A typological perspective on nominal concord

Examples appendix

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Thanks as well to my research assistants for help with data collection: Chase Carter, Lyosha Genzel, Lynden Hoge, Lindsay Jones, Robyn Kolozsvari, Elliot Sims, Jonathan Walls, Isaac Warren, and Ellie Wren-Hardin.

When the LSA talk and proceedings paper were prepared, I had not, in fact, saved the examples herein. In the interest of completeness, I have collected them here. In the interest of transparency, they are contained in a separate document, as the proceedings paper and LSA talk were written without reference to these specific examples. However, everything I found matched what I had written down (I had investigated the languages herein, but I just didn't save any of the examples I found), so the fact that my data documentation was initially incomplete did not end up affecting my results.

aco – Acoma (Maring 1967)

Gender: None
Number: sg/dl/pl
Case: No case-marking

Adjectives:

Pg. 116 Here are some adjectives; no mention of different forms.

```
# tú́káš́A          cʔíštína #     -   'small bees'
  they are small     bee

# cíčU            kahúna #       -   'big box'
  it is big          box

# ʔánʸuʔmé        wákȧ̀ʔni #      -   'pretty clothes'
  it is pretty     clothes

# húuwíʔni    kʔáwašʔtʰá #       -   'sour milk'
    milk       it is sour

# tʸíwai       šItʔítʰi #        -   'souplike food'
   food        it souplike
(for animals)
```

Numerals: Pg. 119

```
# tʸánakʔa  wáaštíṭA #          -  'four fawns'
    four     fawn

# kákʰAnA tʰúʔwé #              -  'two wolves'
   wolf     two
```

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The numerals do not take a plural marker to match the plurality of the noun, but neither are the nouns marked for plurality.

Demonstratives: Demonstratives precede nouns, but Maring (1967) gives no examples of demonstratives with plural nouns. Here are a few examples (pp119-120)

```
# wée     háṭUcEcéšU #          -    'that man'
  that   it is a man

# tú?wa   kʰAšáitʰI             -  'this year'
   this    year
```

I also checked Lachler's (2005) grammar of Laguna Keres, which is very closely related to Acoma, and found the same demonstrative form modifying nouns with plural and singular reference (p112 of Lachler's grammar)

(1b) **Sh'ee duwa tyiimi seiyu ch'uuchinyi.**

then this dress all it is yellow IND

Then this dress was all yellow. [BOAS 20.048]

(1c) **Dzeeguma duwa ha'anaanyi srubeuguya?**

why this burr you are eating it DIR

Why do you eat these burrs? [BOAS 12.021]

asm - Asmat (Voorhoeve 1965)

Gender: None
Number: Sg/pl (plural suffix)
Case: No case

Adjectives:

> The material is not decisive in respect of the distribution of *-nakáp* and *-nakás*; a distinct correlation with singular and plural, respectively, such as occurs in parallel formations with the substantive, was only found with *pacák* - bad (discussed below). In all other cases, this does not occur:

Pg. 138
The author claims that, with one exception, adjectives do not agree in number with their noun in plurality.

Pacákapiríw and *pacákaseré* can be translated by: worthless, miserable, deuced. This is the only case in which the derivative with *-apiríw* indicates the singular number, in contrast to the derivative with *-aseré* which here indicates the plural number:

a acír pacákapiríw!
that *acir* bad
that confounded *acir* (store for sago on the collar beams of the house).

a juwús pacákaseré /miníp manímcěmí/!
those names bad /I always forget/
those deuced names, I always forget!

Pg. 139
The author gives an example of the adjective 'bad' which changes for plurality, but once again says that other adjectives do not change.

no ów akát emár I am indeed not a handsome man.
I man handsome /indeed not/

Pg. 168
Here 'akat' is used with a singular noun.

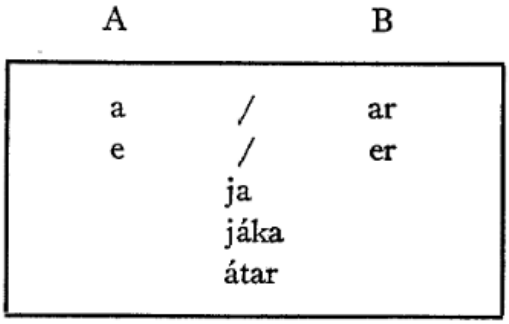
akát cepés mo-cómopawér
comely women /must be kept hidden/
you must keep comely women hidden (in the house) (§ 330).

