJ dance-PrREL-ACC
We'll see the little ones, the boys and the girls, dancing.

Pg. 58
Here the adjective 'little' is inflected for both plurality and case.

(3.18) *Nganangu-rru kana kuliyanpa-layi ngaliwa mijara-marta-a*
who.ACC-NOW RHET think-FUT 1PL.INC egg-PROP-ACC

panyu-marta-a mungka-nngguntharri-marta-a?
good-PROP-ACC eat-HABITNOM-PROP-ACC
Who else [other than the chickens] can we think of that has good eggs that can be eaten?

Pg. 61
Lisewise, ‘good’ in this example is inflected for case as well.

(4.43) *Nganangu-rru kuliyanpa-layi pilakurta-a jalya-ngara-la*
who.ACC-NOW think-FUT carpenter-ACC useless-PL-LOC
kanyara-ngara-la yartapalyu-la?
man-PL-LOC other.group-LOC
Now who can we think of that is a carpenter out of that other mob of useless men?

Pg. 75
Here we have ‘useless’ inflected for case and plurality as well. Despite the confusion caused by the first few examples, it appears that adjectives in Martuthnira are inflected for case and number.

Numerals: Pg 190

8.1.2 QUANTIFIER

The Quantifier slot may be filled by one of three number words or by a nominal functioning as a mass quantifier:

kalika	one
kayarra	two
jarrkurti	three, a few
maruwarla	many, much
kupuyu	a little

Only one complex number expression occurs in the data:

(8.3) *Nhamintha ngula? Kayarra jina, kayarrajuwayu wirra-ngara wiyaa.*
how.many IGNOR two foot two hand boomerang-PL maybe
How many were there? Maybe twenty boomerangs (lit. two hands and two feet of boomerangs).

The nominal *maruwarla* functions as a Quantifier for all numbers greater than *jarrkurti*, if the entity is inherently countable, or for any relatively large amount of a non-countable substance. The plural suffix may be used to indicate an overly large amount of a usually non-countable entity such as sand, fat or liquid. The nominal *kupuyu* ‘little’ is used to indicate a small amount of a non-countable substance.

(8.50) *ngurnu kayarra-a wirra-tharra-a panyu-tharra-a*
that.ACC two-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC good-DU-ACC
those two good boomerangs

Pg. 203
This example shows the numeral two being inflected for the case of the noun

Demonstratives:
Case and number concord on demonstratives

(5.40) *Kartu kangku-Ø yirnala-a warrirti-i jankurna-marnu!*
2SG.NOM take-IMP this.DEF-ACC spear-ACC emu-ASSOC
You take this particular spear [offering it] for an emu!

(118)

(6.34) *Nhiingara jalya-ngarayungku-ngulaanu kapalya-ngara-a*
this.PL scrap-PL give-PASSCONTR pet-PL-ACC

ngaliwa-wu-u mungka-lwaa-lpurtu.
1PL.INC-GEN-ACC eat-PURPs=o-COMP
These scraps should have been given to those pets of ours to eat [but for some reason they weren't].

(150)

mss - Miwok (Southern Sierra) (Broadbent grammar)

(2) Two or more nouns with the same case suffix. Such nouns are in immediate constituency with each other. Besides agreeing with each other as to case suffix, nouns in immediate constituency agree in person. If one of them is an independent pronoun, the other(s) always contain the corresponding Series 2 pronominal suffix; nouns other than independent pronouns contain the same Series 2 pronominal suffix when in immediate constituency with each other. Likewise, if one member of a nominal expression of this type contains a diminutive, augmentative, or plural suffix, some or all other members of the same expression often contain the same suffix. This type of agreement, however, is not obligatory; agreement in case and person is obligatory. Examples:

‖ʔi-HmetiH-j-ʔok cicka-HmetiH-j‖ /ʔi·meti·ʔok cicka·meti·/ 'those birds (plural, accusative case)'

‖ʔi-Hs-∅-ʔok tin·y-t·i-Hs-∅, monac·a-t·i-Hs-∅-le·, tela-ʔHYniH-ti·i-Hs-∅. . .tin·y-Hs-∅, ja·ny-t·i-Hs-∅‖ /ʔis?ok tin·yt·is, monac·at·isle·, tela?·ynit·is. . .tin·ys, ja·nyt·is/ 'with that little something, with pretty little things, with little colored things, with something, with fine yarn'

‖ʔokaHh-∅-ŋ ʔi·h-ŋ-ʔok ṭama-∅-ŋ‖ /ʔoka·hyŋ ʔi·hyŋʔok ṭamaŋ/ 'the same one's, its, sourberry's'

(p131)

The above makes it sound like case concord is obligatory but number concord is optional, but there are not many examples.

```
?i-HmetiH-j-?ok  cicka-HmetiH-j
that-PL-ACC-PFIX bird-PL-ACC
"Those birds"

?i-Hs-0-?ok       tin:y-t:i-Hs-0
that-INST-NOM-PFIX what/something-DIM-INST-NOM
"With that little something"
```

ʔokaHh-ŋ ʔi·h-ŋ-ʔok ṭama-ŋ la·ma-ʔ-hY· /ʔoka·hyŋ ʔi·hyŋʔok ṭamaŋ la·maʔhy·/ 'that same sourberry's bush'

(p132)

```
?okaHh-N    ?i:h-N-?ok     Tama-N         la:ma-?-hY:
?same?-GEN  that-GEN-PFIX  sourberry-GEN  bush/tree-NOM-3SG
```

(p133) Discussion of discontinuous constituents (briefly), indicating that it is case concord which shows that the discontinuous members are related.

Numerals:
P104 here are some examples in isolation, but there were almost no complete sentences in the grammar and thus no examples of numerals in attribution.

keŋe·-jak- 'another kind,' cf. keŋ·eH- 'one'
ʔoṭi·-jak- 'twenty,' cf. ʔoṭiH- 'two'
maho·-jak- 'fifty,' cf. mah·oka- 'five'
ʔoji·s-ijak- 'forty,' cf. ʔojis·a- 'four'
kawi·t-ijak- 'eighty,' cf. kaw·inta- 'eight'
naʔa·c-ijak- 'one hundred,' cf. naʔa·ca- 'ten'

mun - Mundari

Lutrowi 2013 pg. 26

Animal noun (Either masculine or feminine)

	Singular		Plural	
Masculine	**'dioŋ lo**	*this male dog*	**'dijin kulo**	*these male dogs, these male and female dogs*
Feminine	**'dioŋ na**	*this female dog*	**'dijin kune**	*these female dogs*

Shows how demonstratives agree with nouns in number and gender. Great examples! This is interesting, although it makes me wonder whether the noun ever shows the gender…? Since in these cases, it seems the only way we know the gender of the noun is from the demonstrative… -MN

Cook 1966 pg. 171

B) Adjectives do not formally connote gender. True adjectives have no gender concord with the nouns they modify. Only a handful of adjective substitutes show a contrast between animate and inanimate.

c) Adjectives are not inflected for number. AA form found marked with the dual,-king or the plural,-ko either is not an adjective,or is an adjective being used as a nominal in a particular construction. There is no number concord with the noun they modify.

d) An adjective is not inflected for case. Any form marked by case is not an adjective. Many adverbs are formed by an adjective base, to which is added a case ending. But there is no case concord with nouns.

Describes above the lack of concord for adjectives in Mundari. Can't get clearer than that :) -MN

I didn't find any specific prose about numerals, but from examples it would appear that there is no concord of any kind for numerals. Cool. -MN

mxc - Mixtec (Chalcatongo) (Macaulay 1996)

Gender: Macaulay argues for grammatical gender based on some gender in possessor agreement (marked masculine vs. unmarked other, see p. 113
Number: Yes, at least on verbs and some modifiers
Case: Unclear

Adjectives: a couple adjectives have PL forms, and one example is given of attributive use (p109)

As a final observation about adjectives, there are two in Chalcatongo Mixtec which have distinct singular and plural stems.[5] These are shown in (43)–(46):

(43) be?e kǎ?nū=Ø
house big.SG=3
'The house is big'

(44) be?e nǎ?nū=Ø
house big.PL=3
'The houses are big'

(45) žo?o káni
rope long.SG
'a long rope'

(46) žo?o náni
rope long.PL
'long ropes'

Interestingly, this plural form of `long' is not obligatory, as I found another example where the singular form is used with the plural word *xiná?a*. (p113)

(57) ni-xáǎ́=rí kʷaʔà **žúʔa** káni xináʔa
CP-buy=1 many rope long plural
'I bought many long ropes'

P. 87 but not all attributive adjectives show concord

(32) rùʔù kuní=rí kuú ɨ̋ɨ̋ táa xasíʔí lúlí [NP [NP táa] [NP xasíʔí lúlí]]
1 want=1 COP one father girl little
'I want to be the father of a little girl'

(33) kʷāʔǎ=Ø ladó ndaʔa bàʔà [NP [NP ladó] [NP ndaʔa bàʔà]]
go=3 *lado* hand good
'He's going to the right' (lit. 'the side of the good hand')

(34) [NP [NP kačíní víéjó] [NP xʷā]]
hat *viejo* *Juan*
'Juan's old hat'

Numerals: Here is an example of the numeral `two' appearing before a noun. (p11)

(44) ni-xìni=rí NP[uù xa-lúlí]
CP-see=1 two NOM-small
'I saw two children'

Demonstratives: the two demonstratives, wāá and žaʔá apparently do not show concord. (p113)

(51) na-kʷǎǎ=Ø NP[iža síʔí wǎā]
MOOD-buy=3 god female the
'That they might buy (the statue of) the Virgin'

(52) NP[ñážīū wǎǎ] ni-ka-xáʔa=Ø ñūǔ
people that CP-PL-pass.by=3 town
'Those people went to the town'

(53) te xa-kʷáa be-ndíí=ní=Ø NP[lugar žáʔa]
and NOM-dark come-come=RES=3 *lugar* this
'And at night she would come right here'

(54) te despues ni-kà-kii NP[ñažīū žáʔa]
and *después* CP-PL-come people this
'And later these people returned'

myi - Mangarrayi (Merlan 1982)

Gender: Masculine, feminine, neuter
Number: sg- dual - plural / sg - dual - trial - plural
Case: 6 cases with explicit forms, but other cases exist with same forms

Adjectives: (p51) could possibly find more/better examples, but at least there is one example showing case concord and the author just saying that NPs with adjective and noun involve concord.

A noun phrase may consist of adjective and noun, in either order. Both constituents in such instances are inflected for the case function of the head noun:

Ø-balayi-wana Ø-ḷandi-wana
NAbl-big NAbl-tree
'from the big tree'

variably for noun class/case depending upon the particular referent (e.g. ŋaḷa-jurg 'lucky person' feminine, ŋa-jurg 'lucky person' masculine; ŋaḷa-gibi 'generous' feminine, ŋa-gibi masculine, etc.). In an NP containing both adjective and noun, the adjective agrees with the noun in class/case marking. Two further qualifications must be made concerning noun

Head-Attrib. waḷima-yaran marambu-yaran
young person-Du Nom runaway-Du Nom
'the two runaway (i.e. adulterous) young people'

Head-Attrib. ḷandi-yara-ŋan jaŋguḷ-yara-ŋan
tree-Du-Acc short-Du-Acc
'two short trees/sticks'

These show adjectives with plural markers so adjectives change to match number as well

Numerals: Pg. 92

The numbers in Maŋarayi are:
(ŋa)wumbawa 'one'
ŋabaranwa 'two'
ŋabaḷawa 'three'
The numerals can modify nouns or occur as sole constituent of an NP.

Pg. 93

Ø-wirilmayin ŋir-bu-b ŋabaranwa baŋgal-yi
NAbs-goanna 1ExDu/3Sg-kill-PP two egg-Prop
'She and I killed two goannas with eggs'.
Even when number marking is present, neuters may be cross-referenced as singular:
Ø-ḷur?+ma-ñ waḍij ŋabaranwa jadba-ra-ŋan
3Sg/3Sg-butcher-PP also two upper leg-Du-Acc
'He also butchered/cut up the two legs'.

Pg. 91

yimunduŋiñ, ŋiñjag Ø-ŋani+yug, wumbawa ja-Ø-ŋani+yug
taciturn Prohib 3Sg-talk one 3-3Sg-talk
'Taciturn, (that's someone who) won't talk, he talks one (word)',
(i.e., 'few words').

The grammar says on page 92 that numerals can be inflected for gender, but that the numerals two and three are not inflected for noun class. The examples they give for these however show the numeral acting as a NP rather than a modifier. In the examples above, where a numeral occurs as a modifier, concord does not appear to be necessary for numerals.

Demonstratives:
Pg. 107

The demonstrative pronouns encode the following distinctions:

1. Distance: 'distant' versus 'not distant' and 'neutral'.
2. Number: singular-dual-trial-plural.
3. Nominal class (singulars only): masculine-feminine-neuter.
4. Head of NP versus modifier within nominal group.

The demonstratives in Mangarrayi serve a few different functions than what I was expecting, so I included this list as functions as a reference.

Pg. 111

```
ḍaḷ        ja-wuḷa-ṇama  ṇiṇgi  Ø-jigu
hold/guard 3-3Pl/3Sg-Aux M/NAcc NAbs-road
  'They are holding the/this road'.
```

The demonstrative for ‘the/this’ in this example is the word used for masculine accusative.

Pg. 113

```
ṇaḷi-na  ṇaḷa-gaḍugu ṇan-wa-b
FNom-Dis FNom-woman  3Sg/1Sg-visit-PP
ṇaḷi-na  ṇan-wa-b
FNom-Dis 3Sg/1Sg-visit-PP
  'That woman/she (distant) came to see me'.
garan-gara maṛam-garan wu-ḍiwiṇḍag      Ø-baṇam-bura
Du Nom-Dis man-Du Nom  3Du/3Sg-reach PP NAbs-camp-theirs Du
garan-gara wu-ḍiwiṇḍag      Ø-baṇam-bura
Du Nom-Dis 3Du/3Sg-reach PP NAbs-camp-theirs Du
  'Those two men/those two reached their camp'.
```

Here, in the top sentence, the demonstrative for ‘that’ is inflected for the feminine form, is marked for the nominative case, and is distant. From this and the previous example, we can say that demonstratives are marked for gender and for class. The next sentence in this same example shows the nominative distant form of the demonstrative ‘those’ as being dual.

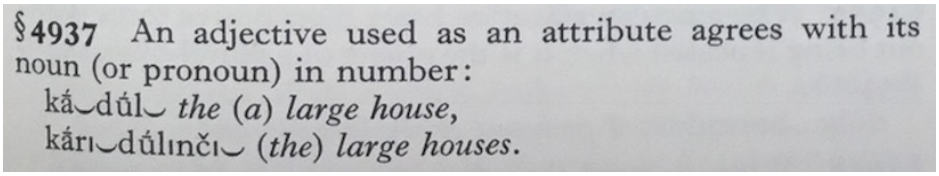
On page 112 of Merlan’s grammar, she talks about the dual, trial, and plural forms of demonstratives. The dual demonstratives have different forms for distant vs. non-distant, and both are inflected for case. The same happens for the trial demonstratives. Plural demonstratives however just show marking for case; there is not a full set of contrasting distant vs. non-distant demonstratives.

The example from pg. 113 showing the dual distant nominative demonstrative is not marked for gender because it appears plural demonstratives do not have gender.

nbd - Nubian (Dongolese) (Armbruster 1960)

Gender: none
Number: sg/pl
Case: 3 cases, all peripherally marked

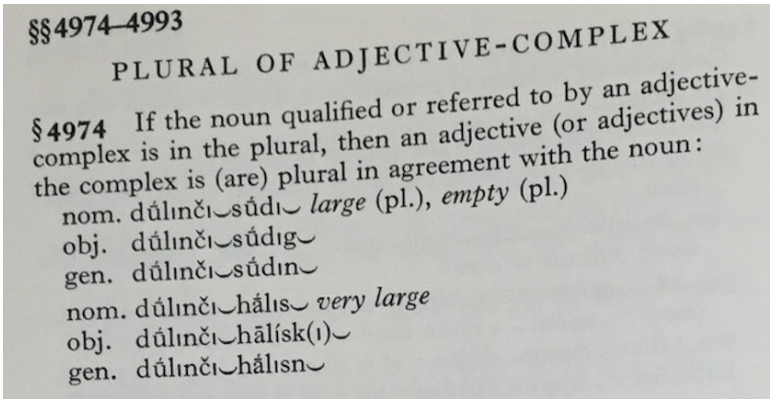
Adjectives: agrees in number (p339)



§4937 An adjective used as an attribute agrees with its noun (or pronoun) in number:
kǎ◡dúl◡ *the (a) large house,*
kárı◡dúlınčı◡ *(the) large houses.*

Ka = house; dul= large

p342: shows that case is peripheral both marked for plural, but only the second word changes in form based on case.

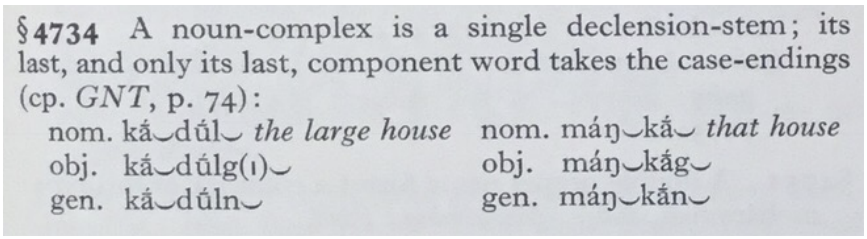


§§4974–4993

PLURAL OF ADJECTIVE-COMPLEX

§4974 If the noun qualified or referred to by an adjective-complex is in the plural, then an adjective (or adjectives) in the complex is (are) plural in agreement with the noun:
nom. dúlınčı◡súdı◡ *large* (pl.), *empty* (pl.)
obj. dúlınčı◡súdıg◡
gen. dúlınčı◡súdın◡
nom. dúlınčı◡hálıs◡ *very large*
obj. dúlınčı◡hālísk(ı)◡
gen. dúlınčı◡hálısn◡

p327 N + Adj, Dem + N

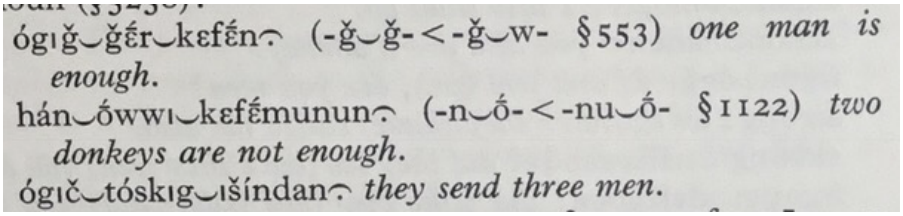


§4734 A noun-complex is a single declension-stem; its last, and only its last, component word takes the case-endings (cp. *GNT*, p. 74):

nom. kǎ◡dúl◡ *the large house*	nom. máŋ◡kǎ◡ *that house*
obj. kǎ◡dúlg(ı)◡	obj. máŋ◡kǎg◡
gen. kǎ◡dúln◡	gen. máŋ◡kǎn◡

Numerals: singular form of cardinal, singular noun

P358



ógığ◡ğɛ́r◡kɛfɛ̄n◠ (-ğ◡ğ- < -ğ◡w- §553) *one man is enough.*
hán◡ő́wwı◡kɛfɛ̄́munun◠ (-n◡ő- < -nu◡ő- §1122) *two donkeys are not enough.*
ógıč◡tóskıg◡ıšíndan◠ *they send three men.*

ADJECTIVAL USE OF CARDINALS

§5238 The cardinal is used adjectivally in its singular form following and qualifying a singular noun, with which it forms a noun-complex (§4783): ógič‿kémis‿ *four men.*

§5239 As the subject of a verb this noun-complex usually has its verb in the singular, but may have it in the plural:
ógič‿tóski‿bidágon‿ and ógič‿tóski‿bidágoran‿ *three men came (have come).*
ógič‿kémis‿nógin‿ and ógič‿kémis‿nógran‿ *four men go.*

p359: N + A + Num + others

ógič‿kógor‿kémis‿ *four strong men.*
ógič‿kógor‿kémis‿nógin‿ *four strong men go.*
ógič‿kógor‿kɛmíski‿dóllan‿ *they want four strong men.*
kubâia‿kíññ‿ówwi‿gúššigó‿ *(the) two small tumblers (have) got broken.*

Demonstratives: There is a demonstrative *iN* with a homorganic nasal on the end. It does not change for number or case.

p350

§5121 Used adjectivally, the demonstrative pronoun precedes its noun and forms a noun-complex with it (§4866); the noun-complex is declined, the pronoun in it remains undeclined (§4734):

íŋ‿kánd(i)‿ *this knife*
obj. íŋ‿kándig‿
gen. íŋ‿kándin‿
pl. íŋ‿kándinč(i)‿
obj. íŋ‿kandínčig‿
gen. íŋ‿kándinčin‿

ím‿búrui‿míllinčín‿ *these girls are bad.*
ɛr‿ím‿búruig‿uñúrná? *do you know these girls?*
máŋ‿kǎ‿důlun‿íŋ‿kíññan‿ *that other house is large, this one is small.*
íŋ‿kǎ‿důlum‿máŋ‿kíññán‿ (-m‿m- < -n‿m- §604) *this house is large, that other is small.*
ɛr‿máŋ‿kǎ‿dúlgi‿nálná? *do you see that large house?*

P327 Dem + N

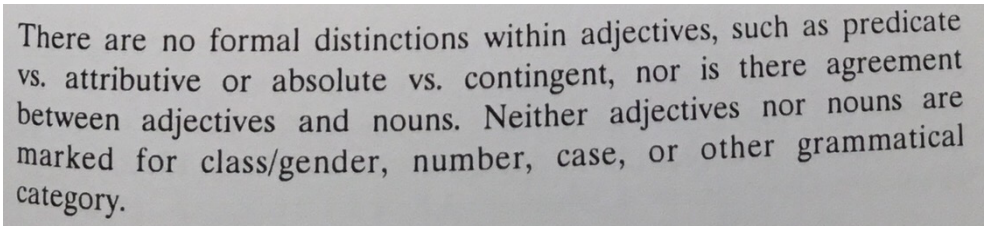
§4737 A demonstrative pronoun used attributively remains a singular stem:

nom. máŋ‿kǎri‿ *those houses*
obj. máŋ‿kǎrig‿
gen. máŋ‿kǎrin‿

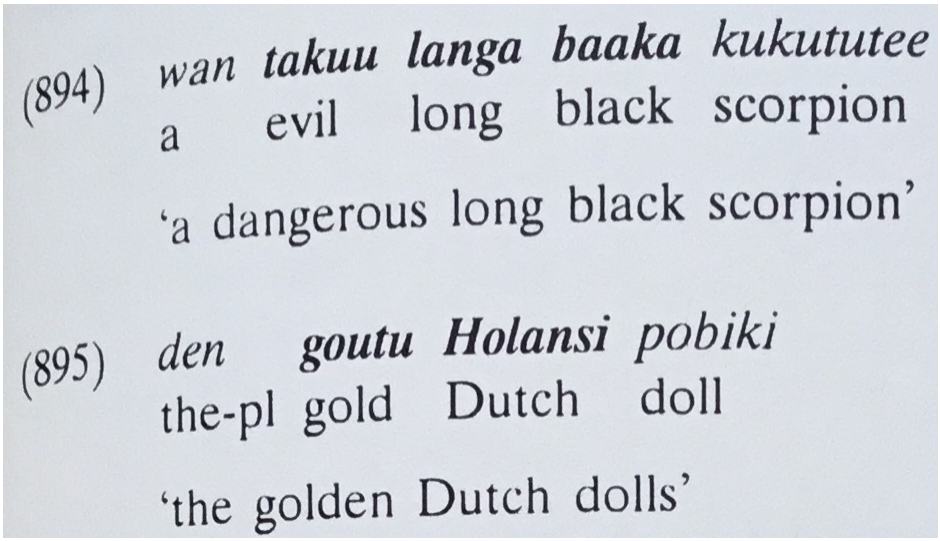
ndy - Ndyuka (Huttar and Huttar 1994)

Gender: none that I saw
Number: not marked on nouns (stated in the grammar)
Case: no morphological case-marking

Adjectives: pretty unequivocal about this. See this statement from p527

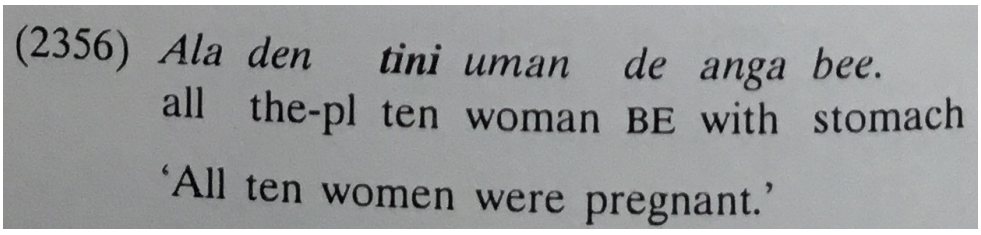

There are no formal distinctions within adjectives, such as predicate vs. attributive or absolute vs. contingent, nor is there agreement between adjectives and nouns. Neither adjectives nor nouns are marked for class/gender, number, case, or other grammatical category.

P199: some examples (one sg one pl)


(894) *wan* ***takuu*** ***langa*** ***baaka*** *kukututee*
a evil long black scorpion
'a dangerous long black scorpion'

(895) *den* ***goutu*** ***Holansi*** *pobiki*
the-pl gold Dutch doll
'the golden Dutch dolls'

Numerals: nothing special with numerals, and I'm gonna go ahead and say no classifiers. There's some collocationy stuff with *ten* but that doesn't seem like enough.
P532


(2356) *Ala den* ***tini*** *uman de anga bee.*
all the-pl ten woman BE with stomach
'All ten women were pregnant.'

P207

(947) *dii* *beele*
three bread

'three loaves of bread'

(950) **ete** *fotenti* *dei*
yet forty day

'another forty days'

Demonstratives: don't exist (!). The definite article shows concord, but there are no demonstratives.

P203

(920) *a* *uman* *ya*
the-sg woman here

'this woman'

(921) ***den*** *sani* ***de***
the-pl thing there

'those things'

nen - Nenets (Nikolaeva 2014:153)

If the controller is overtly marked for two or three features, number is available on its own. Otherwise, all features must be overtly expressed on the adjective, copying the features on the head noun.

(27) a. *serako-q tīd* (white-PL reindeer.PL.2SG)
seraku-d° tīd (white-PL.2SG reindeer.PL.2SG)
**serako-r° tīd* (white-2SG reindeer.PL.2SG)
'your white reindeer (PL)'

b. *serako-x°dənt° texədənt°* (white-ABL-2SG reindeer.ABL.2SG)
**serako-r° tex°dənt°* (white-2SG reindeer.ABL2SG)
**serako-xəd° tex°dənt°* (white-ABL reindeer.ABL.2SG)
'from your white reindeer'

c. *serako-q texət°* (white-PL reindeer.PL.ABL)
serako-xət° texət° (white-PL.ABL reindeer-PL.ABL)
**serako-xəd° texət°* (white-ABL reindeer-PL.ABL)
'from white reindeer (PL)'

d. *serako-q te-xətət°* (white-PL reindeer.PL.ABL.2SG)
serako-x°tat° tex°tət° (white-ABL-PL.2SG reindeer.PL.ABL.2SG)
**serako-r° tex°tət°* (white-2SG reindeer.PL ABL.2SG)
**serako-xət° tex°tət°* (white-PL.ABL reindeer.PL.ABL.2SG)
**serako-xəd° tex°tət°* (white-ABL reindeer.PL.ABL.2SG)
**seraku-d° tex°tət°* (white-PL.2SG reindeer.PL.ABL.2SG)
**serako-x°dənt° tex°tət°* (white-ABL.2SG reindeer.PL.ABL.2SG)
'from your white reindeer (PL)'

A Grammar of Tundra Nenets by Nikolaeva

Concord on attributives is always optional (151).

Examples of optional adjective concord.

(24) a. *ŋarka yes'a-q* (big metal-PL) 'a large sum of money'
ŋarka-q yes'a-q (big-PL metal-PL) 'big roubles'

b. *ŋarka ti-q* (big reindeer-PL) 'big herd'
ŋarka-q ti-q (big-PL reindeer-PL) 'big reindeer' (p. 152)

Person also has concord.

(26) *serako-q teq* (white-PL reindeer.PL) 'white reindeer (PL)'
serako-r° ter° (white-2SG reindeer.2SG) 'your white reindeer' (p. 152)

Case concord:

c. *serako-q texət°* (white-PL reindeer.PL.ABL)
serako-xət° texət° (white-PL.ABL reindeer-PL.ABL)
**serako-xəd° texət°* (white-ABL reindeer-PL.ABL)
'from white reindeer (PL)' (p. 153)

In Nenets, if the head noun is only marked for one feature, then the attributives can only have person-number concord, not case. If the head noun is marked for more features, then the attributives can either only mark for number, or they must mark for every feature on the head noun (152-153).

So messy!!

nez - Nez Perce (Deal 2016)

Gender: classifier system for numerals (well, it's reduced now)
Number: sg/pl
Case: yes

Adjectives: case concord and number concord (p330)

(48) ti-taʔás-na tamsaswakóos-na [−HUMAN, −ANIMATE]
PL-good-ACC tomato-ACC
good tomatoes

(49) yóq-oʔ ti-tísqaʔaw-na qoq'áalx-na [−HUMAN, +ANIMATE]
that-EMPH PL-fat-ACC buffalo-ACC
those fat buffalo (Aoki and Walker 1989, 86)

Numerals: Relics of a classifier system-- Deal's informants only use two of them. (p319)

(16) a. mitáa-w' pi-pít'in' / *ciq'áamqal / *píswe
three-HUM PL-girl / *dog / *rock
three girls / *dogs / *rocks

b. mitáa-t pi-pít'in' / ciq'áamqal / píswe
three-SUFF PL-girl / dog / rock
three girls / dogs / rocks

There is also optional case concord on numerals (dissertation, pp. 33-34)

Concord also occurs optionally with numerals and with genitives.

