

Articles in the world's languages

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November 29, 2018, University of Cologne

Why articles?

- there are many studies of articles in single languages as well as comparative studies
- we still lack a systematic overview of their properties across languages

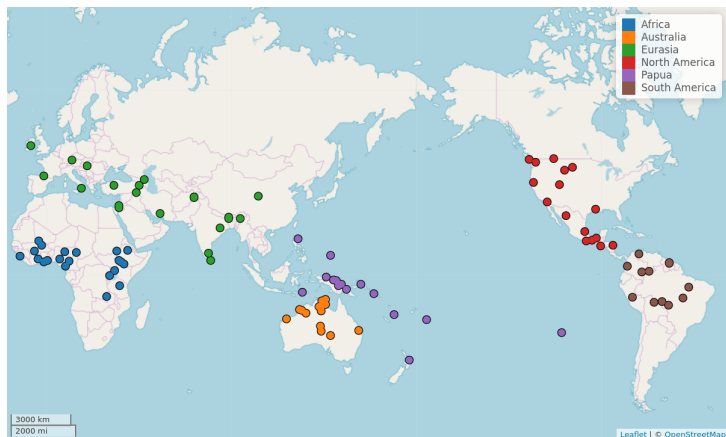
Today

- overview of (un)attested article types
- a typology of article systems
- selected crosslinguistic trends
 - areal distributions of different types of articles
 - article inflection
 - co-occurrence of definite with demonstratives and possessives

Sample

- 99 languages from the 6 macro areas defined in WALS and Glottolog (Dryer and Haspelmath 2013; Hammarström et al. 2018)

- Africa (8 families)
- Eurasia (9 families)
- Papunesia (8 families)
- Australia (9 families)
- North America (13 families)
- South America (6 families)



- in total 131 articles
- in addition: primary data from Kaqchikel, Q'anjobal, Akan, Limbum, Mokpe

Defining articles

Defining articles

(1) *Articles as a crosslinguistic category*

Articles are markers in the nominal domain whose main function is to encode the referential function of the noun that they occur with.

- **Function**

Articles are markers of referentiality.

- **Domain**

Articles occur together with nouns.

- **Distribution**

Articles must occur systematically in contexts determined by their referential functions.

They do not need to occur obligatorily: exceptions are allowed if they can be captured by rules or strong correlations.

Article types in the world's languages

Based on their referential functions, we can distinguish 8 types of articles.

Referential functions

(cf. Hawkins 1978; Ariel 1988; Himmelmann 1997; Dryer 2014)

ref. function	example	
deictic	Can you see <i>the house</i> (over there)?	definite Domäne
recognitional	What happened to <i>the dog</i> (that we used to have)?	
absolutely unique	<i>The Earth</i> is round.	
anaphoric	Did you like the movie? Wasn't <i>it</i> great?	
bridging	Eva bought a book. <i>The author</i> is French.	
situationally unique	How do I get to <i>the center</i> ?	indefinite Domäne
establishing	Did you hear <i>the news</i> The entire museum burned down.	
specific	I met <i>a funny new neighbor</i> yesterday.	
nonspecific	Do you happen to have <i>a pen</i> ? Any pen will do.	
generic	I like cats.	

The relation between ref. functions and article types

main
referential
functions

definite ————— specific ————— nonspecific

article
types

definite,
anaphoric,
recognitional

exclusive-specific

nonspecific

indefinite

inclusive-specific

referential

Some examples

Anaphoric article (Limbum)

- (2) a. àmbò djò? à m cī rò bzhî ā tárté ye o **mú mò?**
when elephant s.3SG PST3 PROG search food 3SG stumble 3SG with **child one**
'When it was looking for food, the elephant stumbled into a child.'
- b. ...**mú fɔ̃** à kē? á cí wārī
child ART:ANA 3SG start INF PROG cry
'The child started to cry.'
- Limbum (prim. data)

The anaphoric article does not occur in bridging (3) and situationally unique (4) contexts.