Pg. 75
'Akat' is used here with women, and it demonstrates no change between singular and plural nouns.

Numerals:
I was unable to find an explanation or examples of numerals, but given the lack of concord appearing in adjectives and demonstratives, I'm thinking numerals probably won't have concord.

Demonstratives:

This class consists of the demonstrative pronoun *e/er,* the neutral pronoun *a/ar* and the three demonstrative pronouns without variants: *ja, jáka* and *átar.*



Pg. 152
Here are the demonstrative pronouns. They differ in emphasis and distance, but there is not a number difference between these.

substantives: *a esé* this bag; *ja esé* that bag (with you); *jáka esé* that bag there; *e esé* that bag over there.

Pg. 152
Here is an example of the different demonstratives being used with their meanings.

e cá ci ám whose is that canoe over there?
that whose canoe pp

Pg. 154
The demonstrative ‘e’ is used here with a singular noun.

e jowów mokót aríw they are at the sago garden.
those people /sago garden / to it/

Pg. 157
The demonstrative ‘e’ is used with a plural noun in this example. Demonstratives can thus be shown to lack number concord.

awp - Awa Pit (Curnow, 1997)

Gender: None
Number: Only appears in personal pronouns
Case: Nom-Acc (where Acc is only marked if noun is referential human)

Adjectives:
Could not find an attributive adjective modifying a human noun in the object position, which would be the only place we could see case concord.

Numerals:

maza	'one'
paas	'two'
kutnya	'three'
ampata	'four'
akkwan	'much/many'
pitshiŋ	'a little/few'
mamaz	'other'
maza maza	'some (distinct objects)'
yawa	'how much/many?'
wan	'all'

Table 4.7: Quantifiers

Pg. 93
Here is a list of numerals for reference for the next example.

(361) *na=na* *paas* *pashpa=ta* *piina-na-ta-w*
1SG.(NOM)=TOP two child=ACC bathe-PL:OBJ-PAST-LOCUT:SUBJ
'I bathed the two children.'

Pg. 183
This example shows that numerals do not have case concord.

Demonstratives:
Could not find an attributive adjective modifying a human noun in the object position, which would be the only place we would find concord of any kind.

brm – Burmese (Soe 1999)

Gender: None
Number: sg/pl, but mostly plural word
Case: 8-9

Adjectives: p46 case is just marked on the periphery of NP

(67) *lei ei: ye. thei'=thi:=hsa. kou tain: ci. yin*
air cold GEN density OBJ measure see if
'If (you) measure the density of cold air, ...'

Numerals: Take classifiers; here are some stray examples with numerals (no obvious change in form)
p44

(59) *hou hkalei: thoun: yau' be yau' thwa: le:*
that child three CLF WH reach *go* Q
'Where have those three children gone?'

P49

jou thoun: hcaun: ne. nwa:
horn three CLF with cow
'(a) cow with three horns'

Demonstratives: p 61 an example with a demonstrative where plural reference is intended but there is no plural marking (just a plural word)

(132) *di sa=ou twei ka. to-to tan=bou: hyi. te*
this book PLU SUB quite value have RLS
'These books are quite valuable.'

Pg. 90: another one just like that.

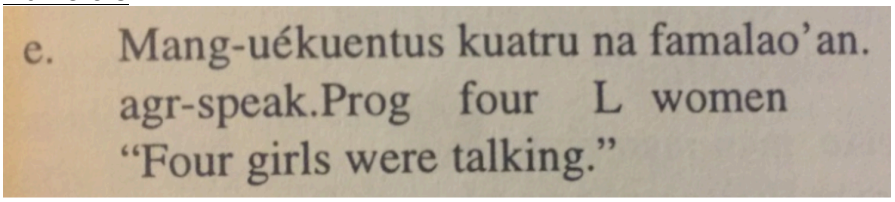
(71) *di za'=lan: twei ye. a-caun: kou pyo: pya. pa oun:*
this story PLU GEN *matter* OBJ say show POL *cumulative*
'Please tell me more about these stories.'
Lit: 'Please tell me the *facts* of these stories.'

cha – Chamorro (Chung 1998)