(92) Numerals

a. lepit-**ipe** lehey-**pe** hi-lati-ca-na

two-LOC day-LOC 3SUBJ-flower-IMPERF-REM.PAST
Two days ago it was flowering.

b. lepit lehey-pe hi-weqi-se-ne

two day-LOC 3SUBJ-rain-IMPERF-REM.PAST
Two days ago it rained.

Demonstratives: Optional case and number concord (p329)

(45) a. kon-ma-ná ti-tm'áayi-na
DEM-PL-ACC PL-maiden-ACC
those maidens

b. yoŝ tuyée-ne
DEM.NOM.SG grouse-ACC(SG)
that grouse

c. kii ha-hácwal
DEM.NOM.SG PL-boy(NOM)
these boys

nht - Nahuatl (Wolgemuth, trans. Mackay 2007:61)
Gender: None
Number: sg/plural with numeral suffixes
Case: No case

Adjectives:

8.2 Qualifying Adjectives

8.2.1 Independent Qualifying Adjectives

The qualifying adjectives indicate what persons, animals and things are like. Like substantives, adjectives in Nahuatl lack indicators of gender, and for this reason all the translations are given in the masculine.

eti:ʔ	*heavy*	wehkapan	*tall*
takʷakti?	*hard*	weya?	*long*
sese:ʔ	*cold*	tˢope:li?	*sweet*
we:li?	*tasty*	čiká:ʔ	*ripe, mature*

The plural is generally formed by reduplicating the first syllable.

Singular	Plural	
čičí?	čihčičí?	*bitter*
weyi	wehweyi	*big*
xamočti?	xahxamočti?	*toasted, crunchy*
ali:mpa	ahali:mpa	*small*

The independent qualifying adjective can function as a statement, taking personal prefixes and number markers. If it bears no personal prefix, it is understood to be in the third person (see Section 2.1).

Should check to see whether these adjectives can be used attributively --- this could just be used as predicates. -MN

Having looked through this chapter again it seems like attributive adjectives are 'bound' to their respective nouns. An example provided is "soft earth:" (p. 64)

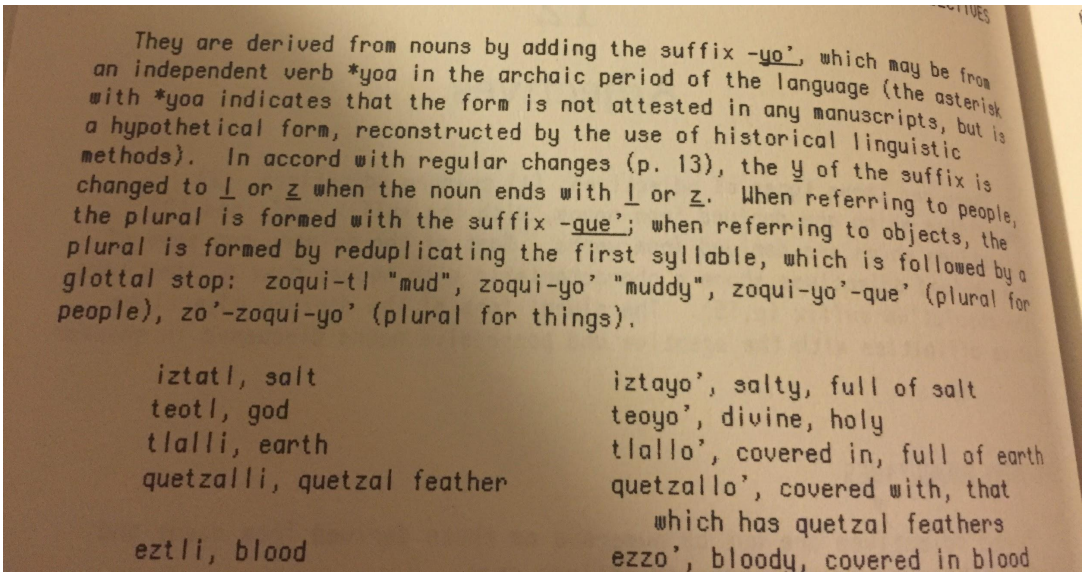
yama:nikta:l *soft earth*
[yama:nik- variant of yama:ni? *soft*;
-ta:l dependent root of ta:hli *earth*]

So I would say concord actually doesn't happen here. (But it still does in the demonstratives, as seen above.)

This could be a compound, though, so then it wouldn't actually be an attributive adjective. But it could be that this is the only strategy--- some languages do not allow attributive adjectives, and some languages just don't have adjectives at all. Seems like Nahuatl is a "unique adjective behavior" language, in any case.

That said, it's still possible that a reduplication process would occur in the plural, but I can't find any examples of this type that are actually *in* the plural. My guess is that the author would have mentioned it if it happened. -IW

Cool! This all sounds reasonable to me. I agree that the author would have mentioned it if it were possible given the demonstrative examples.



They are derived from nouns by adding the suffix -yo', which may be from an independent verb *yoa in the archaic period of the language (the asterisk with *yoa indicates that the form is not attested in any manuscripts, but is a hypothetical form, reconstructed by the use of historical linguistic methods). In accord with regular changes (p. 13), the y of the suffix is changed to l or z when the noun ends with l or z. When referring to people, the plural is formed with the suffix -que'; when referring to objects, the plural is formed by reduplicating the first syllable, which is followed by a glottal stop: zoqui-tl "mud", zoqui-yo' "muddy", zoqui-yo'-que' (plural for people), zo'-zoqui-yo' (plural for things).

iztatl, salt	iztayo', salty, full of salt
teotl, god	teoyo', divine, holy
tlalli, earth	tlallo', covered in, full of earth
quetzalli, quetzal feather	quetzallo', covered with, that which has quetzal feathers
eztli, blood	ezzo', bloody, covered in blood

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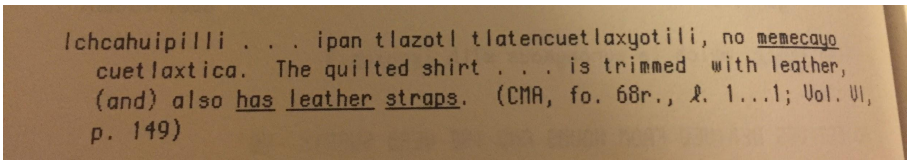

Ichcahuipilli . . . ipan tlazotl tlatencuetlaxyotili, no memecayo cuetlaxtica. The quilted shirt . . . is trimmed with leather, (and) also has leather straps. (CMA, fo. 68r., l. 1...1; Vol. VI, p. 149)

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In the description above, the author talks about how these adjectives ending in '-yo' are made plural by reduplication of the first syllable, as was described in the examples from Wolgemuth above. In the example sentence, I think I found a plural adjective, 'memecayo' which means 'leather.' It has the '-yo' form and reduplication, but they did not have a singular example to compare against. I'm not sure, actually--- because leather shows up earlier in the sentence, I was trying to figure out which word meant leather, and it looks like the *cuetlax* part (it's in *tlatencuetlaxyotili*, too). So then I looked for a Nahuatl dictionary and looked up the word for leather and in one dialect at least, leather is *kuetlaxtli*. So I wonder if *memecayo* is straps…?

Numerals:

CARDINAL NUMBERS

The Nahuatl numerical system is vigesimal. The first twenty cardinal numbers are:

ce	1	ma'tlactli once	11
ome	2	ma'tlactli omome	12
eyi, yeyi	3	ma'tlactli omeyi	13
nahui	4	ma'tlactli onnahui	14
macuilli	5	caxtolli	15
chicuace	6	caxtolli once	16
chicome	7	caxtolli omome	17
chicueyi	8	caxtolli omeyi	18
chiconahui	9	caxtolli onnahui	19
ma'tlactli	10	cempohualli	20

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Numeral classifiers

There are four nouns which are combined with numerals to count objects of diverse types and shapes.

1. Tetl "stone" is used to refer to round objects:

centetl	1	ma'tlactetl	10
ontetl	2	ma'tlactetl once	11
yetetl	3	caxoltetl	15
nauhtetl	4	cempohualtetl	20
macuiltetl	5	macuilpohualtetl	100

Pg. 151

2. Pantli "flag" is used to indicate rows of people or objects:

cempantli	1	ma'tlacpantli	10
ompantli	2	ma'tlacpantli once	11
epantli	3	caxtolpantli	15
nappantli	4	cempohualpantli	20
macuilpantli	5	macuilpohualpantli	100

3. Tlamantli "thing" is used to designate pairs or groups of people or objects, or different things:

centlamantli	1	ma'tlactlamantli	10
ontlamantli	2	ma'tlactlamantli once	11
etlamantli	3	caxtollamantli	15
nauhtlamantli	4	cempohuallamantli	20
macuillamantli	5	macuilpohuallamantli	100

4. Olotl "corncob" is used to count things which roll:

cemolotl	1	ma'tlacolotl	10
omolotl	2	caxtolotl	15
yeolotl	3	tlamic	20
nauholotl	4	ompohualolotl	40
macuilolotl	5	macuilpohualolotl	100

Pg. 152
While this section of the book didn't have any example sentences with numerals, it did have a list of numerals and classifiers, which I thought might be more valuable than nothing. There was nothing mentioned in the numeral section about how the numerals might inflect to show case or number.

Demonstratives:

8.1.1 Demonstrative Adjectives
The demonstrative adjectives are:

Singular		Plural	
iní:n	*this*	ini:meh	*these*
ini:mpa	*like this*	iní:mehpa	*like these*
inó:n	*that*	ino:meh	*those*
ino:mpa	*like that*	inó:mehpa	*like those*
ačí:n	*this much (non-countable thing)*	ahačí:n	*this many (countable things)*
ači:mpa	*such a large (thing)*	ahačimpa	*this size (things)*
ačó:n	*that much (non-countable thing)*	ahačó:n	*so many (non-(countable things)*
ačo:mpa	*that size (thing)*	ahačo:mpa	*things that size*
ine:pa	*that (one) over there*	ine:pameh	*those (ones) over there*
iné:bapa	*like that one*		

The demonstrative adjective[1] is placed in front of the substantive.

iní:n ilwi?	*this festival*
ino:meh siwa:tkeh	*thse women*
ine:pa čokotʰi:n	*that child over there*

(Ibid. p. 63) The examples at the bottom are especially important, as they show the demonstrative with the noun. -MN

niv - Nivkh

All examples from Gruzdeva 1998

Pg. 16

It is generally said that Nivkh distiguishes eight word-classes, i.e., nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, graphic words, connective words (including postpositions, sentence connectives, and particles), and interjections. The class 'adjective' does not exist, the semantic function of adjectives being performed by qualitative verbs, which are characterized by all verbal categories, cf. *Taf*[1] *pilə*[2] 'The house[1] is[2] big[2]', *Umgu*[1] *pot'urd*[2] 'The woman[1] is[2] beautiful[2]'.

Adjectives do not exist and therefore cannot show concord.

Pg. 19

(12) N'yŋ-ø hy *dyv-uin* ķ'o-d'-ra.
we-NOM this house-LOC sleep-FIN-PTL:PRED
'We slept in this house'.

Pg. 25

(33) Ty n'ivγ-gu-ø *mu-ø* *t'om-γir* čo-ø
this man-PL-NOM boat-NOM five-INST fish-NOM
ŋyŋ-d'-γu hyd'-γu *ŋamk-xir* čo-ø ŋyŋ-d'-γu.
look.for-FIN-PL that-PL seven-INST fish-NOM look.for-FIN-PL
'These men are fishing on five boats, those [men] are fishing on seven [ones]'.

Demonstratives do not have either number or case agreement, as can be seen in the phrase 'this house' in (12), where 'house' is marked with locative and the demonstrative is not, and 'this man' in (33), where 'man' is marked with plural and the demonstrative is not. (There is no gender in Nivkh) This is also especially interesting because there is a pluralized demonstrative in (33), but it's not attributive, it's an independent pronoun.

Numerals follow an elaborate numeral classifier system, and I was unsure if it counted as gender here. Was there a page number for the classifier system? I'm kind of unsure how I want to proceed at the moment with that part of the project…

Pg. 23

Numerals are represented mainly by cardinal numerals, which form a counting system divided into 26 classes with different numeral forms for each class. Numerals from 19 classes are used only for counting certain objects, e.g. boats, sledges, nets, poles, etc. Numerals from other classes are used for counting objects united into sets on the basis of some sign, e.g. paired objects (eyes, ears, hands, legs, skis, skulls, etc.), small round objects (arrow-heads, bullets, teeth, nuts, berries, eggs, etc.), thin flat objects (leaves, blankets, robes, shirts, etc.). In addition, there is a class for counting all objects that do not fit into any other class.

Above is an explanation of Nivkh's classifier system.

Additionally, numerals 1-5 behave differently from 6+.

Pg. 24

t'-raŋķ 'three hundred'. The syntactic peculiarity of the numerals up to 'five' is that in counting phrases they are in postposition to the counted nouns and are declined according to the rules of noun declension (with the head noun in the nominative), cf. (31–33), whereas all other numerals are always placed in preposition, cf. (31), and are declined only in the isolated position, cf. (33).

Numerals 1-5 come after the noun (6+ come before) and show case (6+ don't). However, I'm not certain if this is concord because the noun is then put in nominative case. Essentially, the numeral isn't really agreeing with the noun in case because the noun is displaying nominative and the numeral is displaying something different.

Pg. 25

(32) Imŋ-ø hy *ruv-gu-ø* *men-doχ* ror p'ry-d'-γu.
they-NOM that brother-PL-NOM two-DAT/ADD together come-FIN-PL
'They came together to those two brothers'.

The numeral two here has the dative/additive case and the noun 'brother' is nominative. If there were no numeral, 'brother' would have been marked dative/additive

Pg. 25.

(33) Ty n'ivγ-gu-ø *mu-ø* *t'om-γir* čo-ø
this man-PL-NOM boat-NOM five-INST fish-NOM
ŋyŋ-d'-γu hyd'-γu *ŋamk-xir* čo-ø ŋyŋ-d'-γu.
look.for-FIN-PL that-PL seven-INST fish-NOM look.for-FIN-PL
'These men are fishing on five boats, those [men] are fishing on seven [ones]'.

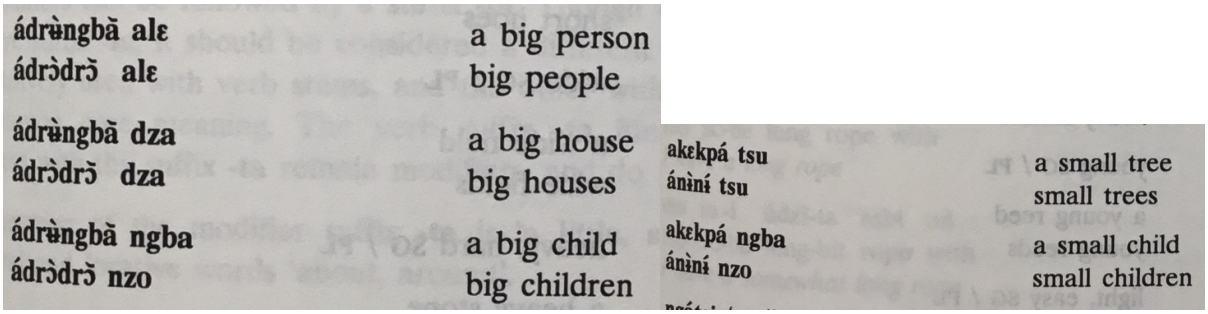
The five from the phrase 'five boats' is marked with instrumental case, whereas the noun 'boat' is nominative.

I like your analysis-- I think you're right. Two explanation: either the syntax of numerals 1-5 is different from 6+, making the numerals into the head of NP (and thus they get the case-marking) OR they're not the head, but case-marking just attaches to the rightmost element in the NP, whatever it is.

nti - Ngiti (Kutsch Lojenga 1993)

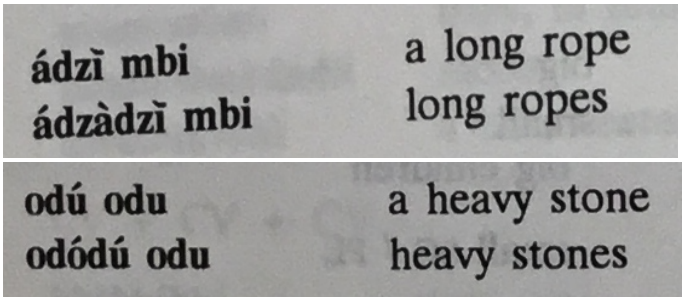
Gender: none, so far as I can tell
Number: a small number of nouns (human-denoting) have sg/pl forms
Case: again, nothing as far as I can tell

Adjectives: Some adjectives have singular/plural distinctions (p345)



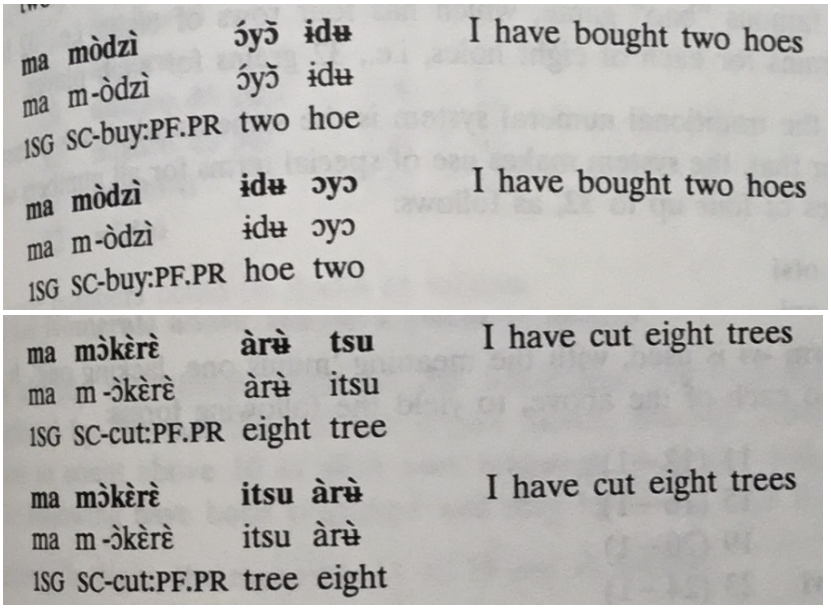
ádrə̀ngbă alɛ	a big person
ádrɔ̀drɔ̃ alɛ	big people
ádrə̀ngbă dza	a big house
ádrɔ̀drɔ̃ dza	big houses
ádrə̀ngbă ngba	a big child
ádrɔ̀drɔ̃ nzo	big children
akɛkpá tsu	a small tree
ánìní tsu	small trees
akɛkpá ngba	a small child
ánìní nzo	small children

Observe that even if the noun itself does not distinguish SG/PL (e.g., *dza* `house', *tsu* `tree'), the adjective does. Here are a few more from (p346)



ádzĭ mbi	a long rope
ádzàdzĭ mbi	long ropes
odú odu	a heavy stone
odódú odu	heavy stones

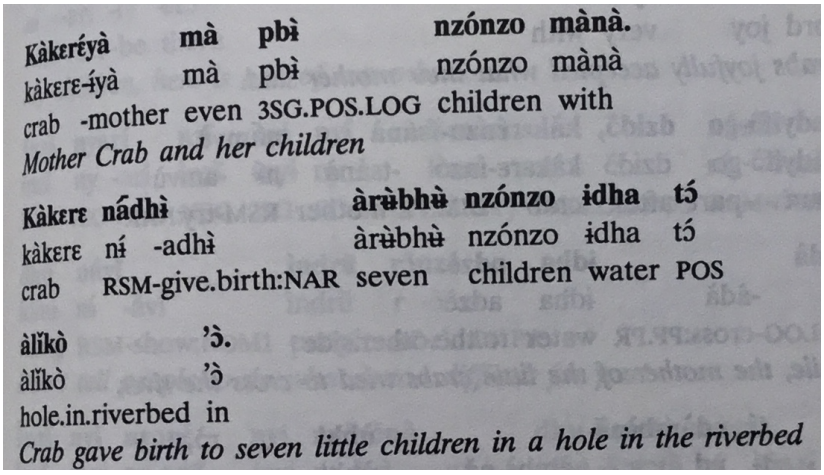
Numerals: As far as I can tell, numerals don't change at all to go with the noun. There was no discussion of special morphology of the numeral (pp353-358). All the examples given in the numerals section involve nouns that don't have plural forms, e.g., p355



ma	mòdzì	ɔ́yɔ̃ ídʉ	I have bought two hoes
ma	m-òdzì	ɔ́yɔ̃ ídʉ	
1SG	SC-buy:PF.PR	two hoe	
ma	mòdzì	ídʉ ɔyɔ	I have bought two hoes
ma	m-òdzì	ídʉ ɔyɔ	
1SG	SC-buy:PF.PR	hoe two	
ma	mɔ̀kɛ̀rɛ̀	àrə̀ tsu	I have cut eight trees
ma	m-ɔ̀kɛ̀rɛ̀	àrə̀ itsu	
1SG	SC-cut:PF.PR	eight tree	
ma	mɔ̀kɛ̀rɛ̀	itsu àrə̀	I have cut eight trees
ma	m-ɔ̀kɛ̀rɛ̀	itsu àrə̀	
1SG	SC-cut:PF.PR	tree eight	

Notice that the numeral can eitehr precede or follow, possibly with a tone change (as for `two'). There is also a split construction where the numeral appears sentence-initially, which I haven't shown here.

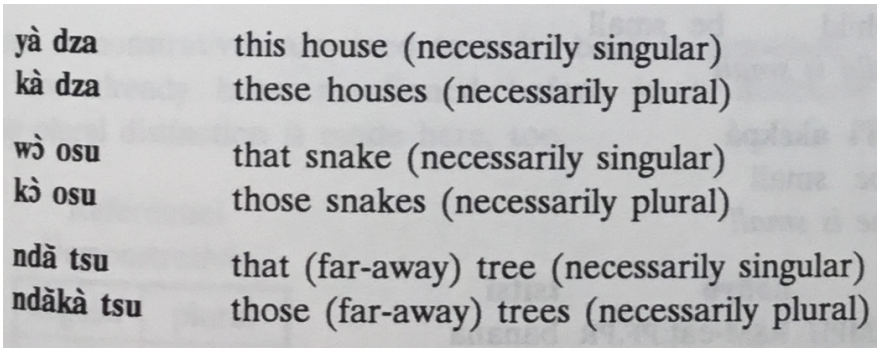
I did find one example of a numeral with plural noun (p411)



Kàkɛréyà	**mà**	**pbɨ̀**		**nzónzo**	**mànà.**	
kàkɛrɛ-íyà	mà	pbɨ̀		nzónzo	mànà	
crab -mother	even	3SG.POS.LOG		children	with	
Mother Crab and her children						
Kàkɛrɛ	**nádhɨ̀**		**àrʉ̀bhʉ̀**	**nzónzo**	**ɨdha**	**tɔ́**
kàkɛrɛ	ní -adhɨ̀		àrʉ̀bhʉ̀	nzónzo	ɨdha	tɔ́
crab	RSM-give.birth:NAR		seven	children	water	POS
àlĭkò	**'ɔ̀.**					
àlĭkò	'ɔ̀					
hole.in.riverbed	in					
Crab gave birth to seven little children in a hole in the riverbed						

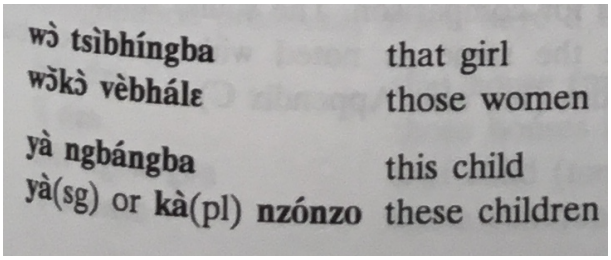
Here, we see `seven' with the plural form of children (singular is *ngbángba*). However, this is in fact the only noun with a plural form that can be used with either a singular or plural demonstrative (see below), so its a bit unclear what is going on here.

Demonstratives: There are three degrees of distance, and all demonstratives reflect a sg/pl distinction. Again, notice that this is true even if the noun itself does not have a plural form (p373)



yà dza	this house (necessarily singular)
kà dza	these houses (necessarily plural)
wɔ̀ osu	that snake (necessarily singular)
kɔ̀ osu	those snakes (necessarily plural)
ndà tsu	that (far-away) tree (necessarily singular)
ndàkà tsu	those (far-away) trees (necessarily plural)

If the noun does have a plural form, then the demonstrative matches the number of the noun EXCEPT for the noun *nzónzo*, which can be used with either sg/pl demonstrative (p373)



wɔ̀ tsìbhíngba	that girl
wɔ̃kɔ̀ vèbhálɛ	those women
yà ngbángba	this child
yà(sg) or **kà**(pl) **nzónzo**	these children

nug - Nunggubuyu

Adjectives: talks about “adjectival nouns” which can show concord

Nouns functioning as adjectives do not constitute a sharply distinct word class in Nunggubuyu, but they do have derivational and syntactic possibilities not permitted with common nouns and must be set off as a subclass of nouns. Both types of noun can take the same basic inflectional affixes; one can say, for example, /a-wurugu-wuy a-run^{g}gal-wuy/ 'to the big pond', where both the common noun /wurugu/ 'pond' and the adjectival noun /run^{g}gal/ 'big' have the same NC$_{infl}$ and case affixes. Both types of nouns also have Pl forms (at least with human reference).

a-wurugu-wuy a-run^{g}gal-wuy
ANA-pond-ALL/DAT ANA-big-ALL/DAT
ANA = noun class marker. ANA class.

Numerals: says that they are usually verbs (but not obligatorily! And then gives no examples). “They were two. They went” = “They [two] went” (pp 494-495)
P.154: so here, I guess that na-wula-wa: would be the non-predicative form, bearing a gender prefix (*na*- “msg, mdu, NA class”), -wa: is a dual marker

are also very often in predicative form when they are simple adjectival modifiers in English:

(4.vi) wini=wula-wa: na-walya-wa: 'two men'
they(MDu) are two men(Du) NMET 14.12.4

Here one could also say /na-wula-wa:/ with NC$_{infl}$ prefix (masculine /na-/), and textual occurrences of this form can be cited, but it is usually more idiomatic to use the predicative form with intransitive pronominal prefix, here 3MDu$_{a}$ /wini-/. (In some combinations the //w$_{2}$// of the stem is dropped with resulting VV-Contraction P-49 in these numeral predicates; see rule P-4, part d, in Chapter 3.) For numerals in general see §14.25.

Demonstrative: shows concord for gender and number
p501

(15.xii) wu-gu-rn^{g}i:-'yun^{g} win^{g}i=ya-n^{g}gi [verb rep. 3 times]
as for them[FDu] they went
juy! n^{g}a ba-gu, n^{g}ar-ubi-rn^{g}i
go[root form] and there those[FDu]
n^{g}ara-manum-ba:
two women
'As for them, they went along and [stopped] there, those two women' (17.2.1-3, initial mention of women)

(15.xv) wu-gu-ni nu:-'bi-ni na-n^{g}anjal-yij
they[MDu] those[MDu] in-laws[Dyadic]
'those two (mutual) in-laws[WiMoBr and SiDaHu]'
(76.1.3)

P502

(15.xvi) na-lhambilbilg nu:-'ba-gi-yun^{g}
didjeridu [drone-pipe] that (66.1.5)

This is anaphoric NA form (...?) but I don't know what the 'yun' is.
TEXTS, p.299 (65.13.4)

war-uwu-ru, wara-wuru-wuruj,
those (Pl) people

ond - Oneida

Need examples! But somewhere got the impression that it does not have concord…

orh - Oromo (Harar) (Owens 1985: 87-88, 105, 222-225)

Harar Oromo has relatively robust concord. Owens (1985:222) gives this chart.

Chapter 12 Agreement

In this chapter I summarize agreement, which has been touched on in various other chapters (especially 5.3). The agreement categories are number (singular/plural), gender (masculine/feminine), case (absolutive/nominative) and person, (1, 2, 3).

	number	gender	case	person
subject-verb	+	+		+
subject-equative	+	+		
noun-adjective	+	+	+	
noun-near dem		+	+	
noun-far dem			(+)	
noun-anaphoric dem		+		
relational morpheme		+		
'which'		+		

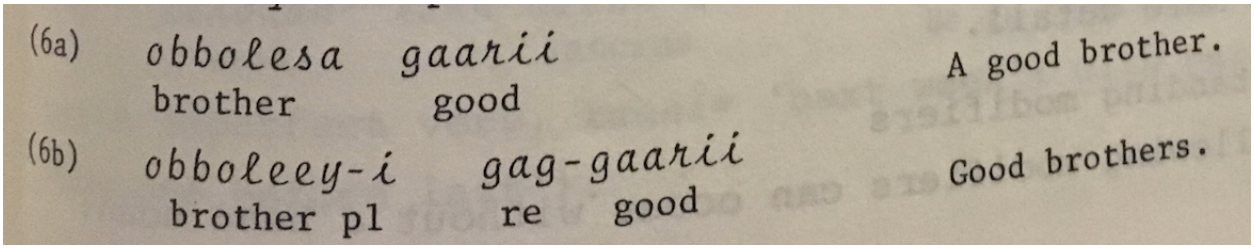
Of note: gender is the unifying property here, but there is no implication from number to case.

The page numbers given above contain most of the good data, but here are some representative examples.

(4) nam-níi gaarii-n ní-d'ufe
men nom good nom fc came Good men came.

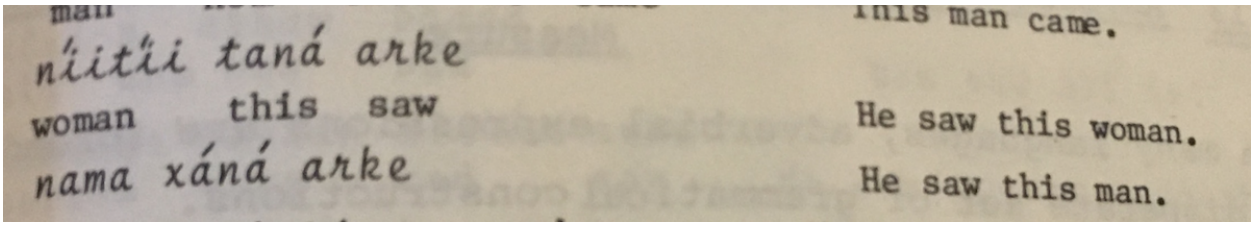
namá gaarii arke
men good saw He saw good men.