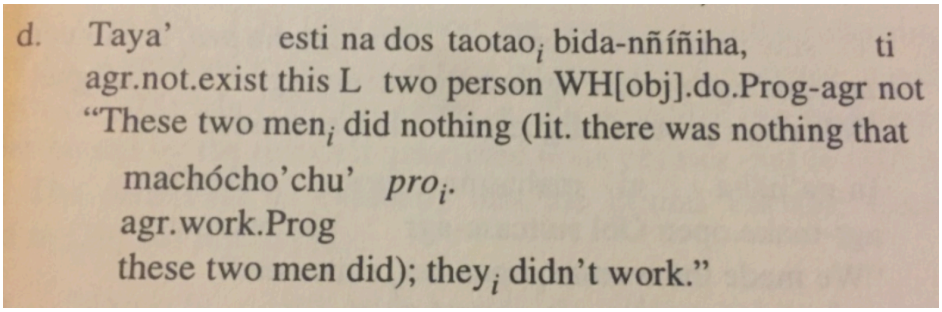
Gender: No gender
Number: plural marked with plural word
Case: No case

Adjectives:
I was unable to find an example of an adjective modifying a plural noun, but based on the other examples, it seems like the noun phrase is marked for plurality either by a numeral of a plural word, so having plurality marked on adjectives doesn't seem likely.

Numerals:

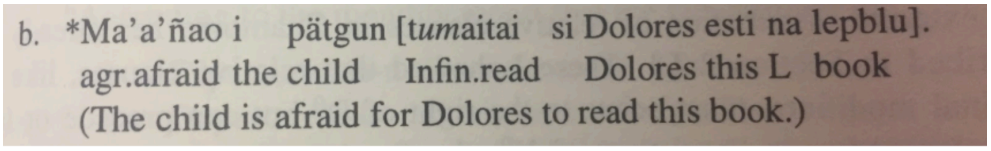

e. Mang-uékuentus kuatru na famalao'an.
agr-speak.Prog four L women
"Four girls were talking."

Pg. 105

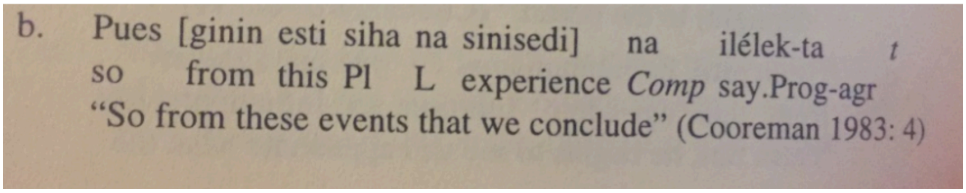

d. Taya' esti na dos taotao$_i$ bida-ñ̃íñ̃iha, ti
agr.not.exist this L two person WH[obj].do.Prog-agr not
"These two men$_i$ did nothing (lit. there was nothing that
machócho'chu' *pro*$_i$.
agr.work.Prog
these two men did); they$_i$ didn't work."

Pg. 75
The numerals do not take any agreement to match the noun in the number.

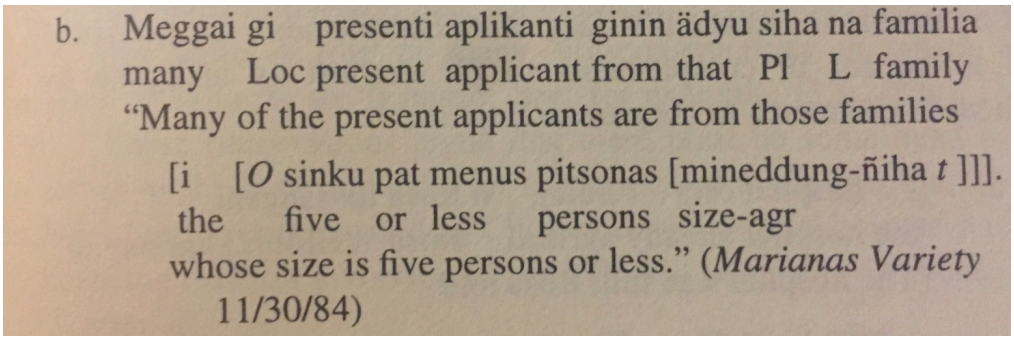
Demonstratives:


b. *Ma'a'ñao i pätgun [*tum*aitai si Dolores esti na lepblu].
agr.afraid the child Infin.read Dolores this L book
(The child is afraid for Dolores to read this book.)

Pg. 213
An example of the modifier 'this' being used to modify 'book.' --- the source of the ungrammaticality was something other than *esti na lepblu*.


b. Pues [ginin esti siha na sinisedi] na ilélek-ta *t*
so from this Pl L experience *Comp* say.Prog-agr
"So from these events that we conclude" (Cooreman 1983: 4)

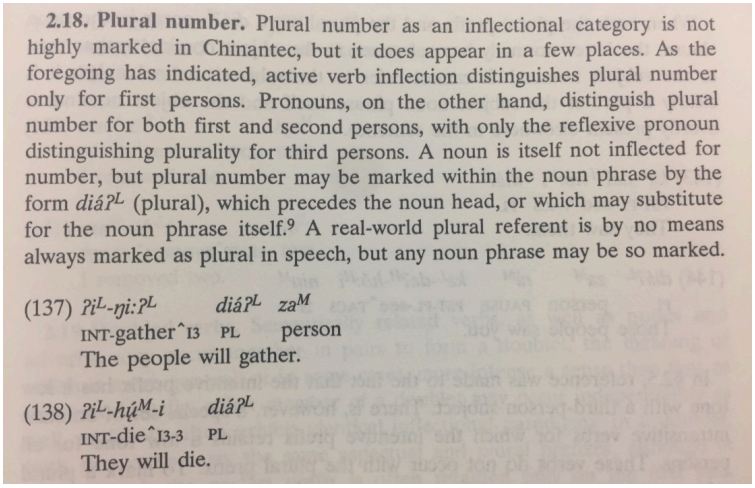
Pg. 338
We see that 'these' is the same as 'this' with the addition of a plural word in the phrase.


b. Meggai gi presenti aplikanti ginin ädyu siha na familia
many Loc present applicant from that Pl L family
"Many of the present applicants are from those families
[i [*O* sinku pat menus pitsonas [mineddung-ñiha *t*]]].
the five or less persons size-agr
whose size is five persons or less." (*Marianas Variety* 11/30/84)

Pg. 301
We see that 'those' here is glossed as 'that' being used in a noun phrase that also has a plural word. Demonstratives can thus be shown to lack concord.

cle – Chinantec (Lealao) (Rupp 1989)

Gender: 2 (animate and inanimate)
Number: Pl isn't marked on nouns themselves
Case: No case

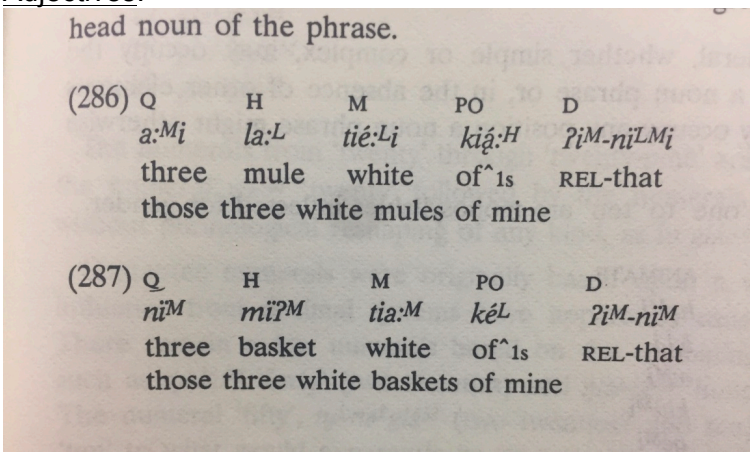

2.18. Plural number. Plural number as an inflectional category is not highly marked in Chinantec, but it does appear in a few places. As the foregoing has indicated, active verb inflection distinguishes plural number only for first persons. Pronouns, on the other hand, distinguish plural number for both first and second persons, with only the reflexive pronoun distinguishing plurality for third persons. A noun is itself not inflected for number, but plural number may be marked within the noun phrase by the form *diá?*^{L} (plural), which precedes the noun head, or which may substitute for the noun phrase itself.[9] A real-world plural referent is by no means always marked as plural in speech, but any noun phrase may be so marked.

(137) *?i*^{L}*-ŋi:?*^{L} *diá?*^{L} *za*^{M}
INT-gather^I3 PL person
The people will gather.

(138) *?i*^{L}*-hu̱*^{M}*-i* *diá?*^{L}
INT-die^I3-3 PL
They will die.