(Adjective case concord, 87)



(6a)	*obbolesa*	*gaarii*	A good brother.
	brother	good	
(6b)	*obboleey-i*	*gag-gaarii*	Good brothers.
	brother pl	re good	

(adjective number concord, 87)



			This man came.
nʼiitʼii	*taná*	*arke*	
woman	this	saw	He saw this woman.
nama	*xáná*	*arke*	He saw this man.

(demonstrative gender concord, 225 (also case, 224-225)

otm - Otomí (Mezquital)

Isaac's example from Estado de México Otomí: (Lastra 1989:53)

16. Ese árbol se volvió grande.
k?ʌ rʌ šic?ǒ ya bɪ-té
dem./art./árbol/ya/3ª p. perf.=crecer

17. Los chiles se van a volver rojos.
kʔɨ· yʌ ʔí da-mə́-thĕngi
dem. pl./art. pl./chile/3ª p. fut.= -- = rojo

Adjectives:
Hess 1962:15

ra t?ǎša ngŭ
'the white house'

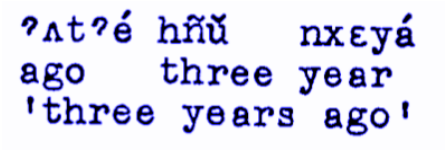
Hess 26

dą̆nga 'big'

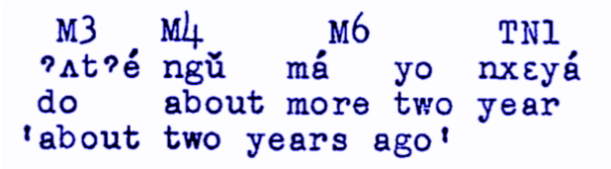
t?ǎša 'white'

zɛ 'worn out'

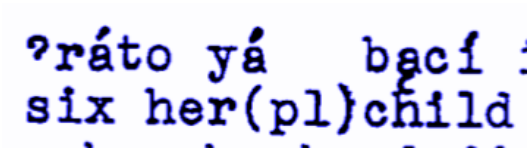
Numerals:
Hess p54



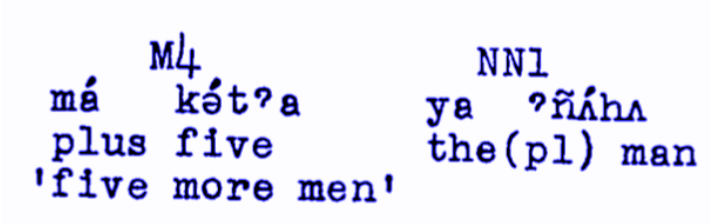
Hess p57



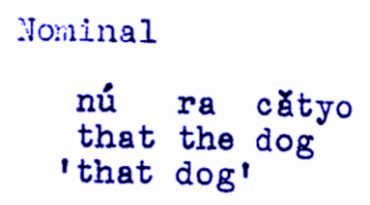
P131: plural marking on possessive pronoun



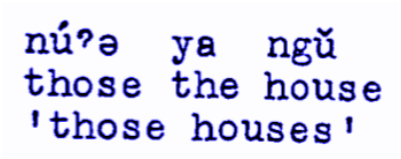
P153



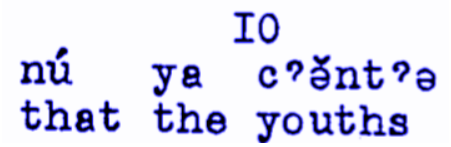
Demonstratives:



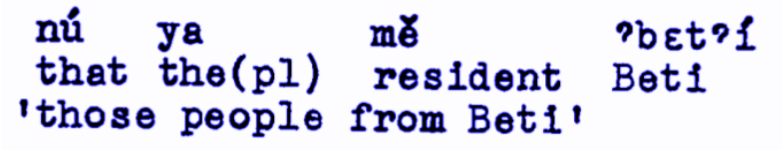
Hess p45



Hess p101: seems like Dem concord is optional



Hess p130



Other: There are apparently plural articles Hess (1962:25)

```
ra    'the (sg)'

ya    'the (pl)'
```

P131 pluralized possessive pronouns?

```
        In l          N l                        T l
?na ra  damé  míxa     yá       hwáhi  intonation
one the man   it-was  his(pl) field
'There was a man; he had some fields.'
```

pai - Paiwan (Chang 2006)

Case particles, number particles, and classifiers. There are some nouns with independent plural forms, but I didn't find examples of them with demonstrative.

Demonstratives: There are distal/proximal pairs, but there is no mention of plurality.
P.105 table of adnominal demonstratives-- no mention of plurality

Table 5.13: Adnominal demonstratives

Proximal	Distal
sa 'this' (visible) *icu* 'this'	*zua* 'that' (visible) *za* 'that'

Here's an example from p. 224 with a plural NP but still just *zua*.

(96) **maka-ka-ka-kac** a zua mareka vatu.
[Reci.AV-Red-Red-bite Nom.cm that PL dog]
'Those dogs (more than two) are biting one another.' (San: Exis: 93)

Numerals: Two classifiers incorporated into noun root, also some classifiers as separate words, but those examples did not involve additional head nouns (except *piece*, which could have been a pseudopartitive). They can either precede or follow the noun. Sometimes there's a linker (not sure when!)
(pp167-168)

(48) matjaDusa a nia=ʔuma.
[two.Clasf.C Nom.cm 1pl.Gen.ex=field]
'We have two parcels of field.' (Sai)

(49) matjaita a ʔinalan.
[one.Clasf.C Lin village]
'two villages' (Sai)

(50) matjatjeLu a umaʔan.
[three.Clasf.C Lin household]
'three households' (Sai)

(51) tucu, amin=anga=men a mareka kaka a **mateLu**.
[now only=Com=1pl.Nom Lin PL sibling Lin three.Clasf.C]
'Now, we are only three siblings.' (San: Kai's story (1): 17)

Forms (pp109-110)

For counting human beings[13]:

1 *macidil*	"one human being"	6 *maneunem*	"six human beings"
2 *maDusa*	"two human beings"	7 *manepitju*	"seven human beings"
3 *matjeLu*	"three human beings"	8 *maneaLu*	"eight human beings"
4 *masepatj*	"four human beings"	9 *manesiva*	"nine human beings"
5 *manLima*	"five human beings"	10 *manetapuLu*	"ten human beings"

For counting households, fields and villages[14]:

1 *matjaita*	"one"	6 *matjaunem*	"six"
2 *matjaDusa*	"two"	7 *matjapitju*	"seven"
3 *matjatjeLu*	"three"	8 *matjavaLu*	"eight"
4 *matjesepatj*	"four"	9 *matjasiva*	"nine"
5 *matjaLima*	"five"	10 *matjatapuLu*	"ten"

Adjectives: There's no mention of plural forms of adjectives so I'm gonna say no.
Weirdly missing pages 149-161, which I could use.
P.164: the adjective *sanguanuga?* In a plural NP, no reference to plural-marking. The reduplication is just part of adjectival formation.

(41) izua a **za** ʔ<in>ila-ʔila

[Exis Nom.cm that Red<GV.Pef>-hide

nimadju a *mareka* vutjul a sa<ngua>-nguaʔ.

3sg.Gen Lin PL meat Lin tasty<Red>]

'There is (much) meat, tasty, which he has hidden.' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 45)

pau - Paumarí (Chapman & Darbyshire 1991: 254ff)

The demonstrative associated with each noun indicates its gender and number:

(374) voroni-'i-hi ida kidi-hado
fall-ASP-THEME,f DEM,f his-knife,f
'His knife fell.'

(375) voroni-'a-ha ada kidi-mai'da
fall-ASP-THEME,m DEM,m his-comb,m
'His comb fell.'

(376) vi-kha-mai-'a-ha adani ija'ari
3PL-MOT-nearby-ASP-THEME.PL DEM:PL people

vi-'bami-ki
3PL-two-DESC
'Two people came to the nearby house.'

These examples show agreeing demonstratives and the second one shows an agreeing numeral (I guess?)

In a genitive noun phrase the possessor occurs immediately preceding the possessed item and governs gender and number agreement on it. In (380) the verbal theme suffix *-ha* and the demonstrative *ada* agree in gender with *jorai* 'mat', while the possession suffix on the noun, *-ni*, agrees with the possessor, *Maria*.

(380) o-raba-'a-ha ada Maria jora-ni
1SG-weave-ASP-THEME DEM,m Mary mat,m-f
'I wove Mary's sleeping mat.'

In this example, the theme suffix -ha on the demonstrative both agree with the noun *mat*, but the possession suffix *ni* agrees with the possessor.

===

Adjectives which have a final *-na/-ni* suffix agree in gender with the noun they modify

(396) bi-va-hoja-ki ida ohi itxa-ni
3SG-COMIT-be-NONTHEME DEM,f beads,f many:small-f
'She has lots of small beads.'

(397) bi-va-hoja-ki ada mai'da hoara-na
3SG-COMIT-be-NONTHEME DEM,m comb,m one-m
'She has one comb.'

Adjectives agree with the noun in number and in class (where the noun belongs to the *ka* class).

(398) o-ka-namonaha-ja hida vanami
1SG-N.CLASS-CAUS:make-IMMED DEM,f paddle,f

ka-pa'itxi
N.CLASS-small
'I made this small paddle.'

(399) va'o-ra o-noki-'a-ha adani isai vi-'bami-ki
them-OBJ 1SG-see-ASP-THEME DEM:PL child 3PL-two-DESC
'I saw the two children.'

** I super do not understand what is going on with these adjectives!! **

Only one non-locative demonstrative may occur in each clause. The noun phrase following the verb is usually preceded by a demonstrative, which agrees in number and gender with the head of the noun phrase.

(408) Maria-Ø bi-ko-soko-ki ida si'aha
Mary-ERG 3SG-N.CLASS-wash-NONTHEME DEM,f pot,f
'Mary washed the cooking pot.'

(409) Maria-ra koho-ki ada jinabo
Mary-OBJ sting-NONTHEME DEM,m wasp,m
'The wasp stung Mary.'

prh - Pirahã

Everett does not mention grammatical gender or any kind of nominal agreement in his grammar. Furthermore, he states that there is no plural marking in Piraha. Everett does not appear to provide plural demonstratives, but those that he does are unmarked for case.

(323) ko pó taíhoaxai gáihi xig- a- áti
VOC Pó pan that take-REMOTE-UNCERT
'Hey Pó! Take that pan.'

(324) ti baósaí gíisai xoá-bo- í
1 cloth this buy-come-PROX
'I come to buy/I will buy this cloth.'

There is not much discussion on numerals, but the ones that I found don't have any morphological glossing that indicates there is concord.

(268) kabogáohoi biísi hoíhio xitaíxi
barrel red two heavy
'two heavy red barrels'

This example also shows the non-concord with the adjective 'heavy' with regards to plurality, though this is expected since Piraha does not mark plurals.
Overall, it simply seems that Piraha does not mark enough of *anything* to have concord.

prs - Persian

Persian Grammar - For reference and revision, Mace

Adjectives: No number concord; not that /xub/ 'good' doesn't change form when 'book' becomes plural.

کتاب خوب *ketābe xub* a/the good book
کتابهای خوب *ketābhāye xub* (the) good books (p. 48)

Definiteness is marked on NP, not on constituents.

The indefinite suffix ی... is added to the adjective (or the last adjective if there are more than one). If the adjective (p. 49)

Case is similarly attached to NP as a whole, as extrapolated from this:

Direct object. When appropriate, the noun-and-adjective expression takes the direct-object suffix را *rā* (see 3/3). The suffix is added after the whole expression:

فرهنگ فارسی را گم کرده ام. *farhange fārsi rā gom karde am.* I have lost the Persian dictionary.

آن دفتر کوچك‌را کجا گذاشتید؟ *ān daftare kucek rā kojā gozaštid?* Where did you put that small notebook? (p. 49)

It is possible that accusative is the only case explicitly marked in Persian.

No gender in Persian.

Demonstratives mark for number.

The demonstrative pronouns are:

این	*in* this	آن	*ān* that
اینها	*inhā* these	آنها	*ānhā* those

(p. 69)

Unfortunately, no examples were given of attributive use; only predicative.

Numbers:

No gender, definiteness, or case. However, some evidence of noun classes:

With a counted noun denoting people, it is common to add نفر *nafar* 'person(s)' after the number; with a counted noun

170

---

9 - Numbers

denoting objects, it is common to add تا *tā* 'pieces' after the number:

صد نفر سرباز *sad nafar sarbāz* a hundred soldiers

شش تا مداد جدید *šeš tā medāde jadid* six new pencils

pso - Pomo (Southeastern) Moshinsky (1974)

Gender: Some aspects of the lg are sensitive to animacy
Number: only human nouns have plural forms (p163)

Pp 159-168, 171-177, 196-197

Moshinsky (1974) gives us a fleshed out demonstratives paradigm, but only with regards to pronouns. In this paradigm, demonstratives are marked for case and

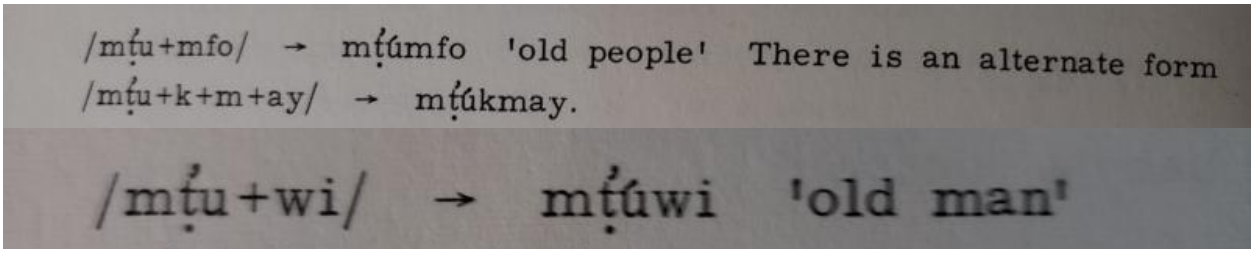
number, but not (in/animacy) gender. It should be noted that this paradigm's plural marking shares the plural morpheme for nominal plurals, further confirming that it is pronominal in nature. In the syntax, Moshinsky claims that the determiner node is marked for plus or minus 'displacement', and so for now I can only assume that a single morpheme marks this information instead of a full determiners. This means that there is not concord on determiners.

Adjectives: Some examples showing Adj-N (e.g., p161)

b?ámyak bt̩èd 'rich woman'

móloq ?ò 'false teeth'

Moshinsky does not mention anything about concord on adjectives, and I found one minimal pair that shows there is no concord regarding number.

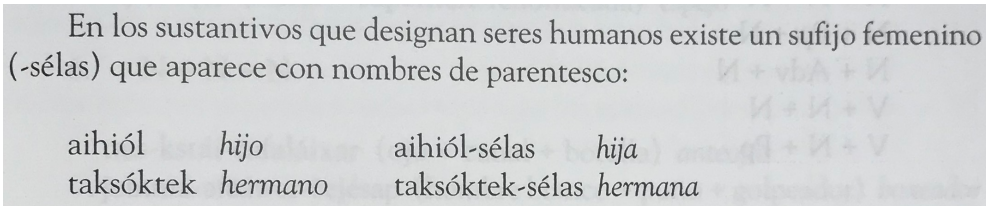


Note that in the second example, /wi/ is not explicitly 'man' but the singular human suffix. It seems unlikely that adjectives agree with case, and I never found an example where it occurred, but the examples Moshinsky provides are not conclusive enough to be sure of this.

I cannot find any information on numeral usage in this grammar, but so far there has been no concord, and my current assumption is that there is none with numerals either.

qaw - Qawasqar (Aguilera 2001)

Gender: none, except some not-super-productive sex-suffixes (p27, also see below)



En los sustantivos que designan seres humanos existe un sufijo femenino (-sélas) que aparece con nombres de parentesco:

aihiól	*hijo*	aihiól-sélas	*hija*
taksóktek	*hermano*	taksóktek-sélas	*hermana*

Number: none (p27)

No hay distinción de número ni género, pero sí de sexo:

kiúrro	*perro*	kiúrro-wálak	*perra* (es decir, "perro + hembra")
k'ejéto	*gato*	k'ejéto-wálak	*gata*

Case: None that I could see (alternatively: NP-peripheral)

Adjectives: come after the noun; do not appear to show concord (some bad examples from p31)

at jek'éwot = casa pequeña
jekstás lájep = flor hermosa
k'iesáu arrakstáwar = piedra grande

Numerals: I couldn't find any information about numerals

Demonstratives: only identifies one, *tóu* `other', and it does not appear to show concord. The best example is below (p43)

æs afčók asáqe awás awætal
= *mi mujer la comida prepara cociéndola*
awána časkerlái-kesektálær hos
cuando está cocida la reparte siempre
tóu ktep **tóu** at-terrék aksér asós kuos alaksáwer jefétal afterrék
a ***otros*** *de* ***otra*** *casa se da de comer primero*

Notice that in one use of *tóu*, it has plural reference, but in the other, singular. No difference in form. A few more examples below just because (p43)

askét kčapqáqar at'akénar čo **tóu** ak'uás
at'ak'énar-k'ejehák-ar-fqat
este que… la ponía ajustando yo u ***otro*** *la ajustaba siempre*

tóu asé čejá tkáme-kónak tálnær-k'enák-ačál-afqát sa
= *en el* ***otro*** *vehículo (i.e. el barco) yo me quedaba dormido y despertaba en él*

P44

kuosá térwa **tóu**-s har-fqat
= *después la mano del* ***otro*** *tomé*

The -s is genitive; it marks the possessor

Qim - Quechua (Imbabura)

Cole (1985) has examples that show no plural marking on demonstratives.

```
(306)  chay wakin runa-kuna
       that some  man-plural
         'those several men'

(293)  chay runa  -  paj   jatun llama
       that man-possessive big   sheep
         'that man's big sheep'

(305)  chay          ishkay Utavalu-manda (shamu - shka)
       Juan  -  paj
       that          two    Otavalo-from   come-nominalizer
       Juan-possessive
       jatun jari  wambra-kuna
       big   male  child-plural
         'those/Juan's two big male children from Otavalo'
```

Although the demonstrative pronouns have plural forms, examples 305 and 306 show that when used attributively, demonstratives appear to forgo inflection for plurals.

Cole also states outright that adjectives do not agree with their modified nouns in gender, number, or any other category. (Page 162).

Finally, there is no agreement morphology on the examples Cole gives with numerals.

```
(376)  José   -   pa   ishkay bestya-n ka   -   pu - n
       José-possessive two    horse-3  be-possessive-3
         'José has two horses.'
```

Ram - Rama

Craig (1989) gives an example of demonstratives that shows no agreement for number. Rama has no case marking or gender.

```
(64)   ning tiiskiba          ning taim
       this child             this time   'now, these days'

(65)   naming tiiskiba        naming taim
       that   child           that   time  'then, in those days'

(66)   ning kauling-dut siik-i,  naming kauling-dut taak-i
       DEM  people-PL   come-TNS DEM   people-PL   go-TNS
       'these people are coming, those people are going'

(67)   naming kiikna ngaska aapaik-i
       DEM    man    hard   paddle-TNS
       'that man is paddling hard' (seen from a distance)

(68)   ning ngurii ki     niis ma-tauk-u
       DEM  hole   PSP/in how  2-get in-TNS
       'this hole, how did you get in it?' (direct speech in a
                                            narrative)
```

Craig does not give plural examples of adjectives. However, because demonstratives do not have concord, and neither do numerals (shown below) I think it is safe to say that adjectives do not.

(26) **tiiskam naing yir pangsak y-uung-u**
child DEM year three 3-make-TNS
'this child is three years old'

rus - Russian

Russian has concord.

san - Sango (Samarin 1962)

Gender: none
Number: sg/pl
Case: none, I think

None of the examples were glossed in this grammar so I had to work on building glosses and thus re-typed the examples.

Adjectives: This was the only problematic case. Adjectives can bear plural-marking, but it mostly looks like plural-marking for the whole NP. There were some examples involving doubled PL, Samarin said that these appeared almost exclusively in radio texts rather than casual speech. (p. 134)

```
lo béni á-finí zo   só
he XXXX PL-new person this
'He blessed these new people'

í  sára á-kótá lége
we make PL-big road
'We are making large roads'

mbi kpO    na   á-kété   kété  yAma
I   pierce with PL-small small animal
'I stab small animals with it.'

á-pendere wále  só   míngi míngi, ála  sára kóbe
PL-young  woman this much  much   they make food
'all these many girls prepared food'

á-sEmbÉ na  á-kété   kété  á-papa
PL-dish and PL-small small PL-spoon
'plates and small spoons'
```

Numerals: p. 46 has some examples with numerals, but no plural-marking

mbéní lá ÓkO lé tí lo óse kóé a-EkE sO lo
certain day one eye LNK he two all SUBJ-be hurt he
‘One day his two eyes hurt him.’

da ní a-gbí da ukú
there the.one SUBJ-catch.fire house five
‘Five houses burned there.’

á-mbéní wále sí a-kE na tÉrÉ tí lo óse
PL-certain woman arrive/fill SUBJ-be with body LNK he two
‘He has two wives.’

Demonstratives: p.133 = no plural-marking on DEM

goe tí súru ndó tí á-mabÓkO tí á-zo só
go LNK split top LNK PL-arm LNK PL-person this
‘go to vaccinate the arms of the people’

ála goe na pópó tí á-dole só
they go with middle LNK PL-elephant this
‘They go into the midst of these elephants.’
(no plural marking of demonstrative só)

sel - Selknam (Berscia 2014)

Table 11: Lexical gender in Selk'nam based on Najlis (1973: 18-19)

♂[22]	♀	○
pų't' 'paternal uncle'	*pų'n* 'maternal or political aunt'	*halp'* 'shell'
'ayr'ųw 'Alakaluf man'	*naqn* 'sister'	*k'ųyįn* 'shoulder'
t'ųhr ṣà?n 'black male small bird'	*'ųmte* 'one-year old female guanaco'	*ŝįųw* 'net'
màrįn 'adult guanaco'	*pųhsan* 'wasp'	*t'į'n* 'edible tubercle'
wįsn 'dog'	*q'įųm* 'swan'	*p'įàri* 'pampa'
tį qàhtį 'scratched duck'	*hàplxn* 'blackboard'	*k'ųŝ* 'cara'
čelį àmṣ 'starfish'	*t'ahį* 'skin roof'	*yahxį* 'sea lion cave'
xųŝl 'grass'		
t'į'lųw 'fang'		
wàṣx 'berry'		
mų' 'hole; needle'		

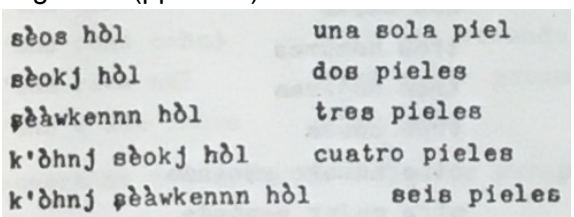
Confirmed table above in the Najlis resource. " gender is selected totally or partially by the noun"

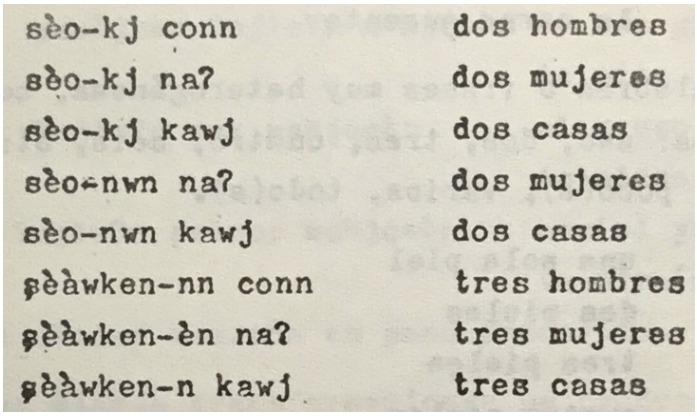
Adjectives: Claims (p43) no adjective class in the language, see also Tonelli 1926:45
TONELLI, Antonio (1926) *Grammatica e glossario della lingua degli Ona*- Šelk'nám ell Terr el Fuoco Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale.
In the Najlis grammar, no mention of adjectives is made, so I think this tracks

Numerals: Also said later that they could be in apposition, but only one example was given. (p58)

(10) ṣųs tįlq'į wįsįn-kaṣ ha'pįnn k-ayk-įnn takar kaw-(**q**)**ųn**.
one child dog-COMIT louse REL-see-CERT.MASC 3.PL house-LOC.I
'One child with his dog were looking at the louse, they were inside the house.' (FW16)

In the Najlis book, she says that numerals are quite heterogeneous, but a number of them agree in gender (pp27-28)





sèo-kj conn	dos hombres
sèo-kj na?	dos mujeres
sèo-kj kawj	dos casas
sèo-nwn na?	dos mujeres
sèo-nwn kawj	dos casas
ɕèàwken-nn conn	tres hombres
ɕèàwken-èn na?	tres mujeres
ɕèàwken-n kawj	tres casas

Demonstratives: A special gender system (!). Demonstrative themes, “select and categorize a noun based on its form, animacy, and position in space.” (p78)

Table 25: Deictic classifiers in Selk’nam

q’a-	mass dispersion	liquids, wounds, words, or to a house or forest seen from the inside
ụn-	informity	flesh, clothes, leather, peel. It can also be applies to a newborn
t’am-	intentional fixation	things which have been sticked, hung or set on the ground (a house seen from the outsise, a sit, a stick leaning against a wall, a bag hanging from a hook
‘ay-	verticality	vertical animate or inanimate beings when motionless
xa-	horizontality	animate and inanimate beings in horizontal

(p79)

		position
pị-	balanced position	seated animate beings and for accomodated things’
han-	displacement in relation to the speakers	animate beings that approach or move away, as well as to the rivers
a-	alien displacement and individuals’ dispersion	As displacement it is attributed to animate beings which have interaction with the speakers and to the sun as a time measure. As dispersion it indicated a mere plurality

These agree in gender:

- *A-, ‘aj-, xa-, pi.-*: any gender
- *Q’a-, u,n-, t’am-*: only neuter
- *Han-*: only m/f

(p80)

(70) **t'am-na** kawį
IF-D1 house
'this house seen from the outside' (N24)

(71) **pį-na** čųnn
BP-D1 man
'this man who is sat'(N24)

(72) **han-na** sįken
DS-D1 river
'this river near me' (N24)

(73) **a-na** kren
AD-D1 sun
'this sun (today)' (N24)

Prefixable:

(74) **Pį-na** k-aykį-n nį ya **na'=n**
BP-D1 REL-see-CERT.MASC PRES 1 woman=FEM
'I see this sat woman.' (N71)

(75) **Pį-na** k-aykį-n nį ya **čųnn=į**
BP-D1 REL-see-CERT.MASC PRES 1 man=MASC
'I see this sat man.'(N71)

Non-prefixable:

(76) Kųnįs t-xį-n **pį-na** **yar?**
Who 3.O-come-CERT.MASC BD-D1 stone
'Who threw this rock?' (T68)

(77) **Pį-na sįtr** y-syį-n K'ųkųs.
BD-D1 ice 1.R-give-CERT.MASC Kokosh
'Kokosh gave mi this piece of ice.' (T75)

Here, D1 = closest, D2=next, D3=furthest, This prefixable vs. nonprefixable is a cerb class system. I'm not sure what it means, but I could look at it

(p86) a demonstrative agreeing in number

(91) 'aj-į-mah tįlq'į
VERT-PL-D3 child
'those standing children' (N22)

Shk - shipibo-konibo

There is no grammatical gender in SK according to Valenzuela (2003).

Adjectives: Adjectives do not receive numerical marking, as shown in the word 'large' contrasted between the two below examples. -- PL is peripherally marked

p243

(149) Jain ik-á iki kikin ani chomo-bo.
there be-PP2 AUX extremely large jar-PL
'There there were extremely large jars.'

P241

(146) a. Ani joxo ochíti siná 'a large, white, fierce dog'
large white dog fierce

Numerals: No number-marking or case-marking on numerals. Case is marked peripherally (p239).

a. Jawen bene-n-ra shino westiora rete-ke.
POS3 husband-ERG-EV capuchin.monkey one:ABS kill-CMPL

a. Jawen bene-n-ra shino rabé rete-ke.
POS3 husband-ERG-EV capuchin.monkey two:ABS kill-CMPL

b. Jawen bene-n-ra kimisha shino rete-ke.
POS3 husband-ERG-EV three capuchin.monkey:ABS kill-CMPL
'Her husband killed three capuchin monkeys.'

Demonstratives:

p187

b. Nato nonti r-iki *nokon-a*.
this canoe:ABS EV-COP POS1-NMLZ
'This canoe is mine.'

p188

(5) Ja joni-ra mi-*on* keen-ai / yoben-'iba-ke.
that man:ABS-EV 2-INTRSS want-INC ask.in.matrimony-PST2-CMPL
'That man loves you / has asked for you in matrimony.'

P199

nato jonin [this man-ERG] 'this man,'

oa jonibo [DIST person-PL:ABS] 'those people (further away).'

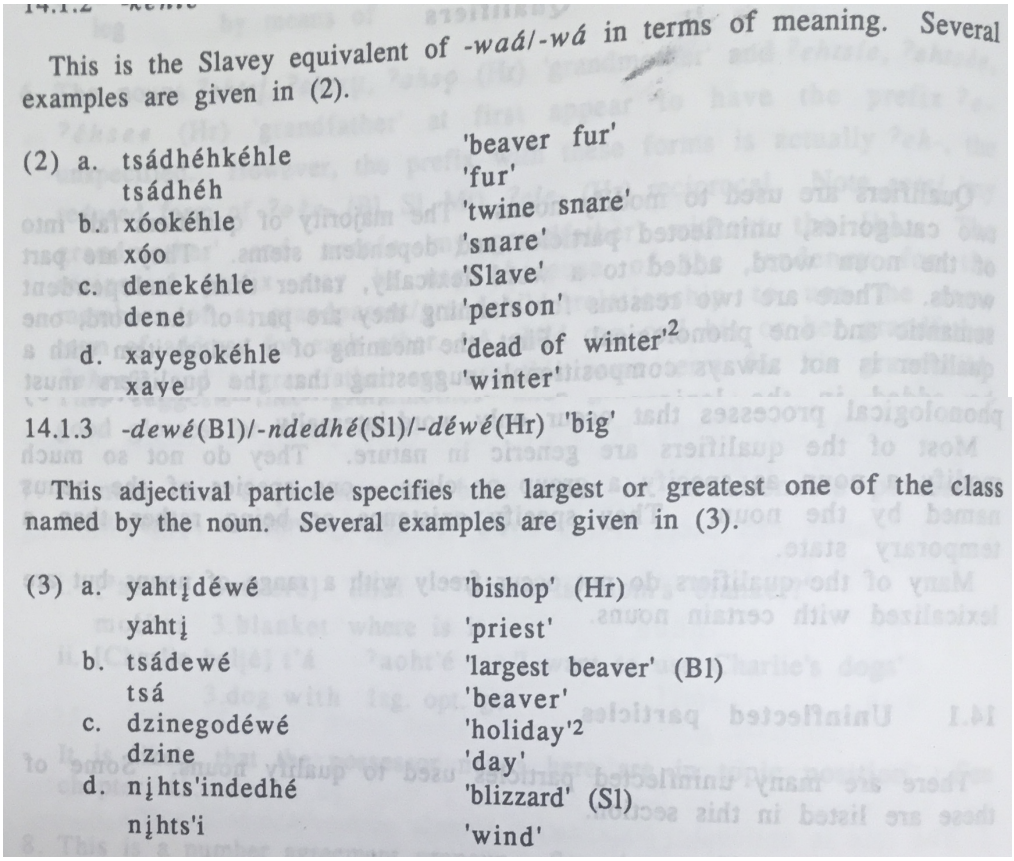
sla - Slave

Gender: claims there is gender: areal gender marks that the object indicates a time, place, or situation (p634)... in a state of flux (p1026). "For many speakers, few nouns are marked for areal gender. Even with those that are, the gender agreement does not always occur." Gender prefix *de* is for wooden things (wood, leaves, branches), also subject to variability.

Number: pl suffix

Case: none

Adjective: yes
“Qualifiers” (e.g., p 236, p239) ; lots and lots and lots of these things. Here’s an example of one.



This is the Slavey equivalent of *-waá/-wá* in terms of meaning. Several examples are given in (2).

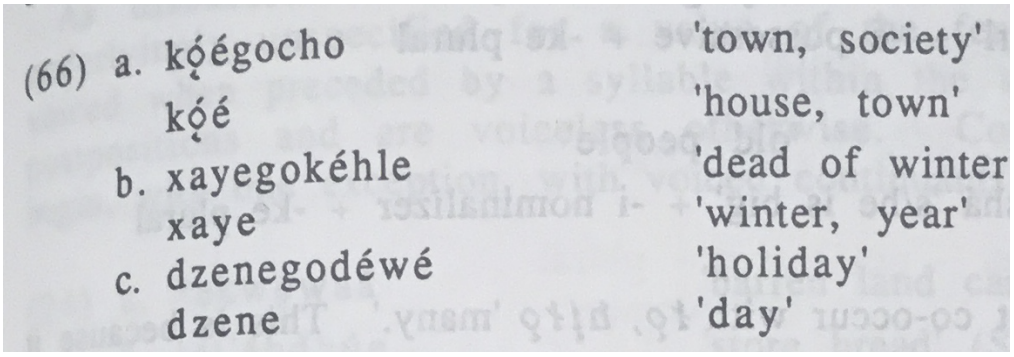
(2) a.	tsádhéhkéhle	'beaver fur'
	tsádhéh	'fur'
b.	xóokéhle	'twine snare'
	xóo	'snare'
c.	denekéhle	'Slave'
	dene	'person'
d.	xayegokéhle	'dead of winter'[2]
	xaye	'winter'

14.1.3 *-dewé*(Bl)/*-ndedhé*(Sl)/*-déwé*(Hr) 'big'

This adjectival particle specifies the largest or greatest one of the class named by the noun. Several examples are given in (3).

(3) a.	yahtı̨déwé	'bishop' (Hr)
	yahtı̨	'priest'
b.	tsádewé	'largest beaver' (Bl)
	tsá	'beaver'
c.	dzinegodéwé	'holiday'[2]
	dzine	'day'
d.	nı̨hts'indedhé	'blizzard' (Sl)
	nı̨hts'i	'wind'

She says (p.247) that they (i.e., `qualifiers’) have to agree in gender with a preceding areal noun (this is the *go* here)



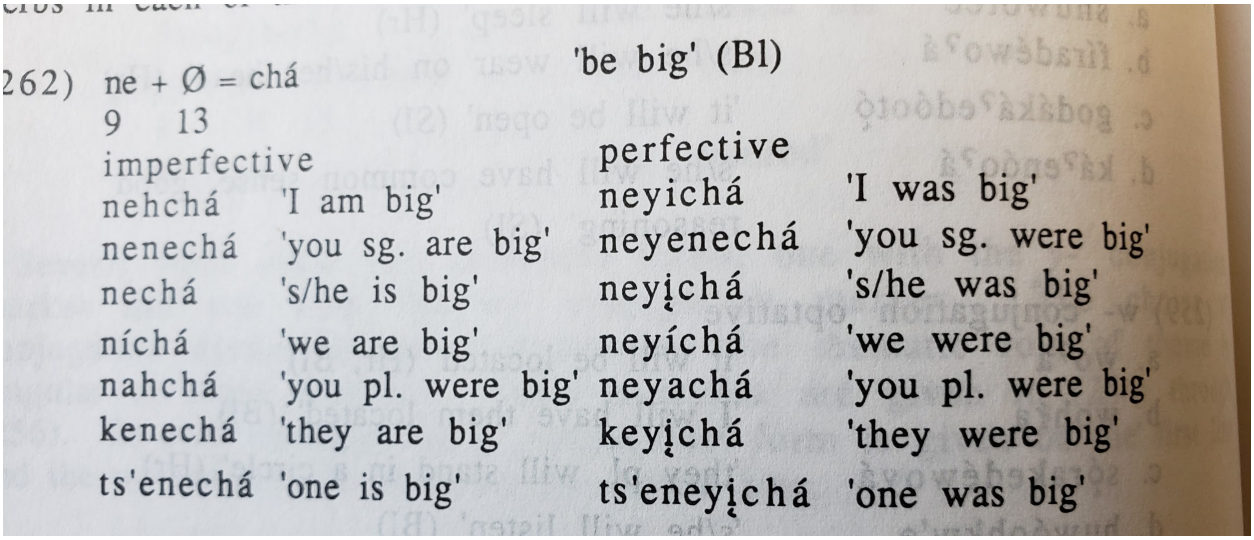
(66) a.	kǫ́égocho	'town, society'
	kǫ́é	'house, town'
b.	xayegokéhle	'dead of winter
	xaye	'winter, year'
c.	dzenegodéwé	'holiday'
	dzene	'day'

Rice (1989) says that “adjectives are uninflected verb-like words”. When she says *adjective*, she specifically means predicate adjective, as she says these are the words that can serve as complements of verb themes (copula, want) (p389)

Here are some examples where the qualifiers are separate (p1030); they both have *go* to agree in areal gender.

ii. kǫ́é gocho		'Fort Simpson' (Sl)
house		area.augmentative
mı̨e goah		'small pond' (Sl)
lake		area.diminutive

Purple stuff here is from Chase: I do think predicate adjectives are verbs, but here’s some devil’s advocate analysis anyway. I see nothing of concord and I believe I have an example that shows no concord on whatever the adjectives are:



262) ne + Ø = chá		'be big' (Bl)	
9 13			
imperfective		perfective	
nehchá	'I am big'	neyichá	'I was big'
nenechá	'you sg. are big'	neyenechá	'you sg. were big'
nechá	's/he is big'	neyı̨chá	's/he was big'
níchá	'we are big'	neyíchá	'we were big'
nahchá	'you pl. were big'	neyachá	'you pl. were big'
kenechá	'they are big'	keyı̨chá	'they were big'
ts'enechá	'one is big'	ts'eneyı̨chá	'one was big'

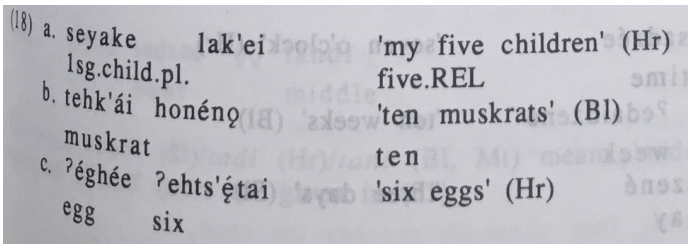
Here, the only difference between ‘s/he is big’ and ‘they are big’ is the /ke/ prefix, which I have seen denote 3.pl in verbs elsewhere in this grammar. As for attributive…

(71) dene hı̨sháike	'old people'
dene 'person' + hı̨shá 's/he is big' + -i nominalizer + -ke plural	

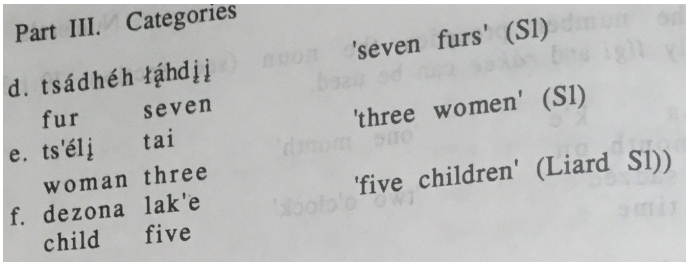
I haven’t found many attributive forms, and this one seems a bit lexicalized, based on the translation? Either way, there doesn’t seemed to be plural morphology on the ‘big’ morpheme, aside from the /ke/ suffix at the very end which pluralizes nouns (even single-morpheme nouns just get a /ke/ at the end to make them plural) and therefore pluralizes this whole beast, so I would say there’s not adjectival concord. As for why it’s /hisha/ instead of /necha/ I can’t explain. There aren’t very many adjective appearances similar to this one. Lastly, I should note that there is noun gender and the “adjectives”

agree in gender, but the adjectives are really verbs and agree exactly like verbs, so… really just verb agreement I think.

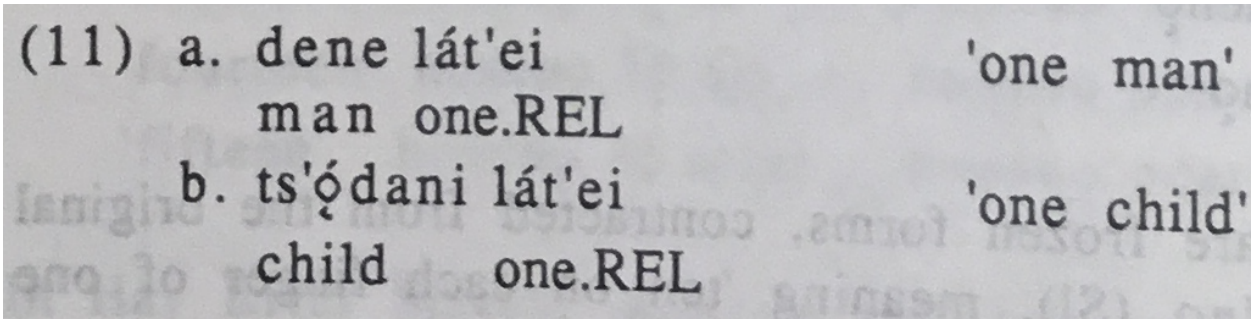
Numerals:
follow N if N is concrete, precede otherwise. Example of pl form of noun with a numeral (p377) (on child), but that's the only one I've seen;


(18) a. seyake lak'ei 'my five children' (Hr)
1sg.child.pl. five.REL
b. tehk'ái honénǫ 'ten muskrats' (Bl)
muskrat ten
c. ʔéghée ʔehts'ętai 'six eggs' (Hr)
egg six

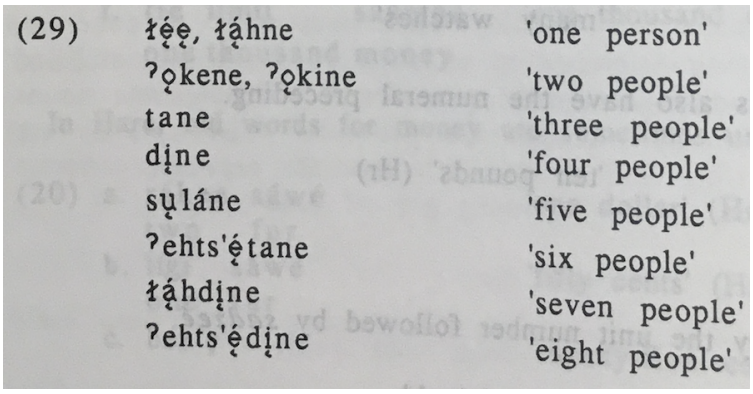
378


Part III. Categories
d. tsádhéh łąhdį̨į̨ 'seven furs' (Sl)
fur seven
e. ts'élį̨ tai 'three women' (Sl)
woman three
f. dezona lak'e 'five children' (Liard Sl))
child five

Rice claims (page 376) that there are two numbers for 'one' and 'two', respectively, that are used for counting human nouns. This seems to be gender concord with numerals. I see no concord with number or case. For `one' it is *lát'e*, and for two it is possibly *ʔoket'e*--- she doesn't explicitly say that this is only for humans but it is only ever used to count humans.

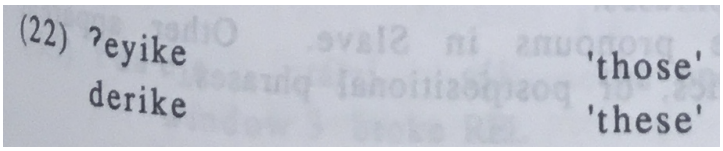

(11) a. dene lát'ei 'one man'
man one.REL
b. ts'ǫ́dani lát'ei 'one child'
child one.REL

P380 Then there's also special nouns for counting people. Well, she calls *ne* a nominalizer



(29)	ɬę̨ę̨, ɬą̨hne	'one person'
	ʔǫkene, ʔǫkine	'two people'
	tane	'three people'
	dı̨ne	'four people'
	sų̣láne	'five people'
	ʔehts'ę́tane	'six people'
	ɬą̨hdı̨ne	'seven people'
	ʔehts'ę́dı̨ne	'eight people'

Demonstratives: gives some examples of pl. Demonstratives p255 but not in attribution.



(22)	ʔeyike	'those'
	derike	'these'

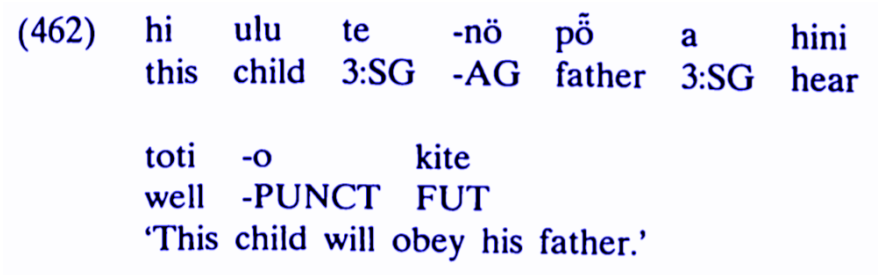
Exx p. 261 of attribution but all singular. EXAMPLES NEEDED
I e-mailed Rice, and she said that if the plural demonstratives can be attributive, it's probably appositive "those ones, the children." She said this was pure speculation, but absence of evidence must be taken at its word for such a masterful grammar.

sml - Semelai

No examples, but it had no concord.

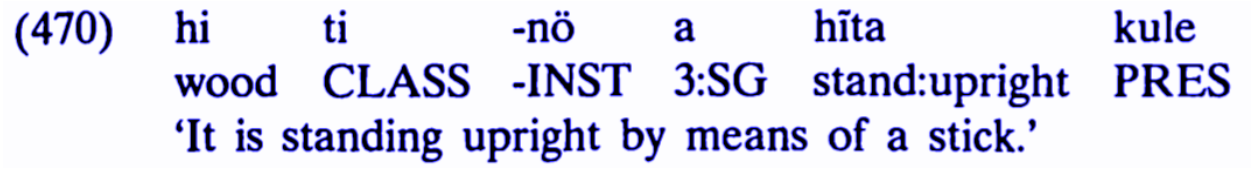
snm - Sanuma (Borgman 1990)

P121: okay, here is an agent marker after a 3:SG marker? OK, apparently (p129) that thing is a "classifier" Maybe it's just a determiner. Sec 15.3.1



(462)	hi	ulu	te	-nö	põ̃	a	hini
	this	child	3:SG	-AG	father	3:SG	hear
	toti	-o	kite				
	well	-PUNCT	FUT				
	'This child will obey his father.'						

P122: a CLASS marker



(470)	hi	ti	-nö	a	hĩta	kule
	wood	CLASS	-INST	3:SG	stand:upright	PRES
	'It is standing upright by means of a stick.'					

Adjectives: no special marking for adjectives, as far as I can tell.
P.135

au	pole	usi	wai	ku	-le,	te
your:SG	dog	black	DIMIN	be	-PRES	3:SG

wai	pa	-le,	ī	ipa	te	wai	piho
DIMIN	lie	-PRES	REL	my	3:SG	DIMIN	give

'Give me my little (dog), your little black one which is/exists, the little one lying here.' (Lit: 'Your little black dog being, the little one lying here, that my little one give.')

P130

(507)

pelupö	a	õsiti	wai	amisi
son	3:SG:CLASS	young	DIMIN	thirsty

toti	-a	apa
good	-DUR	INTNSF

'His little young son is good and thirsty.'

Numerals: No good sections on numerals, but I found one example and there are no special classifiers (p141)

(551)

polakapi	-i	ipa	kökö	po	hanaha	-i,	
two	-INDEF	my	3:DL	machete	red	-INDEF	

ipa	kökö	po	lape	-i,	ipa	kökö	po	piho
my	3:DL	machete	long	-INDEF	my	3:DL	machete	give

'Give me two red, long machetes.'

(552)

kökö	po	lape	-i,	kökö	po
3:DL	machete	long	-INDEF	3:DL	machete

hanaha	-i,	ipa	kökö	po	piho
red	-INDEF	my	3:DL	machete	give

'Give me my long, red machetes.'

Demonstratives: three demonstratives with no reference to different number forms (pp151-152)

(605) hi hapoka wa te -lö
this pot 2:SG take -FOC
'Take this pot.'

(606) mi au hapoka wa te -lö
that:near:you your pot 2:SG take -FOC
'Take that pot near you.'

(607) ki ipa ai hapoka wa te -lö -tö
that:over:there my another pot 2:SG take -FOC -LOC
'Get another one of my pots over there.'

p161

(649) ki maa ma -kö ha hekula töpö ku -a
that rock CLASS -DL in *hekula*:spirits 3:PL be -DUR
'There are *hekula* spirits in that mountain.'

P103

(401) ki ai töpö masulu pö ausi wani
that other 3:PL beads 3:PL white DEPR

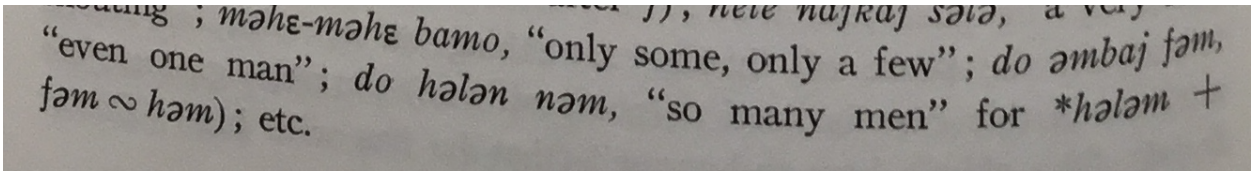
ku -ö -i naha, ĩ naha ipa kökö
be -CUST -INDEF like REL like my 3:DL

ku -a pasi -a -kö
be -DUR separate -DUR -CNFRM
'My (beads) are just like the white beads of those other people.'

snt - Sentani (Cowan 1965)

I wasn't able to find any good examples, but Cowan does state at a few points that there is no flexion except on verbs (eg, p61), so I'm gonna say that this is a no.

I think there's no number on nouns. We might expect it on this one (p58) *do helen nem*: *do* is 'man' but it is singular/plural


; *məhɛ-məhɛ bamo*, "only some, only a few"; *do əmbaj fəm*, "even one man"; *do hələn nəm*, "so many men" for **hələm* + *fəm* ∼ *həm*); etc.

Also, from a text. The form for pig *obo* is translated as plural but it is normal form: *n-obo*, *obo*

kabam nəke. Bele jo na do əmbaj də əke əwnəhikɛwnuke. Bele do ukəwnə na heke də n-obo kaja də. Nə jahələ də ambonde də obo mɛj na ə′hamam modi-modi jɛ ki owownə, bele jɛ do əmbaj fəm na də əjej. Moj da na u bənə məwnənəkəwfike ələle: Məhɛ məhɛ hələn

p70: translations

(and) entered-his-service. That man ordered-him to his garden as his pigs' guard. In order to fill his belly even the refuse intended for the pigs' fodder made his mouth water, but not one man gave (it) to him. After that he came to his

p17: talking about possession, notes there is no classification of nouns playing a role in adnominal possession

nə jam, "its (the house's) roof"; etc. Neither euphony nor classification of nouns plays a demonstrable part in this, although, naturally, the latter may have existed in an earlier phase of the language and may have had its influence at the time.

p51: here is an example of a noun *ime* 'house' modified by an adjective *kabam* 'big'

e.g., *imɛ kabam,* "the (*or* a) big house".

p52: another instance of *kabam*.

than one phrase is, e.g., *ka′ji kabam nahi′bi duwəwoke,* "the big canoe promptly sank", in which *ka′ji kabam,* "the big canoe", and *nahi′bi duwəwoke,* "promptly sank", are both two-word phrases.

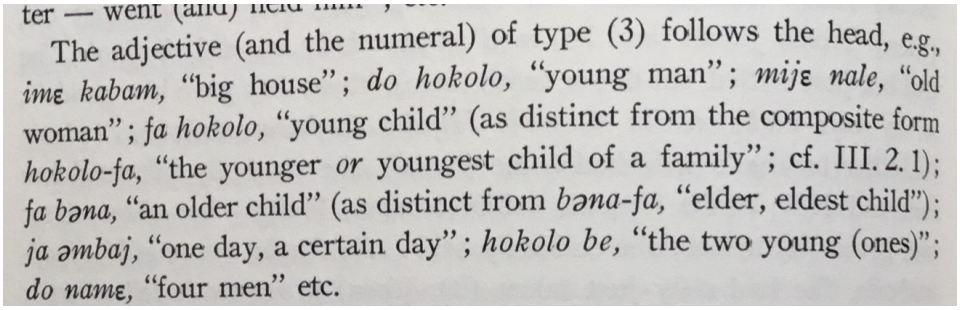
p54: some more adjectives

aa, "from (that) he died, after he died"; etc.

If a noun is followed by an adjective, the postposition follows the latter, e.g., *jo ahaw nə,* "in a far village"; *u kaban də,* "for a big body, *i.e.* in great style"; *do əmbaj də,* "to one (*i.e.* a certain) man"; etc.

In postpositional

p58: more adjectives (and a numeral)

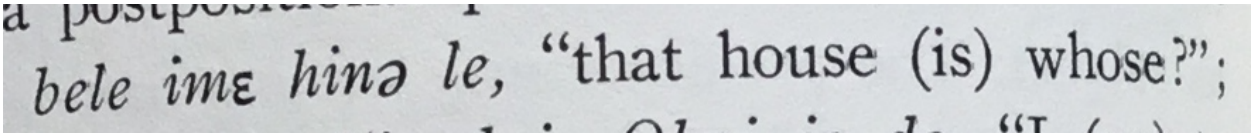


ter — went (and) held him" ; etc.

The adjective (and the numeral) of type (3) follows the head, e.g., *imɛ kabam,* "big house"; *do hokolo,* "young man"; *mijɛ nale,* "old woman"; *fa hokolo,* "young child" (as distinct from the composite form *hokolo-fa,* "the younger *or* youngest child of a family"; cf. III. 2. 1); *fa bəna,* "an older child" (as distinct from *bəna-fa,* "elder, eldest child"); *ja əmbaj,* "one day, a certain day"; *hokolo be,* "the two young (ones)"; *do namɛ,* "four men" etc.

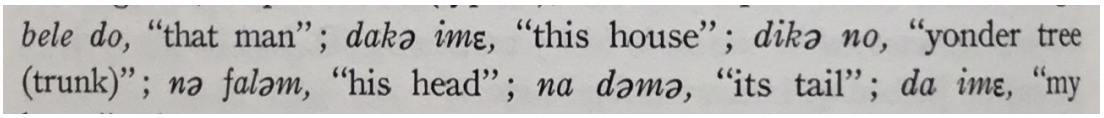
Numeral: only two examples (see adjectives): *do name* 'man four'; *hokolo be* 'young two'

p54: a demonstrative *bele*: gloss = that house who with



a postpositive ... *bele imɛ hinə le,* "that house (is) whose?";

p58: more demonstratives



bele do, "that man"; *dakə imɛ,* "this house"; *dikə no,* "yonder tree (trunk)"; *nə faləm,* "his head"; *na dəmə,* "its tail"; *da imɛ,* "my

squ - Squamish (Kuipers 1967, Gillon 2009)

Gender: Fem/Neuter (+ numeral classifiers)
Number: Sg/Pl; plural expression is optional (Kuipers 100)
Case: ergative *t-*, peripheral

Adjectives: There is a large class of articles, and some of them are deictic, and Gillon (at least) glosses them as determiners. Did not see any adjectives changing, as can be seen in these examples from Gillon.

kwelhi hiyí slhánay'
DEM.F big woman
'a big woman' Gillon p185

kwetsi hiyí sítn
DEM big basket
'a big basket' Gillon p185

There was some amount of gender flexibility, observed with the noun for 'bear'

ta/tsi chánat míxalh

DET/DET.F 3 bear
‘(I saw) three bears’ Gillon p.195

tsi/ta mex-míxalh
DET.F/DET REDUP-bear
‘all the bears’ Gillon (p193 *tsi*, p194 *ta*)

In Gillon’s book, she notes that using the feminine determiners with female references is optional-- the neutral ones can always be used (p31).

The female determiners are not obligatorily used with female referents, however, as shown in (46).

(46) Chen kw’ách-nexw **ta/lha** slhánay’.
1SG.S look-TR(LC) DET/DET.F woman
‘I saw a/the woman.’

Gender-neutral determiners are licit in any context; female determiners *can* but do not have to be used for female referents.

Also, turns out these determiners are maybe not demonstratives, but demonstratives also have gender and number, as suggested by this chart of Features from Gillon (p112-113)

(75)
a. /tiwa/ : [proximal]
b. /tsiwa/ : [proximal, female]
c. /tay’/ : [medial]
d. /alhi/ : [medial, female]
e. /kwetsi/ : [distal]
f. /kwelhi/ : [distal, female]
g. /kwiya/ : [neutral, invisible]
h. /kwsa/ : [neutral, invisible, female]
i. /iyawit/ : [proximal, plural]
j. /itsiwit/ : [medial, plural]
k. /kwetsiwit/ : [distal, plural]
l. /kwawit/ : [distal, invisible]
m. /kwiyawit/ : [neutral, invisible, plural]

Gillon basically isn’t talking about demonstratives, so there aren’t a ton of examples, but here is one feminine one (p100)

b. Xa7útsn slhánay' na mi úys.
four woman RL come inside
Chen kwíkwi-s **álhi** slhánay'.
1SG.S talk-CAUS DEM.F woman
'Four women came in. I talked to one of the women/that woman.'

And a chart of the determiners from Kuipers

	DEFINITE					INDEFINITE
	Present			Non-Present		
	Weak	Strong		Weak	Strong	
		proximal	distal			
PLAIN	ta (λ'a)	ti	taɻʔ	k°a	k°əci	k°i
FEM.	λa	ci	ʔaλi	k°λa	k°əλi	k°s

(above from Kuipers 1967:137)

Numerals had classifier-y things according to Kuipers, although I didn't find any examples of classifer usage in the Gillon paper.

	Objects	*Animals*	*Persons*
1	nč'uʔ	niˈ-nč'uʔ	nč'-nč'uˈʔ
2	ʔaˈnʔus	ʔaˈn.nʔus	ʔn-ʔaˈnʔus
3	čaˈnat	čaˈ-čnʔat	čn-čaˈnat
4	x̌aʔuˈcn	x̌iˈ-x̌aʔuˈcn	x̌ə-x̌aʔuˈcn
5	ciˈačis	ciˈ-ciʔaˈčis	ci-ciˈačis
6	t'aˈq'ač	t'a-t'q'aˈč	t'əq'-t'aˈq'ač
7	t'ak'°usaˈč	t'aˈ-t'k'°usaˈč	t'ək'°-t'ak'°usaˈč

Kuipers 1967:149: showing classifier prefixes on numerals

Then there were some suffixes that seemed very similar--- there were more than this in the text, but this gives a general idea.

numerals (including the numerical interrogative).

/-mut/ (num. only) 'piece, part, individual specimen' (e.g., piece of wood, bark, leather; or any member of a homogeneous collection): /x̌aʔuˈcn-mut scuˈɻaɻiʔ/ 'four pieces of leather', /kʼ°iˈn-mut ti‿ʔuˈx°umix°/ 'how many different tribes are there?', /kʼ°iˈn-mut k°i‿ʔi‿λʼiˈq-s-t-ax°/ 'how many (individual items) did you bring?'. See *186:1*.

/-qs/ 'small (oblong) object': /x̌aʔuˈcn-qs scəˈq, ~ čəˈmx̌/ 'four pieces of wood, ~ of pitch'. See *185:9*.

/-ax°iλ/ (num. only) 'container' (bucket, bottle, pot, cup, plate, spoon, box, basket, canoe): /x̌aʔucn-aˈx°iλ ta‿n-čʼaɻʔaˈɻiʔ/ 'I have four spoons', lit. 'four (are) my spoons', /q‿ʔas‿λk°un‿kʼ°iˈn-ax°iλ/ 'I-don't-know how many canoes (full of people)' (IV:5).