Pg. 29: This passage talks about how plural marking, when it does exist, is marked within the noun phrase by a plural word instead of being marked on the noun itself.

Adjectives:



head noun of the phrase.

(286)

Q	H	M	PO	D
a:^{M}*i*	*la:*^{L}	*tié:*^{L}*i*	*kiá:*^{H}	*ʔi*^{M}*-ni*^{LM}*i*
three	mule	white	of^1s	REL-that

those three white mules of mine

(287)

Q	H	M	PO	D
ni^{M}	*miʔ*^{M}	*tia:*^{M}	*kéL*	*ʔi*^{M}*-ni*^{M}
three	basket	white	of^1s	REL-that

those three white baskets of mine

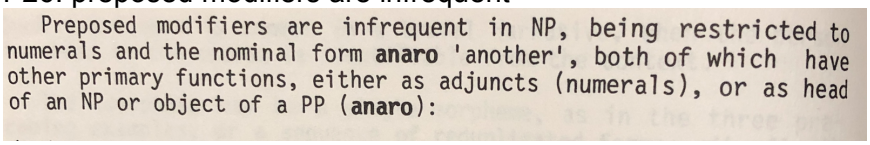
Pg. 63
This example shows how adjectives change to reflect the animacy of the noun.

For numerals & demonstratives, see the original document

hix – Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1985)

Gender: only in pronouns, animate vs inanimate
Number: not really a number distinction; there is a “collective marker” *komo* or *-yamo* that is sometimes a suffix and sometimes a word, and its use is optional (p6)
Case: none mentioned.

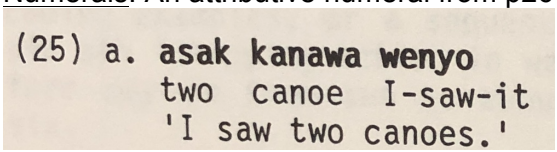
P26: preposed modifiers are infrequent



Preposed modifiers are infrequent in NP, being restricted to numerals and the nominal form **anaro** 'another', both of which have other primary functions, either as adjuncts (numerals), or as head of an NP or object of a PP (**anaro**):

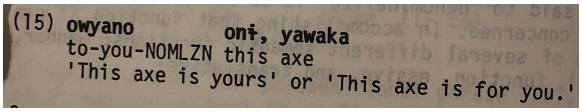
Adjectives: No examples of attributive adjectives found. Just a list of adjectives (which are homophonous with adverbs in Hixkaryana apparently)

Numerals: An attributive numeral from p26



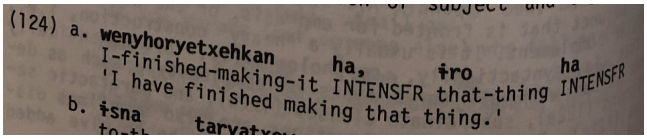
(25) a. **asak kanawa wenyo**
two canoe I-saw-it
'I saw two canoes.'

Demonstratives:
P18: here’s an example of what looks like an attributive demonstrative, although there is a comma after the demonstrative

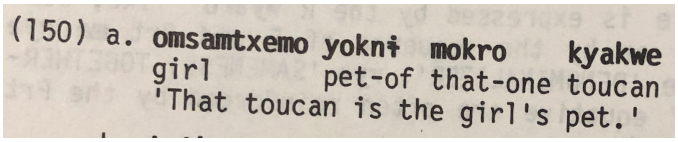


(15) **owyano oni, yawaka**
to-you-NOMLZN this axe
'This axe is yours' or 'This axe is for you.'

P76 this example that includes “that.thing” but *iro* is just the inanimate nondeictic pronoun.



P88 *mokro* is animate individual medial deictic pronoun; I imagine this could be like “the girl’s pet is that one, the toucan” This is because Derbyshire says earlier that preposed modifiers are rare and restricted to numerals and *anaro*.



hmo – Hmong Njua (Taweesak 1984)

Gender: no mention of gender in section on nouns or in pronoun system
Number: no mention of number on nouns; number on 1/2 pronouns
Case: unclear; no mention in section on nouns

Adjective: p45

	Mod1	HN	Mod2	Mod3	
6.	tǔ	klě	kláw	ndâw	crâo
	clas.	dog	white	that	fat

'That white dog is fat.'