/-aɻumʔ/ 'small (roundish) object' (e.g., berry, marble, penny): /x̌aʔuˈcn-aˈɻumʔ/ 'four'. See *186:26*.

Kuipers 1967:152

sue - Suena (Wilson 1974)

Gender: none
Number: not marked on nouns except for a few social relationships
Case: peripheral suffix

Background:
(p18) no distinct forms for sg/pl nouns

The norm is for a noun to function as both singular and plural, depending on context.

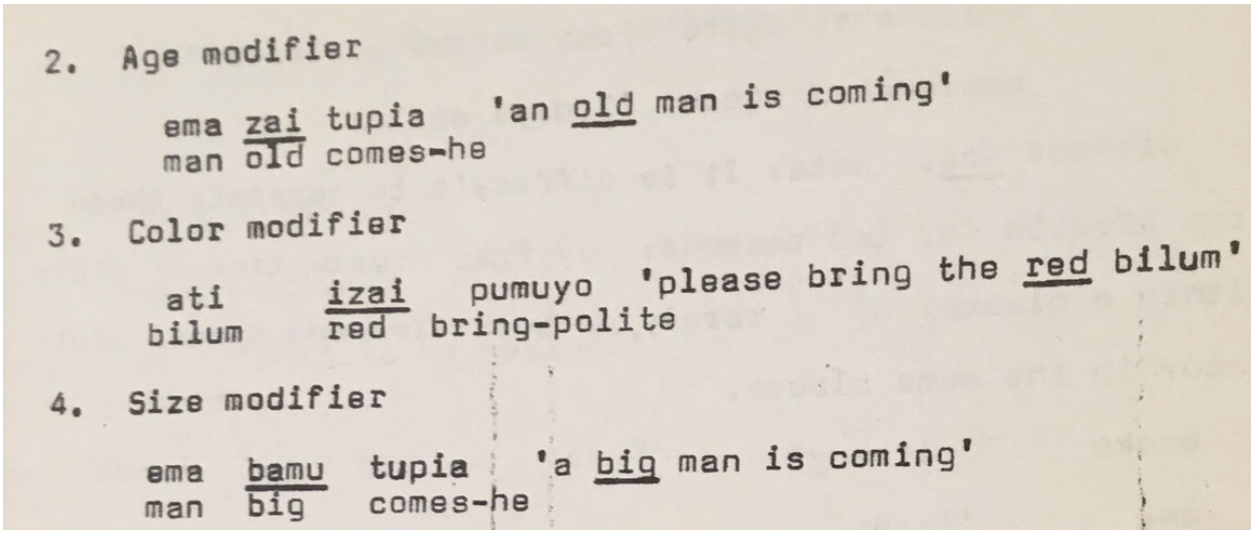
ni	'tree'	or	'trees'
ema	'man'	or	'men'
suna	'dog'	or	'dogs'

Adjectives: some adjectives have plural forms (but it's not clear whether they can be used attributively)
P20:

c) can be inflected for plural (see also 5.2 for Verbal nouns)

bamu	'big'	babezinoma	'big' (plural)
kiaka	'small'	kikinaka	'small' (plural)
iboi	'tall'	iboboi	'tall' (plural)
apunu	'short'	apupunu	'short' (plural)

P21: singular adjectives with no pl-marking



2. Age modifier

ema zai tupia 'an old man is coming'
man old comes-he

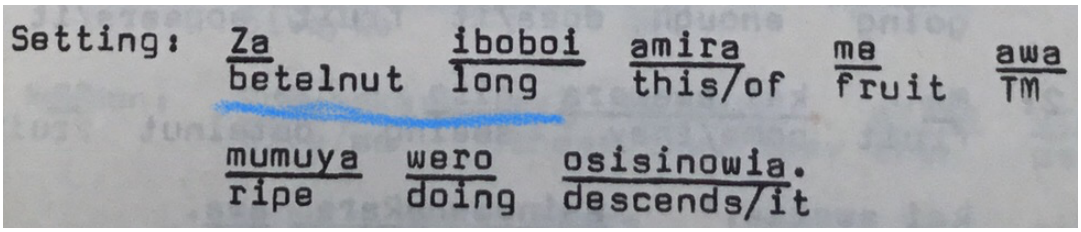
3. Color modifier

ati izai pumuyo 'please bring the red bilum'
bilum red bring-polite

4. Size modifier

ema bamu tupia 'a big man is coming'
man big comes-he

From Wilson's later work on "Suena paragraph structure and discourse) Willson 1976:85 showing plural adjective *iboboi*

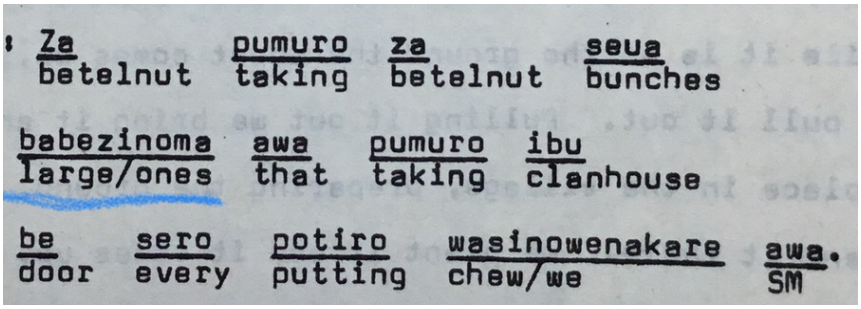


Setting: Za iboboi amira me awa
betelnut long this/of fruit TM

mumuya wero osisinowia.
ripe doing descends/it

"When the fruit of tall betelnuts ripens, it falls down."

Wil 1976:87 showing PL form *babezinoma* but he glosses that as "very big"

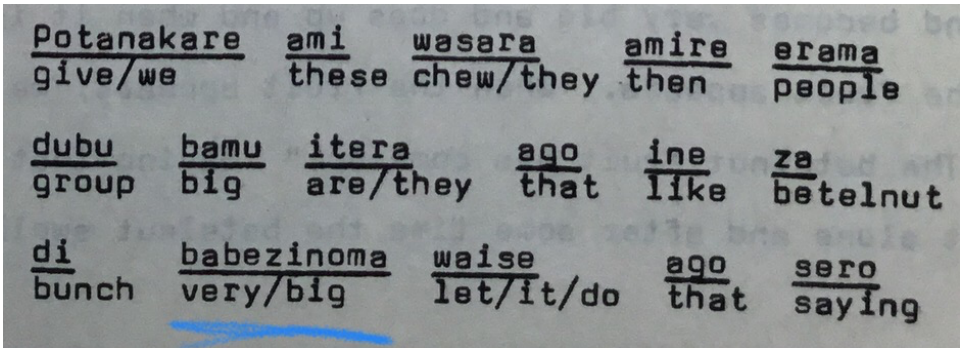


Za pumuro za seua
betelnut taking betelnut bunches

babezinoma awa pumuro ibu
large/ones that taking clanhouse

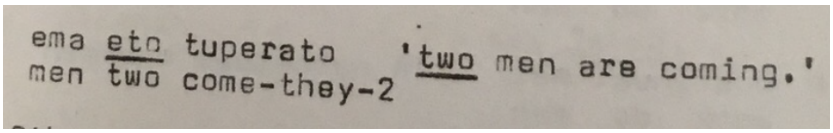
be sero potiro wasinowenakare awa.
door every putting chew/we SM

"Picking the betelnut and taking the large bunches of betelnuts, we give them to ever clan and they chew it."

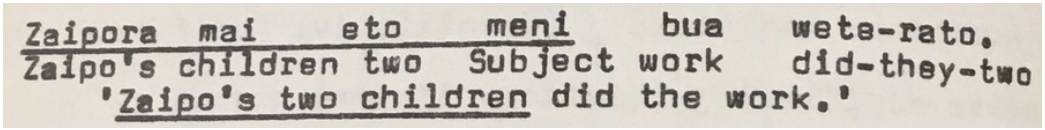


“We give it so that when they have chewed it, then it will bear large bunches just like the population as a whole; desiring that we always give it to them.”

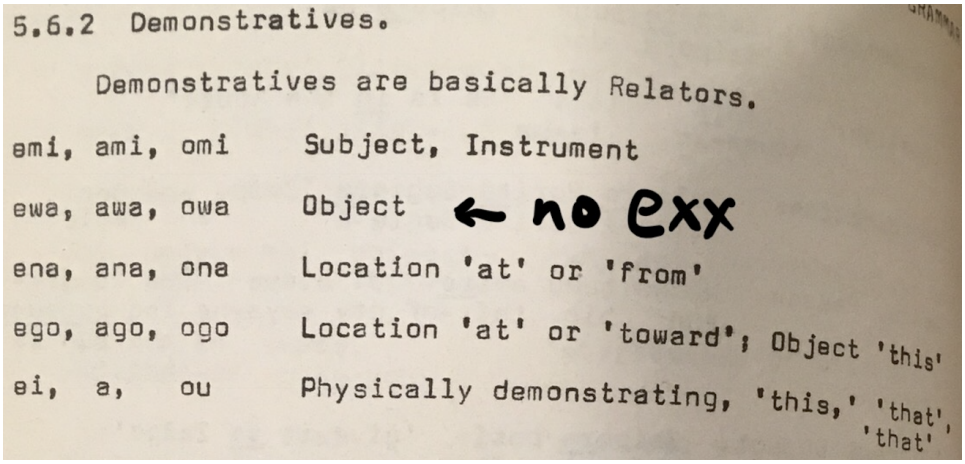
Numerals:
p20:



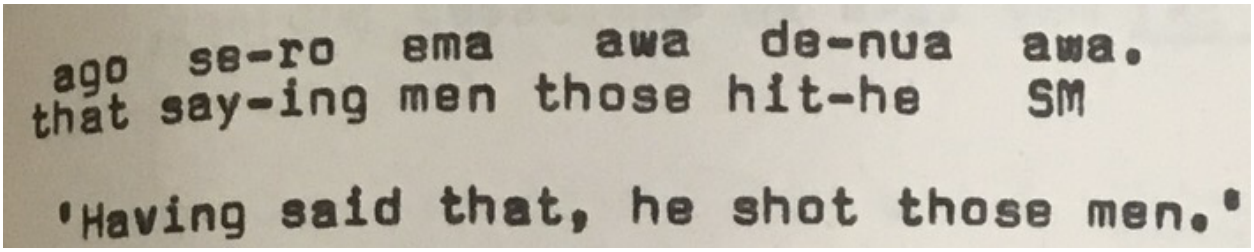
p29



Demonstratives: This was pretty incomprehensible. I recall thinking that these things were basically relative pronouns (?). That appears to be wrong, but there just weren’t enough good examples. There were lots of unclarities in this grammar and in the “paragraph and discourse structure” book. *Awa* showing up in other uses, too, that were not obviously OBJECT, so I think I just have to say that I don’t get it.



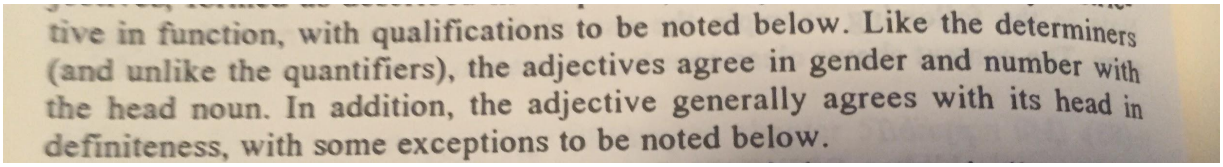
p133: oh wait, here’s one. But then it is repeated as a SM (sentence marker)?? So, it’s a mystery.



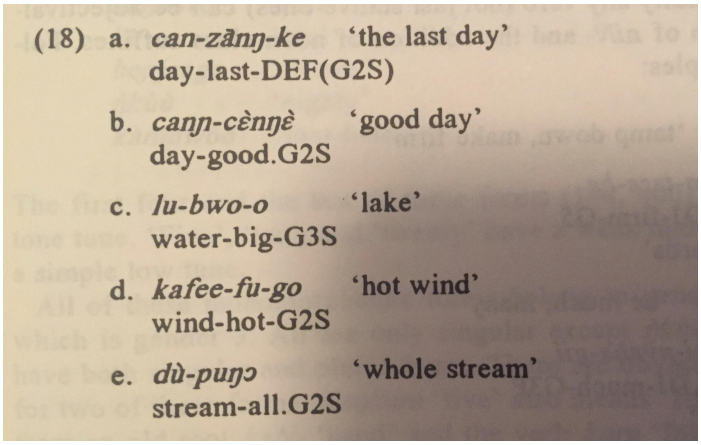
sup - Supyire (Carlson 1994)

Gender: 5
Number: sg/pl
Case: “Exclusively borderline case-marking” (WALS)

Adjectives:
Pg. 164
The author states that there are true adjective roots that are compounded to a noun. Otherwise, there is an adjective prefix that can be added to these roots or to verbs to create individual adjectives that follow the noun. When these adjectives stand alone, they agree in gender and number with the head noun.


tive in function, with qualifications to be noted below. Like the determiners (and unlike the quantifiers), the adjectives agree in gender and number with the head noun. In addition, the adjective generally agrees with its head in definiteness, with some exceptions to be noted below.

Pg. 222


(18) a. *can-zǎnŋ-ke* ‘the last day’
day-last-DEF(G2S)

b. *canŋ-cènŋɛ̀* ‘good day’
day-good.G2S

c. *lu-bwo-o* ‘lake’
water-big-G3S

d. *kafee-fu-go* ‘hot wind’
wind-hot-G2S

e. *dù-puŋɔ* ‘whole stream’
stream-all.G2S

Pg. 165
These are some examples of the adjectival roots combining with a noun. The entire word is marked for gender and number.

(19) a. *nù-ŋi* *num-pu-ŋí*
cow-DEF(G1S) ADJ-all-DEF(G1S)
'the whole cow'

b. *`nɛŋ-ké* *num-bwɔ̀-he*
tail-DEF(G2S) ADJ-big-DEF(G2S)
'the big(gest) tail'

Pg.165

In these two examples, there is the noun marked for gender and number followed by an adjective made to stand on its own by the adjective prefix. The adjectives show agreement for number and gender in the final suffix.

c. *kya-à* *nɪŋ-cɛnnɛ*
thing-G3S ADJ-good.G3S
'a good thing'

d. *sùpyì-ré* *nɪŋ-cyìì-re*
person-DEF(G4) ADJ-first-DEF(G4)
'the first people'

e. *puru* *yā-m-pe* *ni-nū-m-pe*
that(EMPH) be.sick-G5-DEF(G5) ADJ-same-G5-DEF(G5)
'that same illness'

Pg. 166

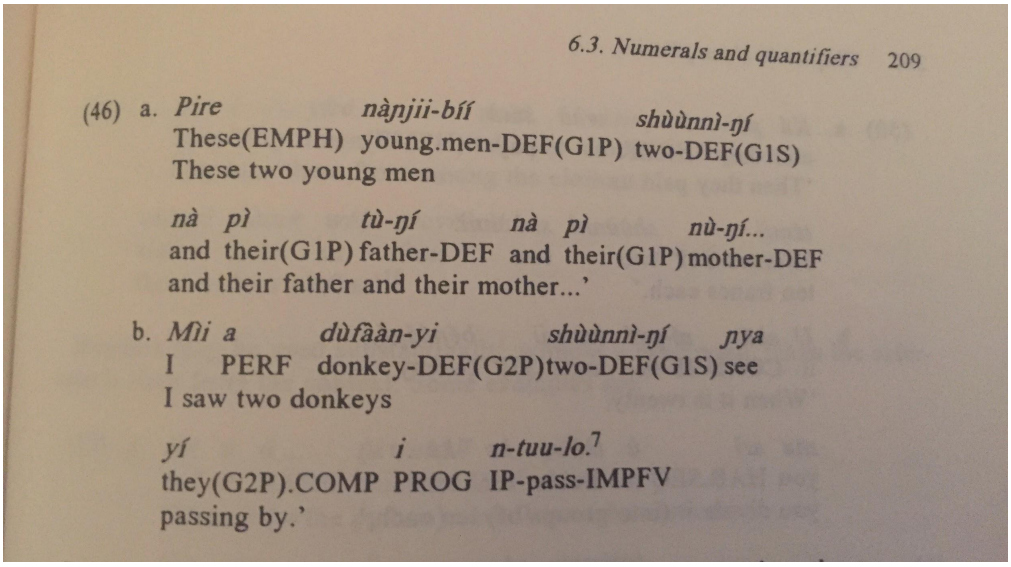
Here are more examples of adjectives formed by the adjective prefix attached to the lexical word with a suffix that contains the marking for gender and number, and for the bottom two, definiteness. Adjectives are thus shown to demonstrate concord with their head noun for gender and number.

Numerals:

When the head is definite, the number may take a definite suffix. All the numbers except 400 belong to gender 1, and are singular in form, regardless of the gender or number of the head. Following are examples with the number 'one':

Pg. 207

From this paragraph, we can assume that there will be no concord demonstrated in numerals.



6.3. Numerals and quantifiers 209

(46) a. *Pire* *nàŋjii-bíí* *shùùnnì-ŋí*
These(EMPH) young.men-DEF(G1P) two-DEF(G1S)
These two young men

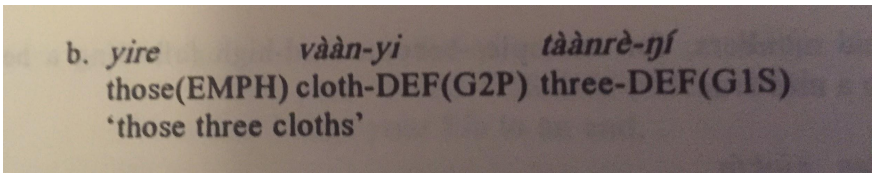
nà pì *tù-ŋí* *nà pì* *nù-ŋí...*
and their(G1P) father-DEF and their(G1P) mother-DEF
and their father and their mother...'

b. *Mìi a* *dùfàán-yi* *shùùnnì-ŋí* *ŋya*
I PERF donkey-DEF(G2P) two-DEF(G1S) see
I saw two donkeys

yí *i* *n-tuu-lo.*[7]
they(G2P).COMP PROG IP-pass-IMPFV
passing by.'

Pg. 209

In the first sentence, the word for 'young men' is assigned with a gender 1 plural marker. The numeral for 'two' is given the suffix for the gender 1 singular marker.



b. *yire* *vààn-yi* *tàànrè-ŋí*
those(EMPH) cloth-DEF(G2P) three-DEF(G1S)
'those three cloths'

Pg. 208

In this example, the word for 'cloth' has the gender 2 plural marker. The numeral 'three' has the first gender singular marker. Numerals do not agree in gender or number with their head noun. However, as shown in the examples above, numerals do agree with their head noun in definiteness.

Demonstratives:

Determiners agree in gender and number with their head noun. Determiner and head do not affect each other tonally in any way, despite the close syntactic relationship between them.

Pg. 189

(1) a. *ŋ̀gé* *ba-ŋí*
DEM.G1S river-DEF(G1S)
'this/that river'

b. *m̀píí* *cyèe-bíí*
DEM.G1P women-DEF(G1P)
'these/those women'

c. *ŋ̀ké* *kàn-he*
DEM.G2S village-DEF(G2S)
'this/that village'

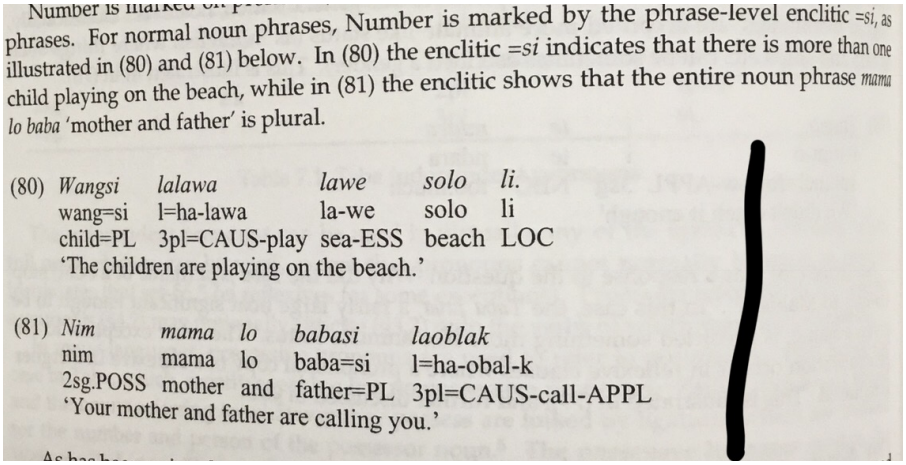
d. *ɲ̀cíí* *kàri-gíí*
DEM.G3P affairs-DEF(G3P)
'these/those affairs'

e. *ǹté* *nàŋkòpyì-ré*
DEM.G4 children-DEF(G4)
'these/those children'

Pg. 190
In each of these examples, the demonstrative attributed to the noun match for gender and number.

swa - Swahili (Mark Norris, pc)
Personal knowlege, but we could dig up some examples.

tab - Taba (Bowden 2001)
Gender: classifier system
Number: only a few nouns can be marked for number, otherwise there is a phrase-level clitic.



Number is marked on pos... phrases. For normal noun phrases, Number is marked by the phrase-level enclitic =si, as illustrated in (80) and (81) below. In (80) the enclitic =*si* indicates that there is more than one child playing on the beach, while in (81) the enclitic shows that the entire noun phrase *mama lo baba* 'mother and father' is plural.

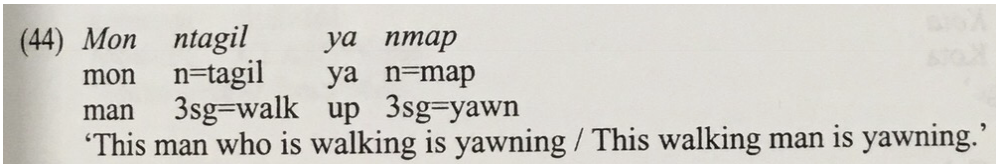
(80) *Wangsi* *lalawa* *lawe* *solo* *li.*
wang=si l=ha-lawa la-we solo li
child=PL 3pl=CAUS-play sea-ESS beach LOC
'The children are playing on the beach.'

(81) *Nim* *mama* *lo* *babasi* *laoblak*
nim mama lo baba=si l=ha-obal-k
2sg.POSS mother and father=PL 3pl=CAUS-call-APPL
'Your mother and father are calling you.'

Case: none, as far as i can tell

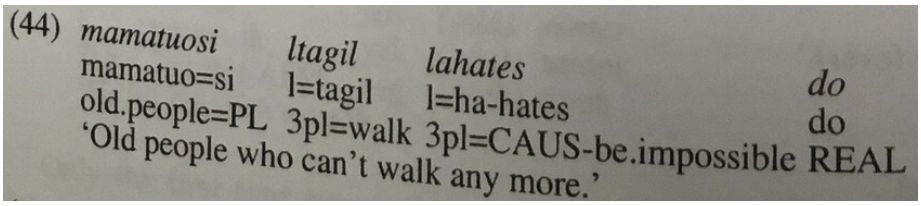
Adjectives: Just have to say that the adjective examples look like they have person concord, but Bowden insists they're all relative clauses.

p181:



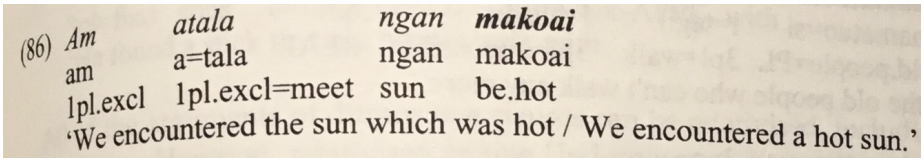
(44) *Mon* *ntagil* *ya* *nmap*
mon n=tagil ya n=map
man 3sg=walk up 3sg=yawn
'This man who is walking is yawning / This walking man is yawning.'

So here, I guess *ntagil* is supposed to be a relative clause, but I don't see how it is different from the main verb *nmap* in this example! On p.392, says "usually there is no overt marker of relativization but sometimes the relativizer *yang* occurs before the RC."
p104:



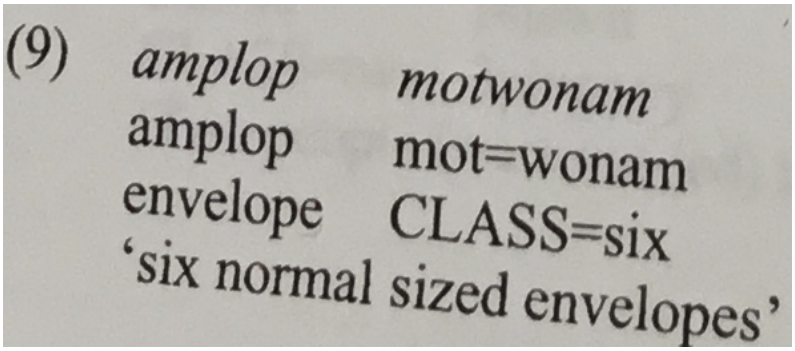
(44) *mamatuosi* *ltagil* *lahates* *do*
mamatuo=si l=tagil l=ha-hates do
old.people=PL 3pl=walk 3pl=CAUS-be.impossible REAL
'Old people who can't walk any more.'

Here's another one. Still can't really tell but it's okay.
P393: another example of an RC.



(86) *Am* *atala* *ngan* ***makoai***
am a=tala ngan makoai
1pl.excl 1pl.excl=meet sun be.hot
'We encountered the sun which was hot / We encountered a hot sun.'

<u>Numerals:</u> numeral classifiers!
p242



(9) *amplop* *motwonam*
amplop mot=wonam
envelope CLASS=six
'six normal sized envelopes'

p243: an incomplete list of the classifiers in Taba

• *p-*	default	§10.3.2.1
• *ha=*	intervals of measurement	§10.3.2.2
• *i-*	single animate	§10.3.2.3; §10.3.2.4
• *mat=*	more than one human	§10.3.2.3
• *sis=*	from 2-9 animals	§10.3.2.4
• *beit=*	mutiples of 10 animals	§10.3.2.4
• *mot=*	small square flat thin things	§10.3.2.5
• *goha*	things assembled together	§10.3.2.6
• *wato*	small oblong shaped things	§10.3.2.7
• *hola*	piece of wood / stick	§10.3.2.8
• *luklik*	rolled up things	§10.3.2.9

p251: just a cool example of coordinated numerals-- both have to have classifiers

(38) *kapaya ptol pa phot*
kapaya p-tol pa p-hot
pawpaw CLASS-three or CLASS-four
'Three or four pawpaws.'

Demonstratives: no pl marking of demonstratives even if the DP is PL
p184: discussion of demonstratives, indicating that they have no morphological differences other than deixis

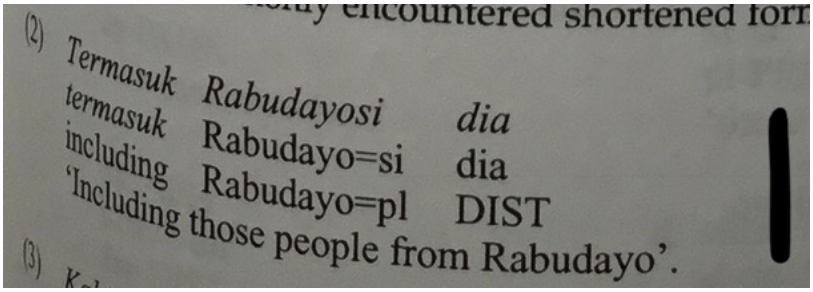
7.2.4 Demonstratives &

Both demonstratives and the directional root *ya* 'up' may be used deictically within noun phrases. There is a two-way distinction in the normal Taba demonstrative system: the forms signal what is called in this grammar proximal and distal deixis. The proximal demonstrative is *ne* and the distal demonstrative has two alternate forms: *da* and *dia*. Some examples are seen in (57) to (59).

(58) *Manik da*
chicken DIST
'that chicken (by you)'

(59) *Um dia*
house DIST
'That house (yonder).'

p271: in this example, DP is PL, but this form *dia* is not number-marked at all.



tag - Tagalog

LJ - based on Schachter & Otanes (1972)

Adjectives - no gender in Tagalog. What seems to be optional marking for number. According to Schachter & Otales 1973 (p 111), nothing need be pluralized if both speaker and listener understand the plural from context. When the plural is explicitly marked, "either the predicate alone, the topic alone, or both may in most cases be pluralized" (111).

mga (all lexical classes) and reduplication (certain adjectives) are plural markers.

/sila/ 'they' is the plural subject of this sentence. As the plural is already overt in /sila/, both /manga tamad/ 'lazy (pl)' and /tamad/ 'lazy' are acceptable predicates, in both forms of the sentences.

Mga tamad / Tamad **sila.**
'They're lazy.'

Sila ang **mga tamad. / tamad.**
'They're the lazy ones.'

(p 229)

In some adjectives, reduplication can mark for plural (in addition to /manga/). Because the plural has been marked in the subjects /manga bulaklak/ 'flowers' and /sila/ 'they', the reduplication marking the plural in the predicates is optional. So both /maganda/ 'beautiful' and /magaganda/ 'beautiful (pl)' are acceptable.

Maganda / Magaganda ang mga bulaklak.
'The flowers are beautiful.'

Sila ang mayaman. / mayayaman.
'They are the rich ones.'

(p 230)

In the following example, the subject is /manga kapatid ko/ 'my brothers'.
pl brother my

As the subject is marked as plural, the predicate /masipag na bata/ 'industrious children' can be optionally pluralized in a few industrious adj.LINK child
different ways.

Mga masisipag na bata / Mga masipag na bata / Masisipag na bata / Masisipag na mga bata / Masipag na mga bata ang mga kapatid ko.
'My brothers are industrious children.'