If there are more than two adjectives, color usually precedes quality and quality has “repeated form”

	Poss	Quant	Mod1	HN	Mod2		Mod2		
7.	kǔ	áo	lú	chao	kláw	nyě	nyě	klua	lâw
	I	two	clas.	shirt	white	thin	thin	torn	already

'My two thin white shirts have been torn.'

P62 plural reference intended, no plural marking

		H	Quant.		
hlau ngâu		shá	khlau	ci	zhong ngâu
girl		tall	more	not	beautiful

'Very tall girls are not beautiful.'

Numeral: A classifier system, e.g., p79

cí	lú	hli
five	clas.	month

'five months'

P81

pé	páng	nèng
three	clas.	horse

'three herds of horses'

pé sû hlua

three clas. rope

'three pieces of rope'

Demonstrative: p74 no mention of plural forms when paradigm is given.

nǔa 'this'

hǎo,kǎo 'that(far)'

ndǎw 'that'

Examples:

kǔ ci nyà lú cě nǔa

I not like clas. house this

'I do not like this house.'

P47 here is a noun with plural reference

A: cǎo ndǎw nǔa yåo lêng tẅ le

group book this be who possMK

'Whose are these books?'

P48 notes that classifiers are obligatory with demonstratives

áo tů mbua hǎo crå̊o

two clas. pig that fat

'That two pigs are fat.'

kha – Khalkha (Svantesson 2003)

Gender: not mentioned, but probably not

Number: PDF p. 9 , “plural is probably best regarded as a derivational category”

Case: PDF p10

Examples of paradigms: (C) **nom** ‘book’ : gen. **nom-ïn** : acc. **nom-ïg** : dat. **nom-d** : abl. **nom-oos** : instr. **nom-oor** : poss. **nom-toi**; (O) **ger** ‘house’ : gen. **ger-iin** : acc. **ger-iig** : dat. **ger-t** : abl. **ger-ees** : instr. **ger-eer** : poss. **ger-tei**; (N) **on** ‘year’ : gen. **on-ï** : acc.

PDF p16: says there is no concord

There is no agreement within noun phrases. Although case and reflexive suffixes belong to the whole noun phrase, they are added phonologically to its last word, e.g. (abl. refl.) **dörwön tom modon baishin/g-aas-aa** ‘from [his] own four big wooden houses’, (acc.) **xawar, zün, namar, öwl-iig dörwön uliral gedeg** ‘the spring, summer, autumn, and winter are called the four seasons’, (gen.) **jil bür-iin negdügeer sar** ‘the January [literally: ‘the first month’] of every year’. The clitic possessives follow case suffixes, e.g. (acc. px sg. 2p.) **öwc-tei shüd-iig ciny aw-na** ‘he will extract your aching tooth’.

Adjectives: ‘do not differ from nouns’ PDF p. 8

Adjectives do not differ formally from nouns, e.g. **ulaan** 'red', 'redness', 'the red one'. Certain derivational patterns are nevertheless specific to adjectival nouns, e.g. **baga** 'small', **tom** 'big', **bogino** 'short' : moder. **baga.xan** 'rather small', **tom.xon** 'rather big', **bogino.xon** 'rather short' : ess. **baga.d-** 'be (too) small', **tom.d-** 'be (too) big', **bogino.d-** 'be (too) short' : transl. **baga.s-** 'to get smaller', **tom.s-** 'to get bigger', **bogino.s-** 'to get shorter' : caus. **baga.s.ga-** 'to decrease', **tom.s.go-** 'to enlarge', **bogino.s.go-** 'to shorten'.

I think this means that adjectives "don't exist"

Numerals: PDF P. 10 "inflected like nouns" this must mean that they can decline like nouns and also be used as heads of NPs, but no examples were given.

1 **neg** : **negen**, 2 **xoyor**, 3 **guraw** : **gurwan**, 4 **döröw** : **dörwön**, 5 **taw** : **tawan**, 6 **zurgaa** : **zurgaan**, 7 **doloo** : **doloon**, 8 **naim** : **naiman**, 9 **yös** : **yösön**; for the tens: 10 **araw**

All the numerals, with the exception of 2 **xoyor**, end in the unstable */n*. The nasal stem appears in the declension, but it is also used attributively, except in the case of 1 **neg** and 1,000 **myangga**, e.g. **neg tögrög** 'one tugrik', **gurwan tögrög** 'three tugriks', **myangga tögrög** 'one thousand tugriks'. In counting, the plain stems are used.