(p 231)

/manga masisipag na bata/
pl industrious.pl adj.LINK child

/manga masipag na bata/
pl industrious adj.LINK child

/masisipag na bata/
industrious.pl adj.LINK child

/masisipag na manga bata/
industrious.pl adj.LINK pl child

/masipag na manga bata/
industrious adj.LINK pl child

Both /masipag/ 'industrious' and /bata/ 'child' can be preceded by the pluralizing particle /manga/. In addition, as a /ma-/ verb, /masipag/ can reduplicate its second syllable /si/ as a pluralizer. These plural markings are all optional, and all redundancy is allowed; thus, the multitude of ways to pluralize the above sentence.

Having trouble following these without glosses-- I'm just gonna ask for assistance from my Tagalog experts here! OK! The industrious children part sure looks like concord to me! Adjectives don't otherwise have concord (121-122).

Demonstratives must mark for case ('ang' = agent, 'ng' = patient, 'sa' = locative), but not for anything else. Plurals are optional (see above).

CHART 8
DEICTIC PRONOUNS

ang form	ng form	sa form
ire /'ireh/	nire /nireh/	dine /di:neh/
ito /'itoh/	nito /nitoh/	dito /di:toh/
iyan /('i)yan/	niyan /nyan/	diyan /dyan/
	niyon /nyon/	
iyon /('i)yon/		doon /du'on)
	noon /nu'on/	

(p 91)

Interesting! I didn't know this about demonstratives. Were there any examples where they were used alongside an overt noun?

Per Schachter & Otanes 1972, it is only possible to use demonstratives as modifiers of nouns as a combination of a matrix and constituent sentence in which the demonstrative is a stand-alone pronoun. When they are then combined, the dem. does not change form or take on additional inflection, other than the /-ng/ and /na/ particles, which attach to non-adjectives to make them adjectives. In the examples below, /ito/ 'this' becomes /na ito/ 'this (adj.)' and /itong/ 'this (adjective), but receives no other inflection.

Matrix sentence: Mahal ang damit. 'The dress is expensive.'

Constituent sentence: Ito ang damit. '*This* is the dress.'

→

Resultant sentence: Mahal ang damit na ito. '*This* dress is expensive.'

A possible context for the resultant sentence is:

Mahal ang damit na ito. '*This* dress is expensive. Pero mura ang damit na iyan. But *that* dress is cheap.'

On the other hand, putting a deictic before, rather than after, the linker, as in *itong damit* '*this* dress' results in giving the noun that follows the linker a contrastive, and hence modifying function:

Matrix sentence: Mahal ito. '*This* is expensive.'

Constituent sentence: Damit ito. '*This* is a dress.'

→

Resultant sentence: Mahal itong damit. '*This* dress is expensive.'

A possible context for this resultant sentence is:

Mahal itong damit. 'This *dress* is expensive. Pero mura itong sombrero. But this *hat* is cheap.'

(p 120)

In Aspillera 2007, plural forms of demonstratives are given (though no examples of plural demonstratives overtly modifying NPs were given). These plurals follow the same pluralization forms of adjectives (see above). Presumably, plural demonstratives modifying overt NPs are formed with the same matrix and constituent sentences outlined in Schachter & Otanes.

Ang mga itó ay mababaít.	These are good.
Ang mga iyán ay malalakí.	Those are big.
Ang mga iyón ay malilínis.	Those are clean.

(p 38)

Blerg! Pretty frustrating that there are no examples with these things in other syntactic contexts or with plural inflection.

Numbers: no concord.

May { mga / h(um)igit-kumulang na } dalawampung tao doon noong Biyernes.
'There were approximately twenty people there last Friday.'

(p 210)

Neither /dalawamoung/ 'twenty' nor /tao/ 'people' have any markers showing concord with each other. Twenty is in its plain form; no change based on case. No gender in Tagalog.
Good! Thank you for unpacking the words a little bit since there are no glosses.

tha - Thai

No concord (besides classifiers)

tiw - Tiwi (Lee 1987)

Gender: 4? human/non human and masc/fem. It's not clear to me how animacy enters tho
Number: sg/pl
Case: I don't think there's any morphological case-marking

Adjectives: agree gender and number, but all the examples I have are only gender
P223: I am not sure why they write "Def Dem Head"

(a) **Def** **Dem** **Head**
awarra *kiyijini* *jarrangini*
that(m) small(m) bull/buffalo
'that small buffalo'

P89: this is the feminine form of *yirruka* `long'

(b) *yirruka* *jarrumoka*
long road
'A long road'

Numerals: one-three agree in gender.
P96

In TT, there are numerals for the numbers 1 to 10.[31] The numerals for 1-3 agree with the noun they modify. For the numeral 'one' this agreement is simply in gender, i.e. *yati*(m), *nyatinga/natinga*(f).

For 'two' and 'three' there is just one form for human nouns and two forms, distinguished for gender, for non-human nouns. This ties in with the

p223

(d) **Quan** **Des** **Head**
yinjara *simitiriyi* *purinjirringa*
two(f) cemetery tree/pole
'two cemetery poles'

P224

(b) **Head** **Quan**[5]
pilayiki *yirrara*
flag(m) two(m)
'two flags'

Demonstratives: Grammar claims they agree in gender and number, but no plural examples from Traditional Tiwi are given. Was being lost at the time that the author write their grammar. See also "adjective" for another example.
(p223)

(c) **Def** **Dem** **Head**
awinyirra *anaki* *mirripaka*
this(f) this(f) sea/salt:water
'this salt water'

P117

(a) *anginanki* *pilimunga*
this(f) road(f)
'this road'

(b) *(ngi)nayi* *kiyijini*
this(dist:m) boy
'that boy over there'

tli - Tlingit (James Crippen, p.c.)

I e-mailed James Crippen, and this is what he said:

> Well, the answer is no, but I don't know whether there's any tidy paradigm of examples in print to prove this. Tlingit doesn't have gender or case, but it does have number (sg. vs. pl.) and animacy (human vs. non-human). Determiners, demonstratives, possessives,

numerals, diminutives, augmentatives, adjectives, and quantifiers are all insensitive to the φ-features of the noun. The only real exception is that numerals may host a suffix -náx̲ indicating that the referent is human, but this paradigmatically groups together with other suffixes that indicate the referent is a collection (-yeeká), or that the referent is distributed (-g̲áa), or that the referent is a repetition (-dahéen), and not with any other φ-features. So this -náx̲ is probably not agreement with the noun, but rather something specific to the semantic expression of numeration.

Nouns themselves have no overt indication of φ-features except for plurality, and this is expressed either by a suffix -x' or by an enclitic =hás or =yán depending on animacy and other properties of the referent (not necessarily the lexical item). These plural markers are often 'optional' and are be omitted either pragmatically or by the indication of plurality in the verb. Further, they don't seem to actually mean 'plural' but probably more like 'a collection of', i.e. they indicate collective atomic entities. I currently think of these plural markers as some kind of functional head in the syntax, and not actually inflection of the noun itself.

tru - Trumai (Guirardello, p. 30)

Gender: there are some animacy and m/f distinctions (seems mostly semantic)

Number: number words (p18)

(e) Pluralizers: either *a* 'Dual' or *wan* 'Plural'. They modify a head noun that refers to an animate entity (cf. section 2.2.6). When the head noun of an absolutive NP is omitted, the

Case: postpositions (see p19)

Some full NPs (p19)

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
(2)	[*huchtahme*	*ha*	*adifle*	*herohen*	*wan*	*yi*]
	three	1	sister	beautiful	PL	YI

'my three beautiful sisters'

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(f)
(3)	[*huchtahme*	*hi-kte*	*tahu*	*daţ'*	*yi*]
	three	2-Gen	knife	black	YI

'your three black knives'

Adjectives:

P18

[iawn[1] *daţ' ive herohen yi]* 'black big beautiful cat'.

Adjectives cannot occur with additional number words (without, for example, being nominalized and resulting in a sort of appositive construction) p40

(81) a. *[huch kasoro daţ a yi]*
two dog black Dual YI
'two black dogs'

b. **[huch kasoro a] [daţ a yi]*
two dog Dual black Dual YI
'two black dogs'

Numerals:
p18 in this example, conjoined NPs, basically (indicated by *yi*), but there's a numeral here.

(1) *[huch adis a yi] [kamayura a yi]*
two Indian Dual YI Kamayura Dual YI
'two Kamayura Indians'

Demonstratives: there are some differing demonstratives based on gender, but some speakers don't like to use them attributively. And then, even when they do, apparently the actual gender doesn't matter-- masculine is preferred. (Guirardello p30)

When demonstratives are used as modifiers, it seems that the masculine and feminine forms can freely substitute for each other, although the masculine form is more often used. In other words, the fact that the noun refers to a female or a male entity seems to have no influence in the choice of the demonstrative when it is used as a modifier.

Examples:

(42) a. *[ni'datl dinoxo yi]-ki chï(_in) ha fa.*
this(Fem) girl YI-Dat Foc/Tens 1 beat
'I beat this girl.'

b. *[ni'de dinoxo yi]-ki chï(_in) ha fa.*
this(Masc) girl YI-Dat Foc/Tens 1 beat
'I beat this girl.'

(43) *ka'ne chay*
that(Masc) afternoon
'yesterday'

tsi - Coast Tsimshian (Dunn 1979)

(p13)

1. The ordinary way to show the plural number is by reduplication. Reduplication is a morphological device in which part of a word is copied or repeated. Verbs agree in number with their absolutive (transitive object or intransitive subject). Adjectives agree in number with the nouns they modify. Verbs and adjectives show number agreement in the same way that nouns show number. There are several types of reduplication.

There are different numeral forms based on noun class (essentially classifiers but they are completely different forms in some cases and so those could plausibly be agreement of a sort) (p56)

- Mentions these classes: humans, long objects, canoes (used for any vehicle), humans aboard a conveyance, unit measures.
- Also: general numbers for : houses, dreams, masks, flowers, ghosts, spheres, abstract things, anything else not specifically designated by other classes

- Animal numerals: garments, skins, anything flat, Bigfoot, other supernatural vehicles

gu'pl uwalp	two houses
gu'pl bubaa'lx	two ghosts
t'apxaada guksɬüüsk	two shirts
t'apxaduul hana'nax	two women
k'oopsxn bupts'aan	two totem poles
gabeeltk gaxsoo	two canoes

(the order for all of these examples is as in English)

(pp 56-57) it appears that determiners/demonstratives do not show concord (clear for number from examples below)

waaba gwa'a	this house (by me)
waaba awaan	that house (by you)
bübaa'lx gwa'a	these ghosts
guksɬüüsga awaan	those shirts by you

Order is N - Dem -- note that Dem1 is *gwa'a* regardless of number, and dem2 is *awaan* regardless of number

1. Adjectives, like numbers, come before the noun they modify. They take an -m enclitic suffix and must agree in number with the noun they modify. A noun phrase may have both a numeral and an adjective. Numerals come before adjectives. A noun phrase may have both an adjective and a determiner. A noun phrase may have more than one adjective.

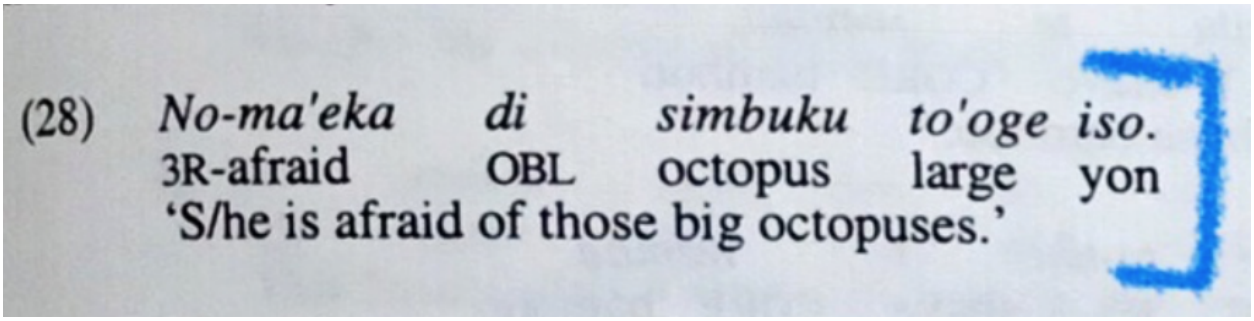
t'apxaada sipsiipgm hashaas	four sick dogs
siipgm haasa gwa'a	this sick dog
sipsiipgm hashaasa gwi	the sick dogs
lu'am'aamagadgoodm hanaa'naga doni	those happy women
txalpxdool al'algm smgyigyet	four angry chiefs
mismasgm huwaap	the red houses
mismasgm huwaaba gwa'a	these red houses
gu'pl am'aamn ɬikɬguɬgm huwaap	two good little houses
t'apxaduul am'aamn gatgyetm yik'yuuta	two good strong men

Notes: 1) When an x comes before a vowel or m, it becomes g.
2) When the enclitic suffix -m comes after an m, it becomes -n.

(p57) Adjectives agree in number (a bunch of different kinds of reduplication, basically) but also take an *-m* enclitic suffix.

tuk - Tukang Besi (Donohue 1999)

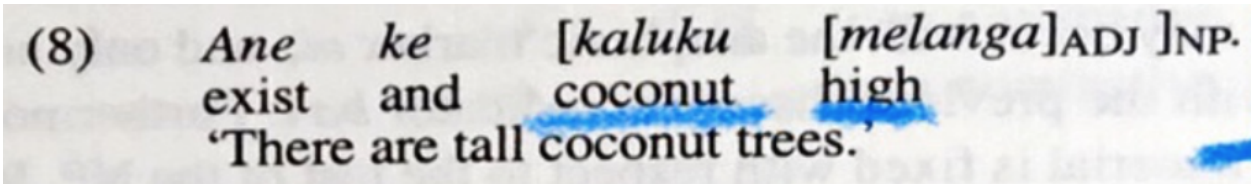
No concord. No gender, basically no number marking inside DPs (one minor exception, but it's a free morpheme), and case is also a free morpheme.



(28) *No-ma'eka* *di* *simbuku* *to'oge* *iso.*
3R-afraid OBL octopus large yon
'S/he is afraid of those big octopuses.'

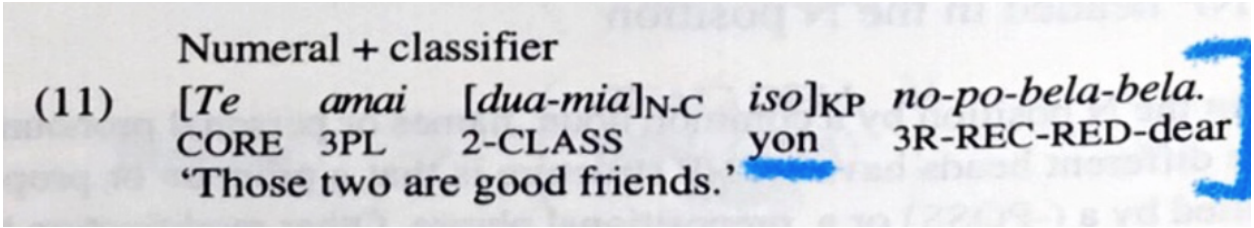
Lost the page number (arg!) for this one, but if we can believe the translation, there's no plural marking on the adjective or the demonstrative, and the case is marked peripherally.

Adjective (p306)



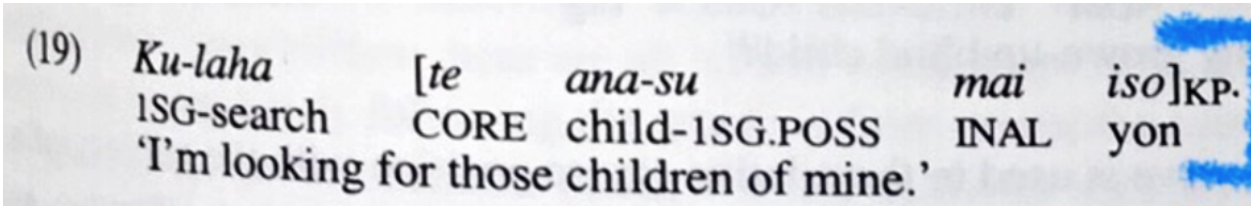
(8) *Ane* *ke* [*kaluku* [*melanga*]ADJ]NP.
exist and coconut high
'There are tall coconut trees.'

Demonstrative (p306)



Numeral + classifier
(11) [*Te* *amai* [*dua-mia*]N-C *iso*]KP *no-po-bela-bela.*
CORE 3PL 2-CLASS yon 3R-REC-RED-dear
'Those two are good friends.'

Demonstrative (p307) here with the particle that sometimes marks number *mai* (other times, it marks inalienable possession)



(19) *Ku-laha* [*te* *ana-su* *mai* *iso*]KP.
1SG-search CORE child-1SG.POSS INAL yon
'I'm looking for those children of mine.'

tun - Tunica (Haas 1941)

	Sg.	Du.	Du. and Pl.	Pl.
M	*-ku, -ku'hu*	*-ʔu'nima*		*-sɛ'ma, -sɛm*
F	*-hči, -hči'hi*		*-si'nima, -sin*	

(p65)

Gender/number suffixes occurring on nouns. Note that fem dual/plural are syncretic

Numerals (no concord)

(3) as modifiers of nouns, e.g.,

ti'hika ta'yihkŭn, yu'katĭhč (12:d) when seven years had passed (*ta'yihku* seven, modifier of *ti'hika* year)
tɔ'katɛ'kaha ma'nkŭn, ʔu'kʔɛʔɛra'nì. (9:a) Once there were four orphan boys. (*ma'nku* four, modifier of *tɔ'katɛ'kaha* the orphan boy)

If the quantificative modifies a noun used in the definitive case, it is usually incorporated within the noun complex, i.e., stands between the noun stem and its gender-number suffix (cf. the treatment of adjectives; 10.41), e.g.,

ʔuhkʔɔ'katohkʔi'lʔunimăn, ʔunya'nakɔ'nì. (4A:be) He spoke to his two boys. (*ʔuhkʔɔ'katohkʔi'lʔunima* < *ʔuhk-*, 3MS pref., + *ʔɔ'kʊ'o'hku* child + *ʔi'li* two + *-ʔu'nima*, MD suff.)

(p129)

Numerals modifying nouns (as in (3)) do not appear to inflect for gender/number (though I'm not sure what the *-n* suffix is doing.. But it does not look like any of the gender/number suffixes that appear on nouns).

Curiously, when numerals are used in the "definitive case" (basically definite NPs, which occur with a definitive prefix and a gender/number suffix), they appear inside the gender/number suffix, which suggests that this suffix is not connected to the noun per se but ends up there when nothing intervenes.

Adjectives (no concord)

(2) as modifiers of nouns used as predicative words, e.g.,

tɛ'čăku, ku'wa lapɔ'nì. (43A:b) The crow woodpecker is a good bird. (*lapɔ'ni* < *la'pu* good + *-a'ni*, modifying *ku'wa* bird)

(p130)

The *-a'ni* suffix here is a TAM suffix (some kind of evidential) that is often used in predication, so there is no gender/number marking on *la'pu*.

When adjectives are used in attribution, they are incorporated, occurring between the noun and its gender/number suffix.

tɔ'mahkami'liku (1) the red alligator (< *t-*, art. pref., + *ʔɔ'-mahka* alligator + *mi'li* red + *-ku*, MS suff.)
ta'yorumʔahawi'ratahasi'nima (18:a) some fearful wild beasts (< *ta'-* + *yo'rumʔaha* wild beast + *wi'rataha* fearful + *-si'nima*, FD-P suff.)

(p130)

Demonstratives (no concord? No good examples)
I did not find any good examples of demonstrative NPs, but all the demonstratives are prefixes and there was no discussion of inflection when the general form of demonstratives was raised.

tur - Turkish

No concord, personal knowledge

una - Una (Louwerse 1988)

Gender:

Number: p69

> Except for the very limited group of nouns with the suffix *-yabwa* 'plural', nouns in Una are not inflected for number. Neither definite nor indefinite articles are used. The only optional inflection is a possessive prefix and/or an interrogative suffix.

Nouns: pig, a bunch of human terms

Case: 10 cases, postposed to noun phrase (p107)

Adjectives: roughly 30 adjectives; no mention of plural forms

a		*maka*		*iya teleb*
that		bird		very good
a	*kurun*	*maka*	*wiyniyji*	
these	red	birds	three	

Here the demonstrative is translated as "these" but it shows no form difference

uk	*buk*	*malyi*
fire	flames	bad

"Flames" but "bad" translated without any morphology.

Numerals: base twenty-seven system (!!). Only one-three have roots that aren't based on body parts.

ton/tentok	one
bitinyi	two
wiyniyji	three

Demonstratives: no pl forms mentioned in list of forms (p76)

P76: éy me = dem stream

2. *éy me,*		*teleb me*
that up there stream		good water/stream
'That stream up here is good water'		

P76: a *k* is inserted between Dem and N if N begins with a vowel.

e.g. 1. *er* *èy-k-atey* *bin-ma-r*
she up there-C-village go-incompAsp-3sg pr t
'She walks to that village up there'

ung - Ungarinjin (Rumsey 1978)

Gender: seems like 4-5 genders? (p45: masculine, feminine, m-class neuter, w2-class neuter, and neuter collective/human plural)
Number: dual and paucal number suffixes can be attached to any nominal class. Plural can be signaled (if at all) by reduplication for nouns. However, these suffixes occur very infrequently outside of personal pronouns (p82). Adjectives may show this in prefixation.
Case: they're all postpositions/phrase-level affixes. No concord.

Adjectives: Some adjectives show concord, as shown in these NPs (p77)

Adjective

ari	djinda	aner	djiri
'man'	'that' masc. 'that great man'	'great' (masc.)	'he' (masc.)
wonay	njinda	njaner	njindi
'woman'	'that' fem. 'that great woman'	'great' (fem.)	'she'
gulurogan	ganda	wuner	di
'dove'	'that' w-class 'that great dove'	'great'(w-class)	'it'(w-class)
duramala	munda	maner	mindi
'black cockatoo'	'that' m-class 'that great black cockatoo'	'great'(m-class)	'it' (m-class)

It sounds like **some adjectives do show concord**, but they look sort of like inalienable nouns? They take the same prefixes as body part words.

As is evident from the paradigms of table 16 and the non-prefixing examples above, both the principle which distinguishes prefixing adjectives from the non-prefixing ones and the forms of the prefixes themselves are identical to those set out above (sec. 2.1.5.2.1) for body-part words (these paradigms, for example, being derivable from those same prefixes plus roots aner, $w_1$ungara, and $y_1$iri respectively). The entire morphology is identical, so the analysis need not be repeated here.

Numerals: the numeral one shows concord (p75), but the numeral for two does not (p73). Those might be the only two numerals, given this construction that means “4” by combining 2 and 2… (p180)

```
medjeri-yá     medjeri   wonay

'two'  'and'    'two'   'woman'
   'four women'

or:  wonay     medjeri-yá medjeri
```

Demonstratives: Well, I found this paradigm at least (p46). Demonstratives show gender and number concord .See examples in adjective section and for number, the one below.

	'here'	'over there'	'way over there' (usually out of sight)
masculine	djinda	djino	djindinja
feminine	njinda	njino	njindinja
m-class neuter	munda	muno	mindinja
w_2-class neuter	ganda	guno	gandinja
neuter collective and human plural	bunda	buno	bundinja

P177: number concord (visible as *b* class)

```
wada   burwin                  bunda          brru

'like' 3 pl. - √w1u-ref.-pres.  3 pl. proximal 'people' (i.e.,
                                                 Aborigines)


wiyowila     - yá         mununanga

'pubescent boys'        'pubescent girls'
   'These aborigines--pubescent boys and girls--they like each
        other.'
```

Looking specifically at *bunda brru* “those aboriginals”

vie - Vietnamese

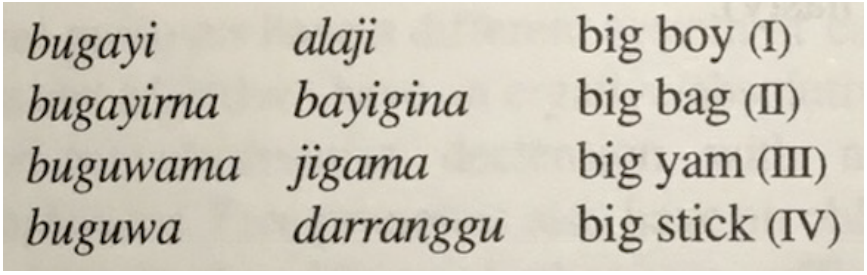
Personal knowledge (hunch?), no concord

wam - Wambaya

Gender: 4 genders
Number: SG/DU/PL
Case: several

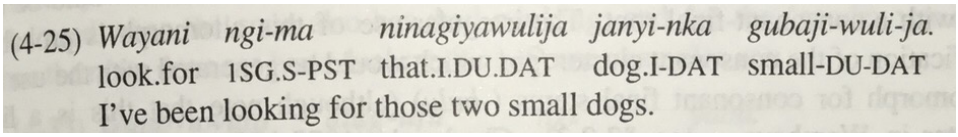
Does allow discontinuous constituents (and concord within them… see p133)

Adjectives: agree in gender
p47: here's `big' agreeing in gender with a noun of each type



bugayi	*alaji*	big boy (I)
bugayirna	*bayigina*	big bag (II)
buguwama	*jigama*	big yam (III)
buguwa	*darranggu*	big stick (IV)

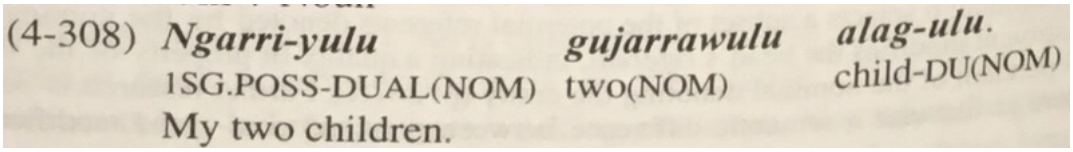
P73 dual marking and case-marking but no gender on this one



(4-25)	*Wayani*	*ngi-ma*	*ninagiyawulija*	*janyi-nka*	*gubaji-wuli-ja.*
	look.for	1SG.S-PST	that.I.DU.DAT	dog.I-DAT	small-DU-DAT

I've been looking for those two small dogs.

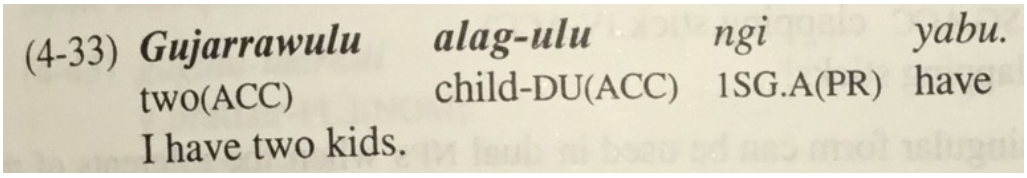
Numeral: definitely agree in case and can sometimes agree in number (more below)
p.132: here's a numeral showing case concord



(4-308)	***Ngarri-yulu***	***gujarrawulu***	***alag-ulu.***
	1SG.POSS-DUAL(NOM)	two(NOM)	child-DU(NOM)

My two children.

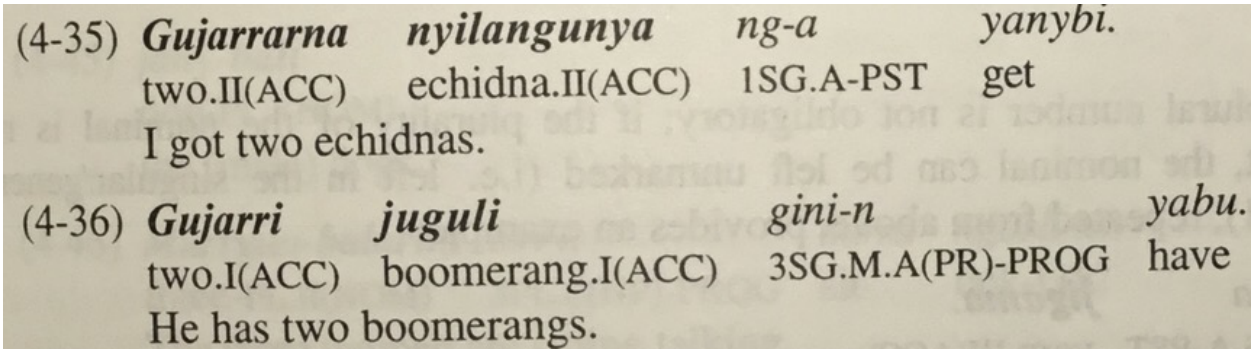
p75: There are two versions of `two'-- one that can reflect gender and one that is invariant for gender (which she calls the `dual version'). The one above is the dual version. So's this:



(4-33)	***Gujarrawulu***	***alag-ulu***	*ngi*	*yabu.*
	two(ACC)	child-DU(ACC)	1SG.A(PR)	have

I have two kids.

And here are some examples with the gender one:



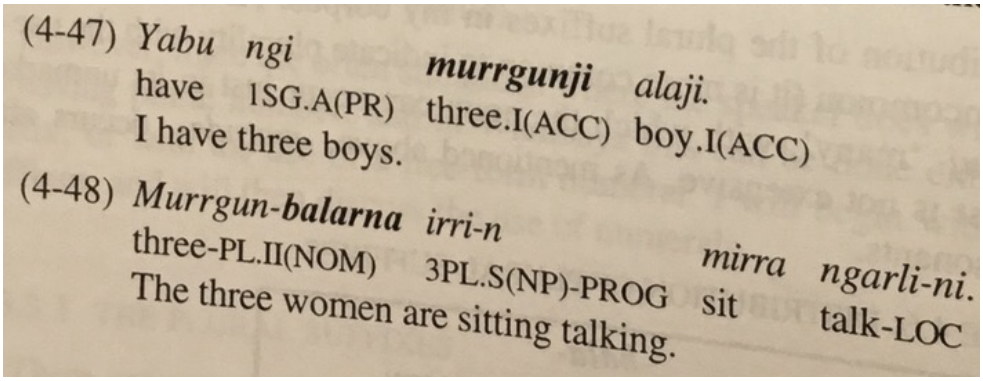
(4-35)	***Gujarrarna***	***nyilangunya***	*ng-a*	*yanybi.*
	two.II(ACC)	echidna.II(ACC)	1SG.A-PST	get

I got two echidnas.

(4-36)	***Gujarri***	***juguli***	*gini-n*	*yabu.*
	two.I(ACC)	boomerang.I(ACC)	3SG.M.A(PR)-PROG	have

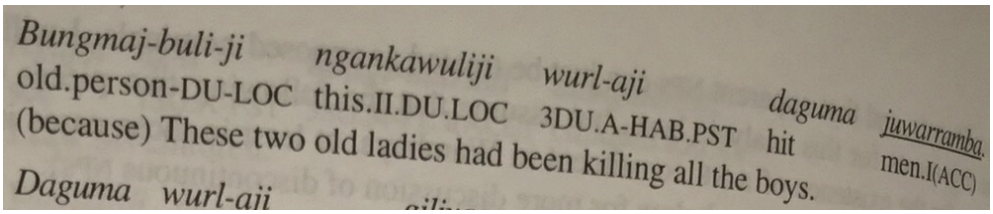
He has two boomerangs.

p78: three is ostensibly the same way (a PL version and a gender version) but there are fewer tokens of it

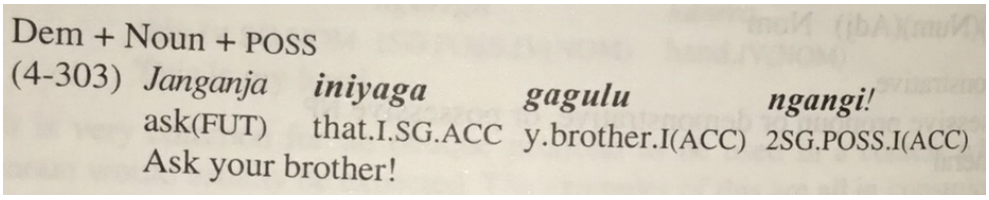

(4-47) *Yabu* *ngi* ***murrgunji*** *alaji.*
have 1SG.A(PR) three.I(ACC) boy.I(ACC)
I have three boys.

(4-48) *Murrgun-**balarna*** *irri-n* *mirra* *ngarli-ni.*
three-PL.II(NOM) 3PL.S(NP)-PROG sit talk-LOC
The three women are sitting talking.

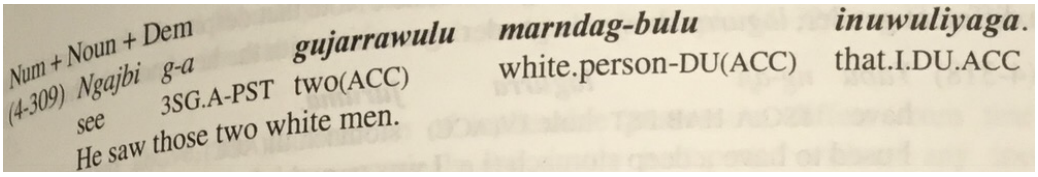
Demonstrative: agree in gender, number, and case
P.132: dem showing gender (II), number (dual), and case (locative/ergative)


Bungmaj-buli-ji *ngankawuliji* *wurl-aji* *daguma* *juwarramba.*
old.person-DU-LOC this.II.DU.LOC 3DU.A-HAB.PST hit men.I(ACC)
(because) These two old ladies had been killing all the boys.
Daguma *wurl-aji*

p.132: Also this one


Dem + Noun + POSS
(4-303) *Janganja* ***iniyaga*** ***gagulu*** ***ngangi!***
ask(FUT) that.I.SG.ACC y.brother.I(ACC) 2SG.POSS.I(ACC)
Ask your brother!

p133: ok, another one!


Num + Noun + Dem
(4-309) *Ngajbi* *g-a* ***gujarrawulu*** ***marndag-bulu*** ***inuwuliyaga.***
see 3SG.A-PST two(ACC) white.person-DU(ACC) that.I.DU.ACC
He saw those two white men.

war - Wari' (Everett and Kern 1997:291)

Three genders: feminine (female individuals), masculine (male individuals + roughly half of culturally significant animals and objects), neuter (all other objects including loans).
Number: not marked nominally but is marked in verb agreement and possessor agreement.
Case: none

Adjectives: P. 345 no lexical category of adjectives but here is what they do instead

(649) Cao' xin ca xain nein mijac. Cao'
xi'-in
eat 1pincl:rf-3n INFL:nrp/p hot poss:3n pig eat
xin ca xain nucun jowin quem.
xi'-in
1pincl:rf-3n INFL:nrp/p hot poss:3sm monkey:species ref
'We will eat roasted pig and *jowin* monkey.' (lit. 'We will eat roasted (hot) pig. We will eat roasted (hot) *jowin* monkey.')

This is an example of what is used instead of an adjective: it's something like 'the pig's hotness' or 'the monkey's hotness'. The poss:3n/poss:3sm marker is agreement with the possessor here, and it agrees in both gender and number. Since the words with adjectival meaning are really nouns here, this is possessor agreement rather than adjectival concord.

Numerals (P. 349):

(657) b. Pa' nanain ca dez nein mijac.
nana-in
kill 3p:rp/p-3n INFL:nrp/p ten poss:3n pig
'They killed ten pigs.'

There are only two native numerals in Wari': 1 and 2. But now Portuguese numerals are used, and they have been inserted into ordinary adjectival structures, so this is like "They killed the pig's ten." (!!)

Demonstratives: P. 291

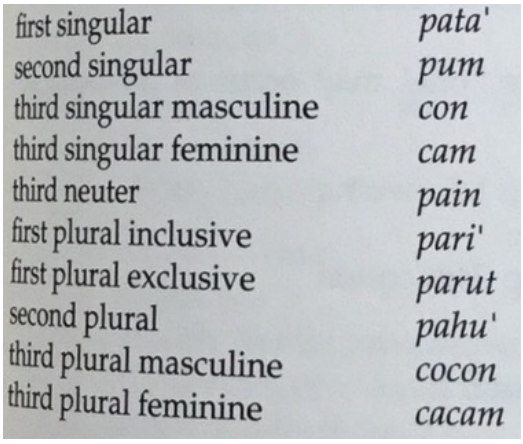
(563) a. wao' ca'
small:basket this:n
'this small basket'

(563) b. wom cwa'
cotton this:m/f
'this item of clothing'

(563) c. narima' cwa'
woman this:m/f
'this woman'

Here you can see the distinction for this demonstrative--- m/f is neutralized, but neuter is different. They state many times (e.g., p. 298) that this agreement is obligatory.

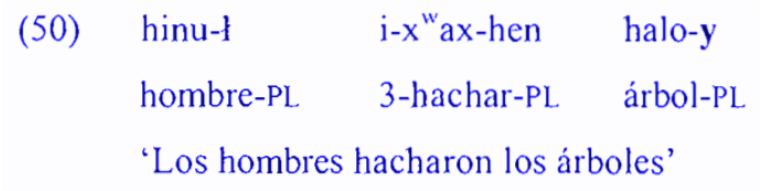
P. 347: Just for fun, the agreeing preposition



first singular	*pata'*
second singular	*pum*
third singular masculine	*con*
third singular feminine	*cam*
third neuter	*pain*
first plural inclusive	*pari'*
first plural exclusive	*parut*
second plural	*pahu'*
third plural masculine	*cocon*
third plural feminine	*cacam*

Wari' has one single preposition, and it agrees with the noun in person, gender, and number.

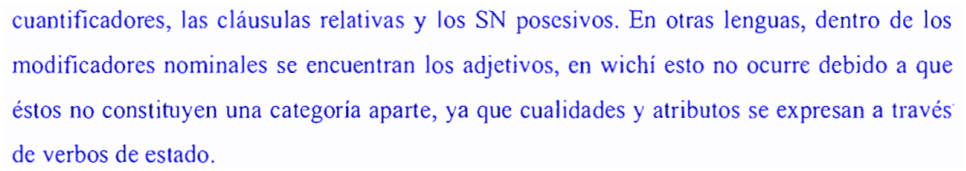
wch - Wichí (Terraza 2009 dissertation)
Gender: none, as far as I can tell
Number: sg/pl; a variety of allomorphs but no indication that plural-marking is restricted (p83)



(50)	hinu-ɬ	i-x^{w}ax-hen	halo-y
	hombre-PL	3-hachar-PL	árbol-PL
	'Los hombres hacharon los árboles'		

Case: none (per examples and per WALS)

Adjectives: the language basically doesn't have adjectives, as far as I can tell. The only example is clearly borrowed from Spanish so I don't think it counts.



cuantificadores, las cláusulas relativas y los SN posesivos. En otras lenguas, dentro de los modificadores nominales se encuentran los adjetivos, en wichí esto no ocurre debido a que éstos no constituyen una categoría aparte, ya que cualidades y atributos se expresan a través de verbos de estado.

p94: here's an adjective in Wichí that is rendered as a relative clause.

(80)	hinu	i-kʸox	**kwatlo**	yelatax to	Ø-pelax
	hombre	3-comprar	cuatro	caballo SUB	3-ser.blanco
	'El hombre compró cuatro caballos blancos'				

p94: But here's one without a relative clause (clearly borrowed, tho!)

(82)	primer	eskwela vyexa	tox	Ø-i-hi	ribadabya
	primer	escuela vieja	SUB	3-estar-LOC	Rivadavia
	'La primera escuela vieja que está (estaba) en Rivadavia'				

Numerals:

p85:

(58)	Ø-i-hi	lus	sinox-**os**[15]
	3-estar-LOC	dos	perro-PL
	'Hay dos perros'		

P94: with a singular noun

(80)	hinu	i-kʸox	**kwatlo**	yelatax to	Ø-pelax
	hombre	3-comprar	cuatro	caballo SUB	3-ser.blanco
	'El hombre compró cuatro caballos blancos'				

P94: plural noun again

(81)	Ø-i-hi	**lus**	Ø-łip-ey
	3-estar-LOC	dos	3pos-pedazo-PL
	'Hay dos pedazos'		

Demonstratives: I think there's no concord. No plural forms mentioned on p.73

Cuadro 3.9
Demostrativos posicionales y direccionales

POSICIONALES (+) Distancia				(-)	DIRECCIONAL (alejamiento)	
-liyini	-li	-tsi	-ni	-na	-tsu (m)	(-xim)

P73: translated as "estas ropas" but there is no PL marker.

(22)	to-qoy-**na**	ta-kʸetsan-hi-xʷax-t'c	to	t-i-lexien	
	Pos.no.esp-ropa-DEM	3-ser.difícil-NEG-DIM-NEG	SUB	PSV-3-lavar	
	'Estas ropas no son difíciles (dificilitas) de lavar'				

p98: OK, this one has PL on noun, but no special form for DEM

(44) athana n-yom-ey kwento tox x^{w}ala-s-**p'ante-tsu** tox pała-lis-**p'ante**
ahora 1-hablar-LOC cuento SUB día-PL-TEMP-DEM SUB mito-DIST-TEMP
'Ahora voy a contar una historia (de los días pasados que se alejan) un mito del pasado'

p172: another one

(132) **atana** n-yom-ey kwento tox x^{w}ala-s-p'ante-tsu
ahora 1-hablar-LOC cuento SUB día-PL-PAS-DEM
'Ahora cuento un cuento que (ocurrió) hace mucho tiempo'

wic - Wichita (Rood 1996 brief article)

Mentions a plural form of a definite article, but does not provide any examples

The morpheme is |ré·R| or |reʔeh|, plural |riʔih|, and may occur in a number of positions: suffixed to the noun, incorporated in the verb 'be' and treated as a participial modifier of the noun, or as a bound form in the verb at position 14. Examples 108 and 109 show the difference in meaning between presence and absence of the form; examples 110-114 show variations in place of occurrence. (p604)

In discussing demonstratives, no plural forms are provided

There are two demonstratives: *tiʔih* 'this' and *haʻríʻh* 'that'. They may occur with or without the definite inflection, and they may either precede or follow the noun they modify. (p594)

I swear I looked at the longer older grammar, too. Might have some screenshots somewhere...

wra - Warao (Romero-Figueroa 1997:51-52)

Adjectives: Romero-Figueroa says that there is not a clear-cut distinction between adjectives and noun (p49), but when "nominals" modify nouns, they can be plural in agreement with the noun, but they never bear case or possession (p50)

(108) wara -era -tuma hoko -tuma ehobo -a -e
heron AUGM PL any shade of a light color PL flock PUNC PAST
`Big white herons flocked`

Here *hokotuma* bears PL just like *waraeratuma*.

p50: Number agreement may be optional, as there is no PL marker on *crab* in this next example.

```
(109) he    haiha     -tuma damana nobo          -tuma
      crab  freshness PL    some   grandfather  PL

      moa -n -a    -e
      give sg PUNC PAST
      `The grandfather gave some fresh crabs`
```

Numerals: Says that cardinals are normally used “as nouns” but I am not quite sure what that means. Doesn’t give any examples in the numeral section. I’m thinking they don’t inflect for anything based on what I’ve seen.

p63: Here’s one example with `four’

```
(144) warao orabakaya tamahatuma    kaika ha
      Warao four      those yonder with  COP
      `Four Warao are with those yonder`
```

P82: an example with `two’

```
(210) warao -tuma hokohi manamo eku bahi  -n -a   -e
      Warao  PL   day    two    in  return sg PUNC PAST
      `The Warao returned passed two days`
```

p90: another `four’

```
(239) bare     kaika warao orabakaya ha
      father   with  Warao four      COP
      (priest)
      `Four  Warao are with the priest (they are  under  the
      priest`s responsibility)`
```

Demonstratives: demonstrative pronouns can show concord for number, whether they precede or follow the noun (though following is most common) (pp51-52)

1. PROXIMAL

SINGULAR	PLURAL
tama 'this'	tama -tuma 'these'

2. DISTAL

SINGULAR	PLURAL
ta(i) 'that'	ta -tuma 'those'
ama 'that yonder'	ama -tuma 'those yonder'

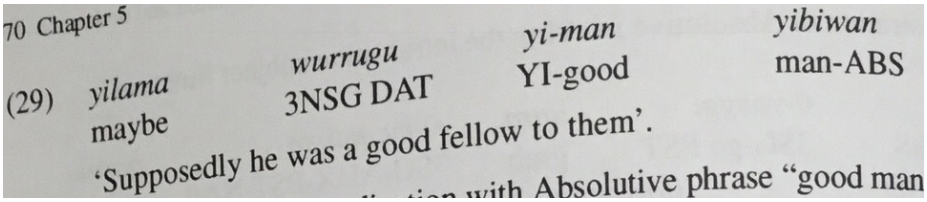
TABLE 3: Demonstrative determiners

```
(12) a. noboto -ma ta  -tuma        b. ta  -tuma noboto -ma
        child  PL that PL              that PL   child  PL
        'Those children'               'Those children'
```

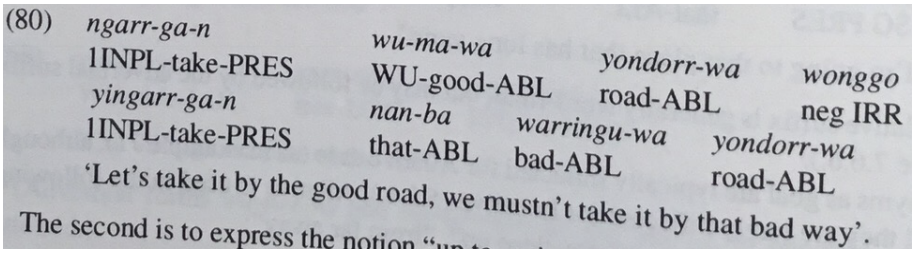
wrd - Wardaman (Merlan 1994)

Adjectives:

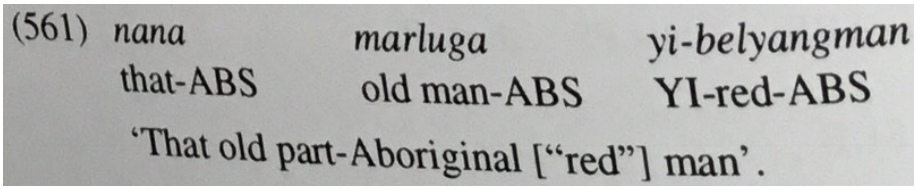
p70: adjective agreeing in gender (*yi-*)



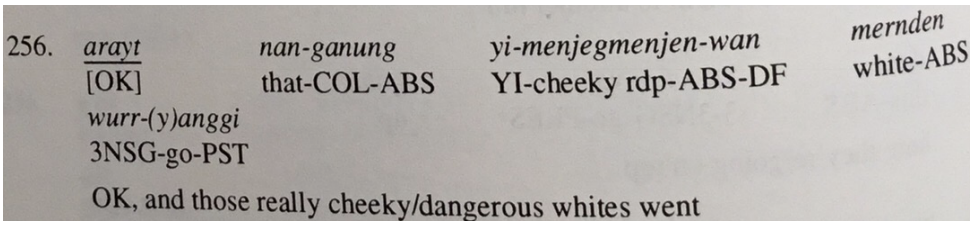
p78: adjective agreeing in gender and case



P232: another adjective agreeing in gender/case

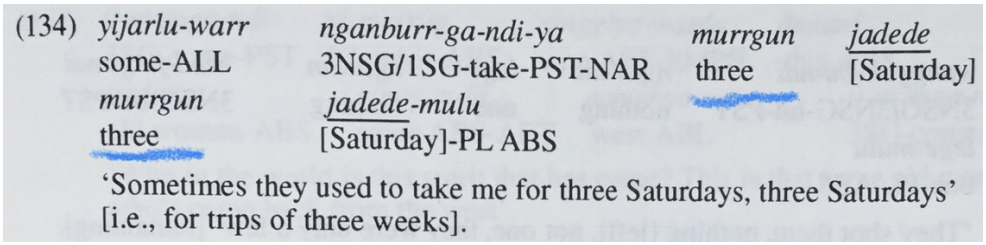


p402: a reduplicated adjective that indicates plurality (per p51)

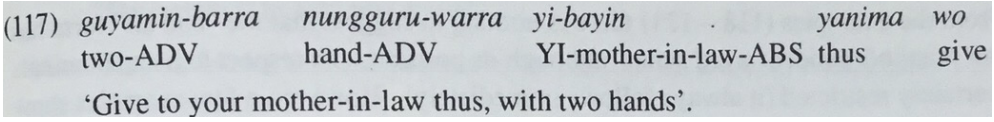


Numerals:

p91: example of *murrgun* `three' with no number/case



p87: example of `two' with case-marking (ADV?)



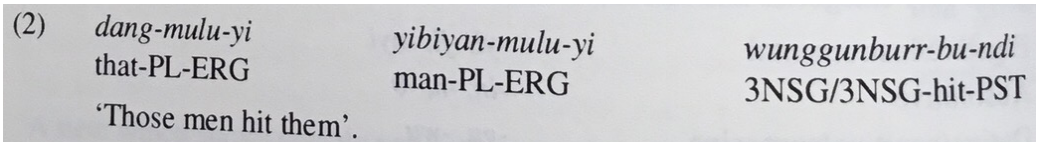
P230: case-marking on numerals

(544) *guyamin-yi* *mulurru-wuya-yi*
two-ERG old woman-DU-ERG
'Two old women'.

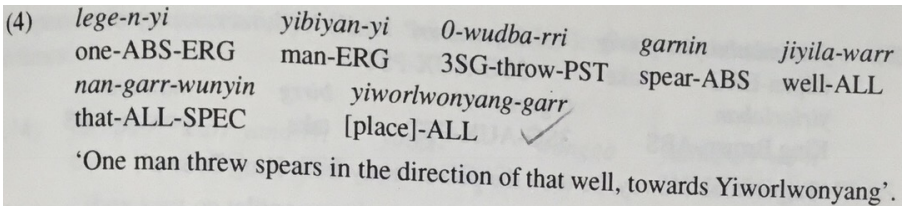
(545) *0-jingi-ndi-ya* *murrgun* *gandawag*
3SG-be-PST-NAR three-ABS moon-ABS
'She would stay for three months'.

Demonstratives:

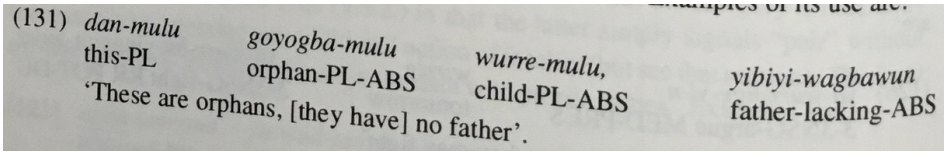
p64: demonstrative with number and case


(2) *dang-mulu-yi* *yibiyan-mulu-yi* *wunggunburr-bu-ndi*
that-PL-ERG man-PL-ERG 3NSG/3NSG-hit-PST
'Those men hit them'.

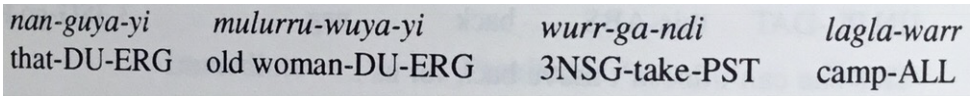
p65: demonstrative with just case


(4) *lege-n-yi* *yibiyan-yi* *0-wudba-rri* *garnin* *jiyila-warr*
one-ABS-ERG man-ERG 3SG-throw-PST spear-ABS well-ALL
nan-garr-wunyin *yiworlwonyang-garr*
that-ALL-SPEC [place]-ALL
'One man threw spears in the direction of that well, towards Yiworlwonyang'.

p90: demonstrative with just number


(131) *dan-mulu* *goyogba-mulu* *wurre-mulu,* *yibiyi-wagbawun*
this-PL orphan-PL-ABS child-PL-ABS father-lacking-ABS
'These are orphans, [they have] no father'.

P140 "the/those two old women took it to camp"


nan-guya-yi *mulurru-wuya-yi* *wurr-ga-ndi* *lagla-warr*
that-DU-ERG old woman-DU-ERG 3NSG-take-PST camp-ALL

yag - Yagua (Payne 1985)

Gender: classifier system
Number: sg/pl
Case: unclear

Adjectives: adjectives optionally bear a classifier in agreement with the noun. Payne goes to great lengths to say this isn't inflection, but it's not clear what's going on (p176)

```
(313) rábɨɨ      rúnabii                  'its red flower'
                 rúnay-bɨɨ
      its:flower red-CL:flower

(314) rábɨɨ      rúnay                    'its red flower'
      its:flower red
```

P177: I don't know why the adjective *long* is reduplicated here tbh.

```
(317) murɨjyɥų       jąąmucąąjųųcąą
      murɨy-juu      jąąmu-cąą-juu-cąą
      vine-CL:string big-long-CL:string-long
      'long piece of vine' (LB019)
```

P147: Here is an example showing ANIM.PL classifier

```
(264) tąąriy munátyavay       tápɥųvyey
            munátya-vay       tápɥųy-vay
      before first-CL:ANIM:PL fight-CL:ANIM:PL
      'the old warring ancestors' or 'the ancestral warriors'
```

Numerals: obligatorily take infixed classifiers

P179

```
(321) tá-juu-quɨɨ    tuváriy  vada        'one chicken egg'
      one-CL:egg-one chicken  egg
```

P184: some inanimates (including rocks, pineapples, and watering holes) idiosyncratically take animate classifiers with numerals

```
(324) dá-nu-jɥy          ravichų        'two rocks'[8]
      two-CL:ANIM:SG-two rock
```

P179: demonstratives obligatorily take classifiers (though that could include the neutral one for neuters) and numerals take them as infixes

(319)	jiñu	vánu	'this man'[4]
	jiy-nu		
	DEMO-CL:anim:sg	man	
(320)	jichee	múúchee	'this pencil'
	jiy-see	múúy-see	
	DEMO-CL:stick	write-CL:stick	
	OR: jirya	múúchee	'this pencil'
	jiy-ra	múúy-see	
	DEMO-CL:NEUT	write-CL:stick	
(325)	jiñu	ravichu	'this rock'
	jiy-nu		
	DEMO-CL:ANIM:SG	rock	

yaq - Yaqui (Hiaki) Dedrick & Casad 1999
Gender: None, so far as I can tell
Number: sg/pl … obligatory? Maybe? Can't tell.
Case: Yep

Adjectives: case + number (table and text on p153)

CASES	Noun singular	Noun plural	Adjective singular	Adjective plural
ACC/POS	-ta	-im, -m	-'ik, -ik, k	-'im, -im, -m
LOC *in, inside*	-po	-im-po	-ku, -kuni, -kun	-im-po
LOC *on, on top of*	-tči, -t	-im-met	-ku-tči, -ku-t	-im-met
INST *by means of*	-e	-im-mea	-ku-e	-im-mea

Table 12. Case marking of nouns and adjectives.

P. 132 if *many* is an adjective

(33) huébena-m húya-m há'ab^{w}e-ka-'apo ne ho'aa-k
many-ACC:PL tree-ACC:PL stand-PRF-where I house-have
I live where there are many trees standing.

P134

(51) 'á'a súale-ka taáwa-k wáka'a káa-tú'ii-k bó'o-hóoria-m-ta = su
him believe-PPL remain-PRF that:ACC not-good-ACC road-make-NZR-ACC = EMP
They kept on believing that "good for nothing," anyway.

P154

(33) bempo-'im karí-m húme'e tósai-m
they-ACC:PL house-PL those:ACC:PL white-ACC:PL
their white houses

Just for fun--- they can also precede nouns but then it's like… incorporated or something? p154

(36) tósai-kári-ta bíča-k
white-house-ACC see-PRF
He saw the white house.

Numerals: may combine with PL nouns, but no PL-marking (233)

(18) 'áman yéu-kéča-'a-wa-k báhi pahkó'a-m haíbu súma'i-taka 'áma yé'ee-n
there out-stand:SG-EV-PSV-PRF three feaster-PL now tied-being there dance-PCN
He was taken to where he was to perform, where three tied Pascal Dancers were already dancing.

(19) wóh-naíki puéplo náu yáha-ka 'á'a pahkó-ria-k
two-four town together arrive:PL-PPL him feast-APL-PRF
All the eight towns, coming together, participated in the burial ceremonies for him.

(20) naíki wakás-im wasá-u kiímu-k
four cow-PL field-to enter:PL-PRF
Four cows got into the field.

Seems like no case-marking either--- *in* not represented on numeral (p233)

(21) woí-takáa wásuktia-m-po 'áma né-sau-pea-n
two-body year-PL-in there UNSPEC-command-DSD-PCN
He wanted to rule there for 40 years.

Demonstratives: number + case (p204)

	Nominative/Accusative
Proximal	'íme'e
Medial	húme'e
Distal	wáme'e

Table 23. Plural demonstratives

P133

(37) húme'e yoéme-m hóa-'u
those man-ACC:PL do-NZR
what the men did (the men's doing)

(43) 'íka né-sau-ta née yá'a-ria
this:ACC IZR-command-ACC me do-APL
Carry out this order for me.
(44) 'íka uhb^{w}án-ta née yá'a-ria
this:ACC plea-ACC me do-APL
Do me this favor.

P204

(6) bémpo 'iníme'e kúču-m tú'i-si tú'ure
they these:ACC fish-PL good-AVR like
They like these fish very much.

P205

(13) tú'i-si-m tómi-ta kooba hunáme'e maómeo-m
good-AVR-PL money-ACC earn those acrobat-PL
Those acrobats really earned a lot of money.

yim - Yimas (Foley 1991)

Gender: 5+ (WALS)
Number: obligatory (WALS)
Case: suffixes/borderline (WALS)

Adjectives: p123 Here are some adjectives agreeing in gender/number with the noun

(4-3) a. kalakn yua-n
child I SG good-I SG
'a good child'
b. namarawrm urkpwica-k-mampan
person I DL black-IRR-I PL
'two black persons'
c. payum kpa-m
man I PL big-I PL
'big men'

Numerals: (p101) 1-4 inflect; 2-3 take "verb agreement prefixes" and 1 and 4 take singular class agreement suffixes

tanm	mpa-m	'one bone'
tanpl	p-rpal	'two bones'
tanpat	p-ramnawt	'three bones'
tanpat	ma-mpl+ama-mpl	'four bones'

It seems that the noun here takes plural marking even though the modifiers themselves do not take plural-marking
(p104)

kŋki	k-ramnawt
times-VI PL	VI-three
'three times'	
kŋki	ma-ŋkl-ama-ŋki
times-VI PL	other-VI DL-other-VI PL
'four times'	

Demonstratives:

P112: demonstratives agree in gender and number, -k + -n take verbal prefixes, m- takes other agreement.

	-k PROX	*m-* NR DIST	*-n* FR DIST
SG	p-k	m-n	p-n
DL	pla-k	mpl	pla-n
PL	pia-k	m-ra	pia-n

P187

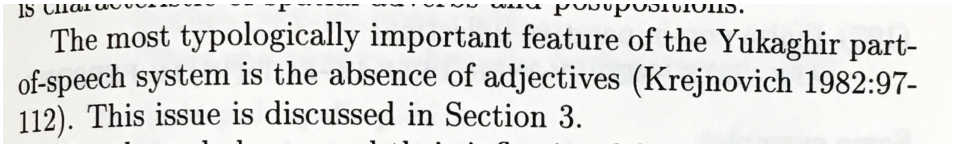
(4-81) a.	m-ŋkl	tuŋkurŋkl
	NR DIST-VI DL	eye VI DL
	'those eyes'	
(4-82) a.	mu-m	payum
	NR DIST-I PL	man I PL
	'those men'	

yko - Yukaghir (Kolyma)

No concord for demonstratives or numerals, and no adjectives in the language.

All examples from Maslova (2003)

Pg. 61

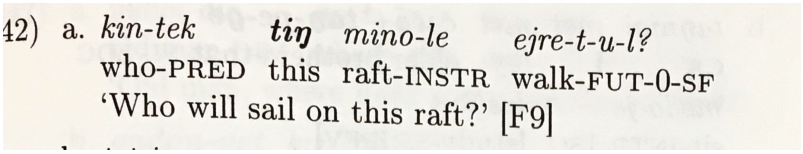


is characteristic of spatial adverbs and postpositions.

The most typologically important feature of the Yukaghir part-of-speech system is the absence of adjectives (Krejnovich 1982:97-112). This issue is discussed in Section 3.