Demonstratives:

PDF p 11 *ter xün* 'that man'

There are no personal pronouns for the third person; instead, the demonstratives **ene** 'this' and **ter** 'that' are used, often in combination with a head noun, as in **ter xün** 'that person'. The demonstratives have two oblique stems, **üü/n-** vs. **tüü/n-** (literary) and

PDF p. 17: *ene nom* 'this book.NOM', *ene nom-ïg* 'this book.ACC' no change in dem

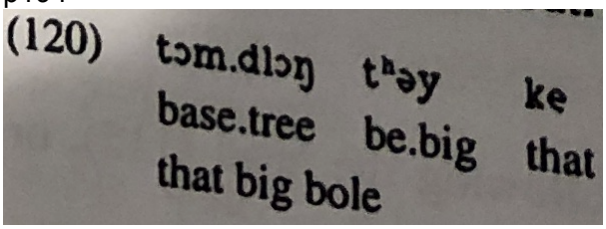
by a demonstrative pronoun can be in either case form, e.g. (nom.) **xüü ene nom unshsan** or (acc.) **xüü ene nom-ïg unshsan** 'the boy read this book'. The nominative object

sml – Semelai (Kruspe 2004)

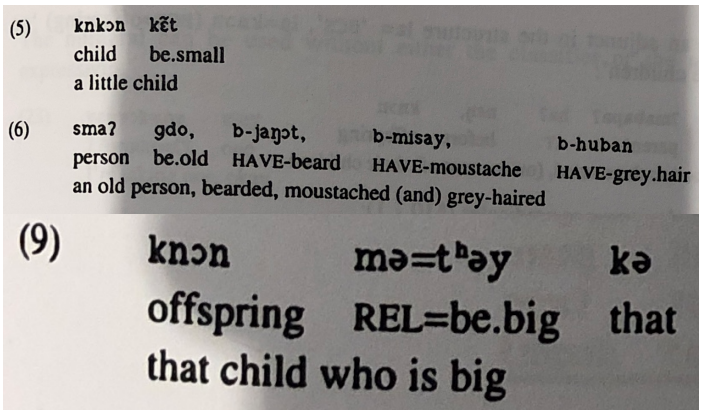
Gender: none
Number: only on third person pronouns
Case: none

Adjectives: They are all translated with "be.ADJ" and they can be relativized, but they do not need to be relativized

p194



P203

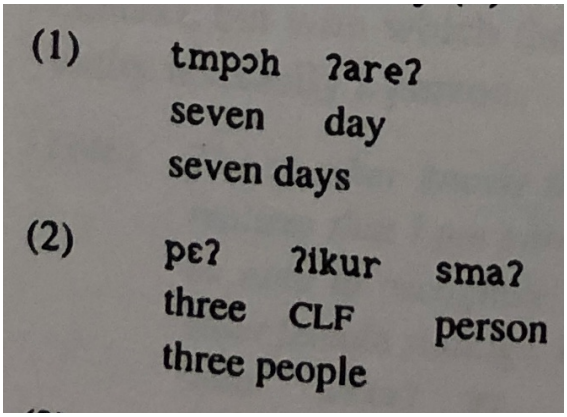


(5) knkɔn kɛ̃t
child be.small
a little child

(6) sma? gdo, b-jaŋɔt, b-misay, b-huban
person be.old HAVE-beard HAVE-moustache HAVE-grey.hair
an old person, bearded, moustached (and) grey-haired

(9) knɔn mə=tʰəy kə
offspring REL=be.big that
that child who is big

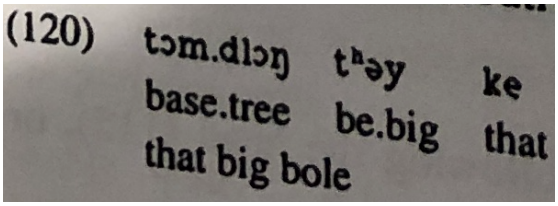
Numerals: sometimes combine via classifiers and sometimes not
P202



(1) tmpɔh ʔareʔ
seven day
seven days

(2) pɛʔ ʔikur smaʔ
three CLF person
three people

Demonstratives: No mention of plural vs. singular forms, but I have a form used with singular reference here.
P194



(120) tɔm.dlɔŋ tʰəy ke
base.tree be.big that
that big bole