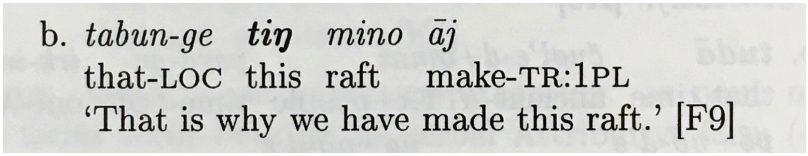
Adjectives do not exist in Kolyma Yukaghir, and therefore they cannot have concord.
Haha indeed! Presupposition failure!

Pg. 239



42) a. *kin-tek* ***tiŋ*** *mino-le* *ejre-t-u-l?*
who-PRED this raft-INSTR walk-FUT-0-SF
'Who will sail on this raft?' [F9]

Pg. 244



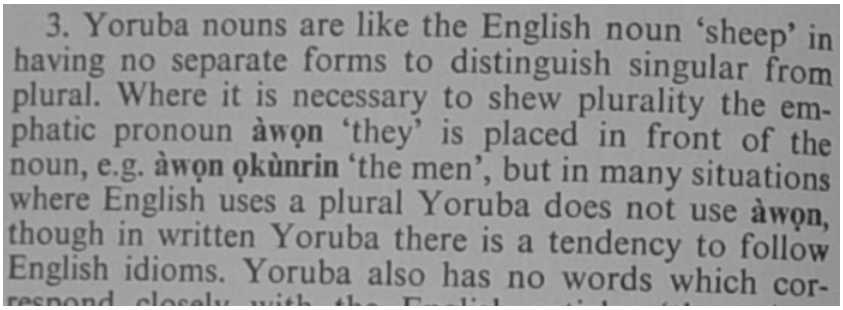
b. *tabun-ge* ***tiŋ*** *mino* *āj*
that-LOC this raft make-TR:1PL
'That is why we have made this raft.' [F9]

These two examples show the same demonstrative regardless of the case of the noun. The demonstrative also does not agree in number, and there is no gender. Very clear! Thanks!

yor - Yoruba (Rowlands 1969)

This is a "teach yourself" book but so far it's pretty informative. I think there is no concord in Yoruba.

(p40) Yoruba nouns don't distinguish plural as a matter of course (though they can)



3. Yoruba nouns are like the English noun 'sheep' in having no separate forms to distinguish singular from plural. Where it is necessary to shew plurality the emphatic pronoun **àwọn** 'they' is placed in front of the noun, e.g. **àwọn ọkùnrin** 'the men', but in many situations where English uses a plural Yoruba does not use **àwọn**, though in written Yoruba there is a tendency to follow English idioms. Yoruba also has no words which cor-

(p105) Numerals are discussed, and there is no reference made to gender or case forms; there are just independent forms and forms used in combination with nouns
(p121-125) section on adjectives--- no discussion of agreement. He frequently makes reference to properties of European languages, and so I would expect him to say something about concord if Yoruba had it.

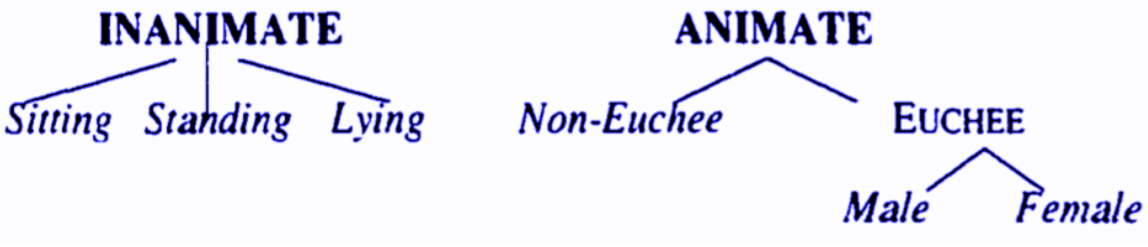
Need to look again for examples of demonstratives; did mention plural forms but those could have been independent demonstratives rather than attributive demonstratives

yuc - Yuchi (Linn 2001)

Yuchi has a gender system, and at least the demonstrative/definite article agrees in gender

P. 363

Figure 6.1 Noun Classes in Euchee



(The inanimate classes are now essentially arbitrary)

P. 365

(54)	ti	'rock, a rock'
	tici	'the/this/that rock'
	'ya	'tree, a tree'
	'yafa	'the/this/that tree'
	sha	'field, a field'
	sha'e	'the/this/that field'

Definite article / demonstrative suffix agrees in gender. Free-standing demonstratives show concord, too… (p399)

exception of Choctaw and Chickasaw. The class or plural post-clitic on the demonstrative adjectives must agree with the class assigned to the noun.

(113) a.	neci k'as'ætichyaci	'this car'
	'afa yutigots'anefa	'that bedroom'
	leci sētibāneci	'this stove'
	le'e yasthæde'e	'that bridge'
b.	neha yapo'ætiti ha	'these oranges'
	leha de ha	'these/those mulberries'
	'aha senetha ha	'those forks'

The -ha suffix and "postclitic" is number; for inanimates, it collapses the gender distinctions. In the "demonstrative adjective construction" (who knows what that is), the clitic can be left off the noun (p400)

(114) a. Lefa yafa wikæ? 'What is that tree?'
Lefa ya wikæ? 'What is that tree?'

b. Neha yōthl'i hisala digō.
ne-ha yōthl'i hisala di-gō
these knife all 1SG.ACT-have
'All these knives are mine.'

The word for *which* also shows concord. (p400)

NUMERALS don't show concord (I think). A great example from p. 479

b. Wahőnō got'ē nōwē hőnō hōnethæ?
wa-hőnō got'ē nōwē hőnō hō-ne-thæ
which-PL(E) man two PL 3PL(E).PAT-2SG.ACT-want
Which two men do you want (me to call over here)?

Got'e nōwē hőnō wahőnō hōnethæ?
got'e nōwē hőnō wa-hőnō hō-ne-thæ
man two PL which-PL(E) 3PL(E).PAT-2SG.ACT-want
Which two men do you want (me to call over here)?

Here, the word for *which* shows concord for gender/number, but the numeral does not --- it just appears between the noun and its "inherent" gender/number marker. There were very few examples of numerals

ADJECTIVES are verbs, but when they're not verbs, they don't show concord, as seen below from p408

Euchee can have recursive adjectival modification, although speakers prefer to have no more than two adjectives in a phrase. If the string contains a color term, the color term will always be the closest to the noun; numerals are always last. The noun class/determiner post-clitic attaches to the end of the noun phrase.

(128) a. hostane 'yakāci — 'the white box'
hostane 'yakā hohæ'ēci — 'the empty white box'
hostane 'yakā 'æle hohæ'ēci — 'the big empty white box'

b. k'asothl'ine titiha — 'yellow pencils'
k'asothl'ine titi hinēgāha — 'new yellow pencils'
k'asothl'ine titi hinēgāha nōwā — 'two new yellow pencils'

As can be seen above, the noun class/determiner post-clitic or the plural post-clitic follows the noun and its adjective(s). Although it follows the last modifier, the numarals are outside of the noun phrase.[24] They may have once been verbal structures.

yur - Yurok (Garrett 2014)
Gender: classifiery stuff
Number: sg/pl but most nouns don't have sg/pl distinctions
Case: can't tell yet

Adjectives: Color terms change based on classifiery distinctions
p108: here is a chart of color terms with varying forms based on class.

	LIGHT, WHITE	DARK, BLACK	RED
GENERAL	*muenchey*	*lo'ogey*	*pekoyoh*
ANIMALS	*muenter'ery*	*ler'ergery*	*perkeryer'ery*
HAIR	*muencher'ery*	**ler'ergery*	**perkeryer'ery*
TREES & STICKS	*muenchar'*	*lo'ogar'*	*pekoyar'*
ROUND	*muencherh*	*ler'ergerh*	*perkeryerh*
FLAT THINGS	*muenchok's*, ATTR *muenchokseen*		*pekoyok's*, ATTR *pekoyokseen*
WATER		*ler'ergerh*	*pekoyop'*, ATTR *pekoyohpeen*

Table 10.3: Classificatory color terms

p108: here's an example of *white* in attribution

(a) *Newoom' **muenchey** 'ue-'wer'.*
"You see its white roots."

Newoom' = 'you see'
Muenchey = 'white' basic
'Ue = 3Poss
'Wer' = roots? Unclear from the grammar

p109: another example of white

(d) *Newom' wee'eeet 'oyhl nuemee chey **muenter'ery** kepcheneesh.*
"He saw lying there a very small white fawn." FS 1951 (YL)

Newoom' wee'eeet 'oyhl nuemee chey muenter'ery kepcheneesh
He.saw there lying very be.small white-ANIMAL fawn

Numerals: classifiers! Although no examples of them being attributive
p106: classifier system (12+ classes, but here are a few)

	PEOPLE	ANIMALS (suffix *-er'eryhl*)	ROUND THINGS AND MONEY (suffix *-oh*)	NUMBERS OF TIMES
1	*koora'*	*kerhtery'*	*kohtoh*	*kohchee*
2	*nee'eehl*	*ner'er'eryhl*	*no'oh*	*na'mee*
3	*nahkseyhl*	*nerhkser'eryhl*	*nahksoh*	*nahksemee*
4	*cho'oneyhl*	*cher'erner'eryhl*	*to'onoh*	*choona'mee*
5	*merueh choom'*	*merueh termerwer'eryhl*	*merueh tomowoh*	*merueh chee*
6	*kohchew choom'*	*kohchew termerwer'eryhl*	*kohchew tomowoh*	*kohchew chee*
7	*cherwerseek' choom'*	*cherwerseek' termerwer'eryhl*	*cherwerseek' tomowoh*	*cherwerseek' chee*
8	*kneweteek' choom'*	*kneweteek' termerwer'eryhl*	*kneweteek' tomowoh*	*kneweteek' chee*
9	*kerrmeek' choom'*	*kerrmeek' termerwer'eryhl*	*kerrmeek' tomowoh*	*kerrmeek' chee*
10	*werhlerweryhl*	*werhlerwer'eryhl*	*wehlowaa tomowoh*	*wehlowaa chee*
Q	*Kues choom'?*	*Kues termerwer'eryhl?*	*Kues tomowoh?*	**Kues chee?*

p107: here's an example in attribution, although Garrett insists that Yurok has no adjectives.

(b) *Ho 'ok'w **'ne-ka'ar ner'er'eryhl**.*
"We had **two pets**."

Ho is a "pre-verb of past time" p66
'Ok'w = 3sg form of 'be', so it's like "there was our pets"

Ne-ka'ar = 1poss-pet
Ner'er'eryhl = ner'-er'eryhl two-ANIMAL

(b) *Keech nahksemee lok* ***tom'***.
"He is three years old."

resultative.preverb three year be.X.old

Demonstratives: The section on demonstratives is about independent pronouns, not attributive demonstratives. There is something with demonstrative-like meaning that he calls an article (p35)

(34) Examples of *k'ee*

(a) *Nek megetohlkwook'* ***k'ee ch'eeshah***.
"I'm taking care of **this dog**." FS 1980 (PP)

(b) *Cho' negahchkem'* ***k'ee 'ahtemar***.
"Pass out **these papers**." GT 2003 (YLCB)

As we can see here, it's *k'ee* whether the thing is sg or pl.
p36: another one where *k'ee* does not change.

(36) Examples of *k'ee* with possessives

(a) *Kee hekwsem'* ***k'ee 'ne-ma'a'***.
"You will find **my spear**." MM 1927 (YT)

(b) *Cho' myootem'* ***k'ee k'e-no'oy***.
"Put on **your shoes**." JJ 2006 (AG)

zqc - Zoque (Copainalá) (Harrison & Harrison 1984:36) (Faarlund 2012)
Gender: None
Number: sg/pl
Case: 4 grammatical cases

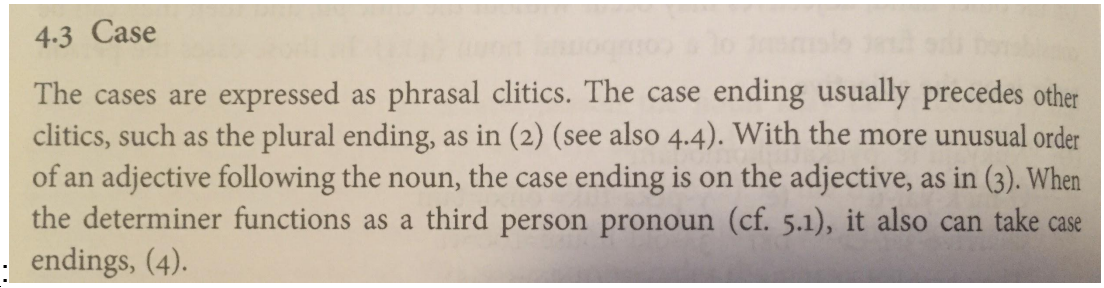
Having read through Faarlund's grammar, it appears that there is not concord in Zoque. The author says,

The adjectival plural is mainly used when there is no other expression of the plural in the phrase. This is therefore not plural agreement. (Agreement within a noun phrase does not exist in Zoque.) In (15) the plural adjective *ka'edambü* is used as a noun ('the

Pg. 54
As a general summary before diverging into sections, it appears from the grammar that the whole noun phrase is marked for number and case, and while one of the individual

pieces may carry the inflections, they all do not each carry the inflection for number and gender.

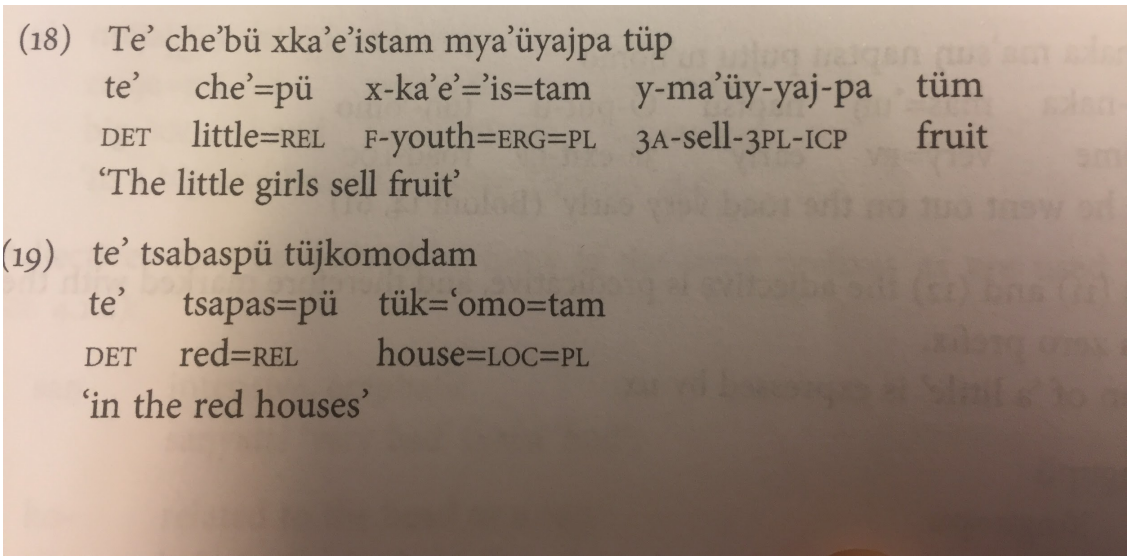
Adjectives:



4.3 Case

The cases are expressed as phrasal clitics. The case ending usually precedes other clitics, such as the plural ending, as in (2) (see also 4.4). With the more unusual order of an adjective following the noun, the case ending is on the adjective, as in (3). When the determiner functions as a third person pronoun (cf. 5.1), it also can take case endings, (4).

Pg. 30

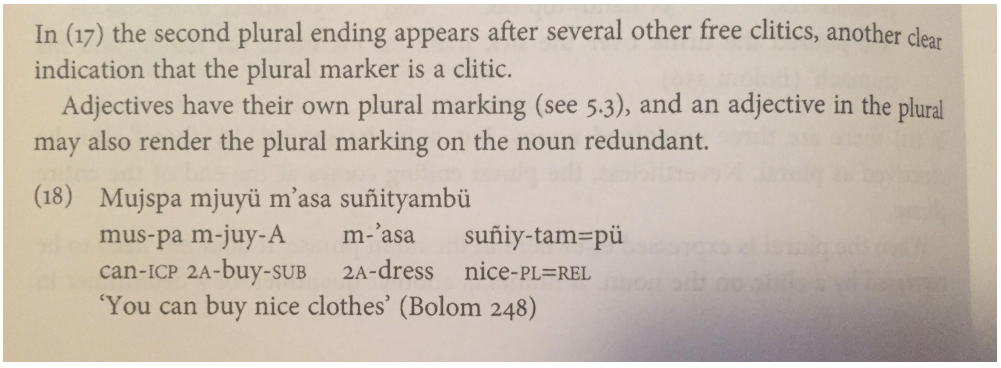


(18) Te' che'bü xka'e'istam mya'üyajpa tüp
te' che'=pü x-ka'e'='is=tam y-ma'üy-yaj-pa tüm
DET little=REL F-youth=ERG=PL 3A-sell-3PL-ICP fruit
'The little girls sell fruit'

(19) te' tsabaspü tüjkomodam
te' tsapas=pü tük='omo=tam
DET red=REL house=LOC=PL
'in the red houses'

Pg. 54

In the examples above, the adjective is marked only as being a relativizer, and there is no inflection for the case nor the plurality of the following noun.



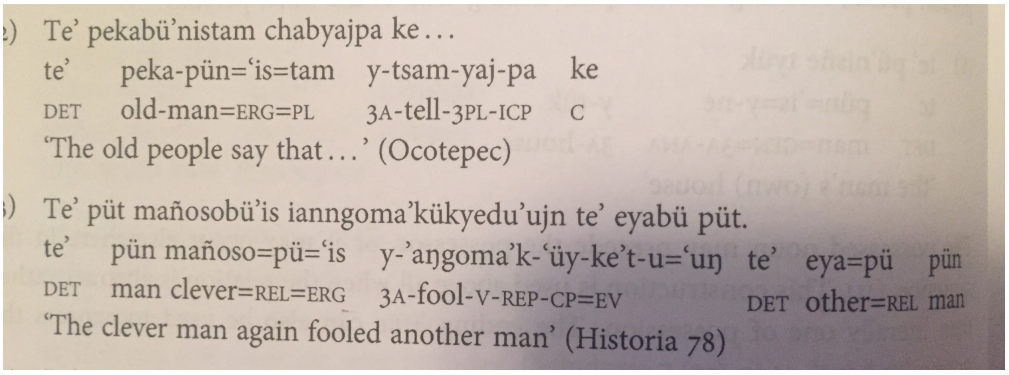
In (17) the second plural ending appears after several other free clitics, another clear indication that the plural marker is a clitic.

Adjectives have their own plural marking (see 5.3), and an adjective in the plural may also render the plural marking on the noun redundant.

(18) Mujspa mjuyü m'asa suñityambü
mus-pa m-juy-A m-'asa suñiy-tam=pü
can-ICP 2A-buy-SUB 2A-dress nice-PL=REL
'You can buy nice clothes' (Bolom 248)

Pg. 52

Here is an example of the adjective following the noun marked for plurality, but in this case, the noun 'dress' is not marked for plurality.

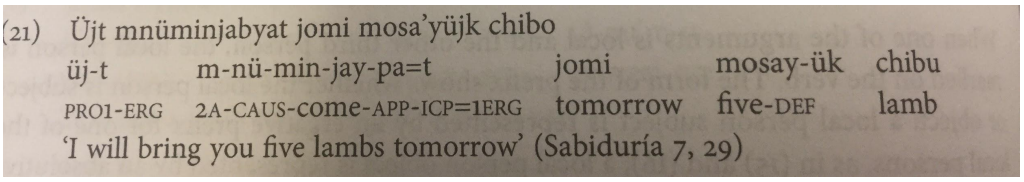


2) Te' pekabü'nistam chabyajpa ke…
te' peka-pün='is=tam y-tsam-yaj-pa ke
DET old-man=ERG=PL 3A-tell-3PL-ICP C
'The old people say that…' (Ocotepec)

3) Te' püt mañosobü'is ianngoma'kükyedu'ujn te' eyabü püt.
te' pün mañoso=pü='is y-'aŋgoma'k-'üy-ke't-u='uŋ te' eya=pü pün
DET man clever=REL=ERG 3A-fool-V-REP-CP=EV DET other=REL man
'The clever man again fooled another man' (Historia 78)

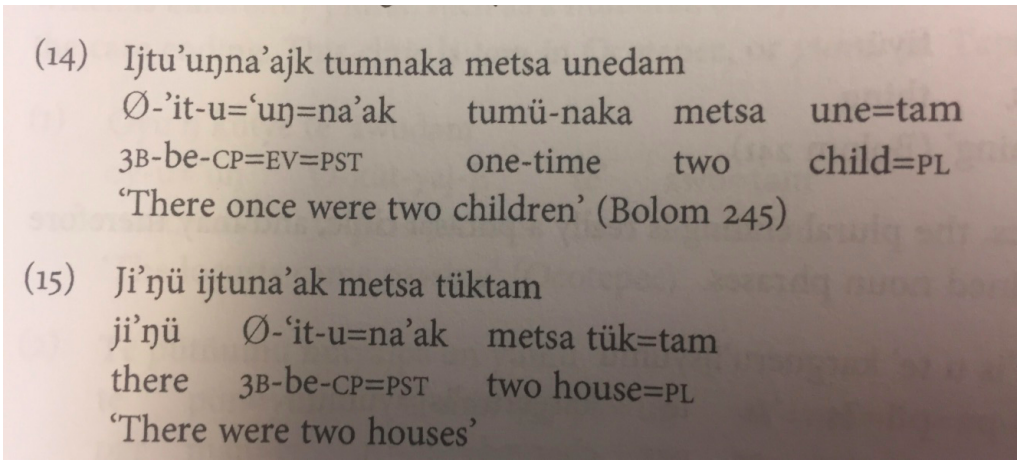
(Pg. 30) The first sentence's noun phrase, 'the old people,' has the adjective preceding the noun, and it remains unmarked while the noun carries the case and plurality marker. In the second sentence, the noun phrase, 'the clever man' has the case marking on the end of the adjective, and the noun does not have any inflection.

Numerals:



(21) Üjt mnüminjabyat jomi mosa'yüjk chibo
üj-t m-nü-min-jay-pa=t jomi mosay-ük chibu
PRO1-ERG 2A-CAUS-come-APP-ICP=1ERG tomorrow five-DEF lamb
'I will bring you five lambs tomorrow' (Sabiduría 7, 29)

(Pg. 56) The only marking the numeral five gets is definiteness. However, there is no marking on the noun either, so this is alone is not a convincing argument.



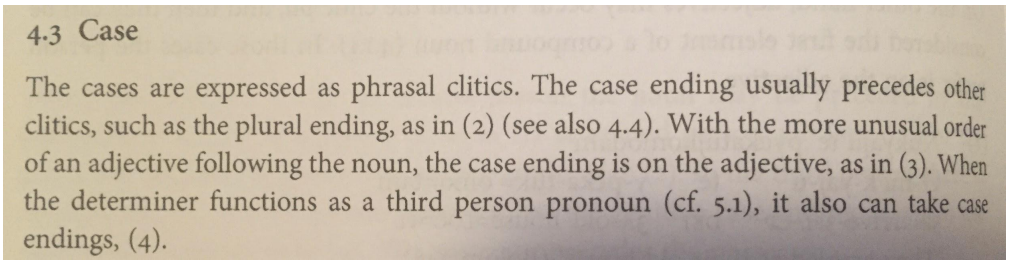
(14) Ijtu'uŋna'ajk tumnaka metsa unedam
Ø-'it-u='uŋ=na'ak tumü-naka metsa une=tam
3B-be-CP=EV=PST one-time two child=PL
'There once were two children' (Bolom 245)

(15) Ji'ŋü ijtuna'ak metsa tüktam
ji'ŋü Ø-'it-u=na'ak metsa tük=tam
there 3B-be-CP=PST two house=PL
'There were two houses'

(Pg. 40) The numeral 'two' has no marking for the plurality of the following noun.

(Pg. 46) Like adjectives sometimes do, in this example, the numeral 'three' takes on all the cases that the noun phrase needs, as well as the adjectival relativizer.

Demonstratives:



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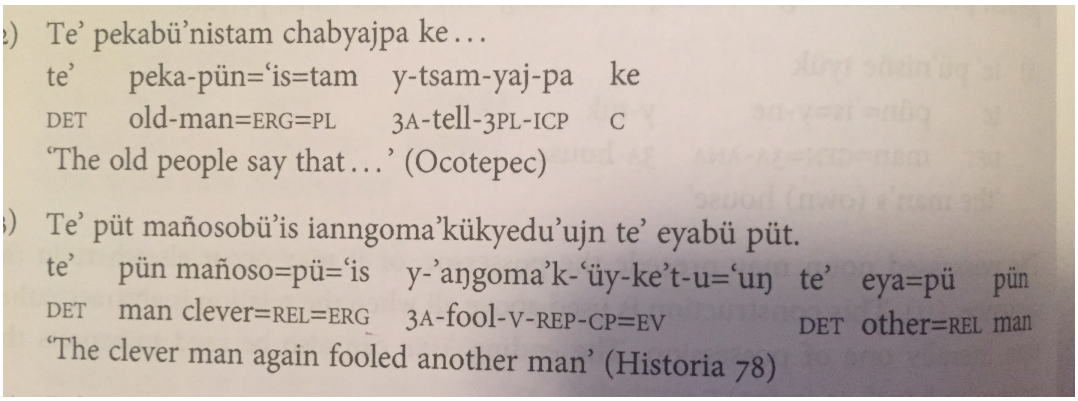
(Pg. 30) This paragraph was also used with adjectives, but it applies to demonstratives as well. Demonstratives are not inflected unless they constitute the whole of the noun phrase.



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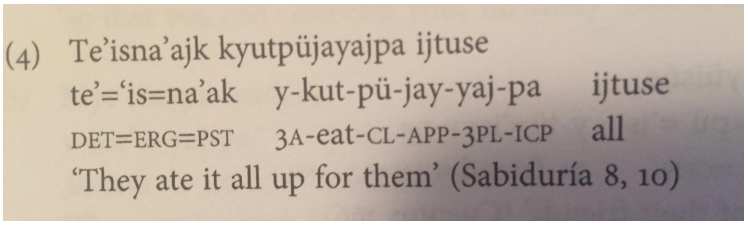
te' pün mañoso=pü='is y-'aŋgoma'k-'üy-ke't-u='uŋ te' eya=pü pün

DET man clever=REL=ERG 3A-fool-V-REP-CP=EV DET other=REL man

'The clever man again fooled another man' (Historia 78)

(Pg. 30) These examples also show that the demonstrative 'te' remains unchanged despite appearing with nouns of different pluralities.



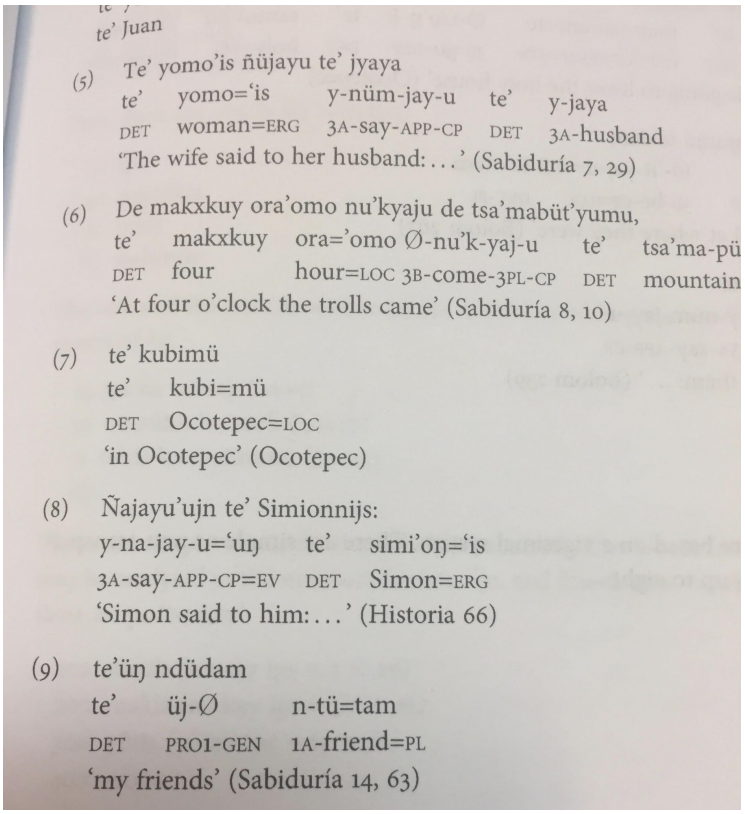
(4) Te'isna'ajk kyutpüjayajpa ijtuse

te'='is=na'ak y-kut-pü-jay-yaj-pa ijtuse

DET=ERG=PST 3A-eat-CL-APP-3PL-ICP all

'They ate it all up for them' (Sabiduría 8, 10)

(Pg. 30) Here the determiner takes on inflection because it represents the third person plural pronoun 'they.'



te' Juan

(5) Te' yomo'is ñüjayu te' jyaya
te' yomo='is y-nüm-jay-u te' y-jaya
DET woman=ERG 3A-say-APP-CP DET 3A-husband
'The wife said to her husband: . . .' (Sabiduría 7, 29)

(6) De makxkuy ora'omo nu'kyaju de tsa'mabüt'yumu,
te' makxkuy ora='omo Ø-nu'k-yaj-u te' tsa'ma-pü
DET four hour=LOC 3B-come-3PL-CP DET mountain
'At four o'clock the trolls came' (Sabiduría 8, 10)

(7) te' kubimü
te' kubi=mü
DET Ocotepec=LOC
'in Ocotepec' (Ocotepec)

(8) Ñajayu'ujn te' Simionnijs:
y-na-jay-u='uŋ te' simi'oŋ='is
3A-say-APP-CP=EV DET Simon=ERG
'Simon said to him: . . .' (Historia 66)

(9) te'üŋ ndüdam
te' üj-Ø n-tü=tam
DET PRO1-GEN 1A-friend=PL
'my friends' (Sabiduría 14, 63)

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This whole page shows how determiners do not change for case or number, as the determiner 'te' appears in conjunction with a variety of nouns but remains unchanged.