- (3) Tāntōh ā mū yū ŋwā? m̄. **ŋwè rsāŋ** á ŋwè-mbòm.
Tantoh has PST2 buy book one **person writing** is person-Wimbum
'Tantoh has bought a book; the author is a Wimbum person.'
- Limbum (prim. data)
- (4) **ntāh** yō fé à là? nā?
market.CL9 be.CL9 where in village this?
'Where is the market in this village?'
- Limbum (prim. data)

Recognitional article (Oksapmin)

- (5) **niu jia max** bəten x-t-pel=o li=m xe-ja
new year ART:RECOG pray O-PFV-FUT.PL=QUOT say-SEQ be-PRS.PL
‘They wanted to pray for you, you know, that New Year.’
Oksapmin (Loughnane 2009: 124)
- (6) gin i ml-sa jəxe tumbuna paxna sup **stori**
nun HESIT komm-SEQ dann Ahnen Hunger Krankheit **Geschichte**
max pla gina
ART:RECOG erzähl.PRS.SG now
‘Now, I came up and told that story about famine in the old days. Now ...’
Oksapmin (Loughnane 2009: 124)

Exclusive-specific article (Akan)

X definite

- (7) a. mɔ-tɔ-ɔ **ekutu bi**
1SG-buy-PST **orange ART:EXSPEC**
'I bought an orange.'
- b. **ekutu no** yɛ dɛw dɛɛ
orange ART:DEF be nice so
'The orange is/was so nice.'

Akan (Arkoh and Matthewson 2013: 6)

✓ specific

- (8) me-wɔ **akyɛde bi** ma wo
1SG-have **gift ART:EXSPEC** give 2SG
'I have a gift for you.'

Akan (prim. data)

X nonspecific

- (9) me-nya-a anka me-wɔ **yere**
1SG-get-PST before 1SG-have **wife**
'I wish I had a (any) wife.'

Akan (prim. data)

Inclusive-specific article (Tongan)

✓ definite, specific

- (10) na'e sio 'a Sione ki **he** **ta'ahine**
PST see ABS Sione to **ART:INSPEC** girl
'Sione saw a/the girl.'

Tongan (Otsuka 2000: 50)

X nonspecific

- (11) 'oku 'i ai **ha** **maa?**
PRS in there **ART:NSPEC** bread
'Is there some bread?'

Tongan (Otsuka 2000: 50)

Nonspecific article (Q'anjobal)

X definite

- (12) **cham anima** may kon tojlaneni ay jun miman ya-tut
CL:male person PST COMP pay.PST.S:3SG.O:1PL EXIST ART:EXSPEC big 3SG-house
'The man who paid us has a big house.' Q'anjobal (prim. data)

X specific

- (13) tzeb'ach yul **jun tuktuk** mayal wawrtej naq tz'umon ch'en
come.IMP in **ART:EXSPEC tuktuk** already called CL driver
'Let's take a (certain) tuktuk. I already called the driver.' Q'anjobal (prim. data)

✓ nonspecific

- (14) asi' yul **junoq tuktuk**
go.IMP in **ART:NSPEC tuktuk**
'Let's take a (any) tuktuk.' Q'anjobal (prim. data)

Referential article (Rapa Nui)

✓ definite

- (15) ki a kōrua ki **te** nu'u hakarōjo mai 'i a au he kī atu
to PROP 2PL to **ART:REF** people listen hither IMM PROP 1SG NTR say away
'To you, to the people listening, I tell you ...' Rapa Nui (Kieviet 2017: 46)

✓ specific

- (16) 'i te noho iŋa tuai era 'ā **te** tanata e tahi te 'iŋoa
at ART:REF stay NMLZ ancient DIST IDENT **ART:REF** man NUM one ART:REF name
ko Tu'uhakararo
PROM Tu'uhakararo
'In the old times (there was) a man called Tu'uhakararo.' Rapa Nui (Kieviet 2017: 238)

✓ nonspecific

- (17) he kī ō'oku ki kō'ku nā poki taina era mo oho o mātou mo kimi
NTR say O.POSS:1SG to O.POSS:1SG PL child sibling DIST for go of 1PL.EX for search
i **te** pipi
ACC **ART:REF** shell
'I told my brothers and sisters that we would go to look for (any kind of) shells.'
Rapa Nui (Kieviet 2017: 239)

Referential article (Rapa Nui)

Examples of nonreferential contexts, in which the referential article is absent:

- predicative nominal expressions:

(18) a Thor Heyerdahl [**he** científico e tahi]
PROP Thor Heyerdahl **PRED** scientist NUM one
'Thor Heyerdahl was a scientist' (Kieviet 2017: 452)

(19) te toromiro [**he** tumu hauha'a e tahi]
ART:REF toromiro **PRED** tree important NUM one
'Der Toromiro ist ein wichtiger Baum.' (Kieviet 2017: 452)

- identificational contexts:

(20) rā me'e era pē he tiare [**he** mōrī]
DIST thing DIST like **PRED** flower **PRED** light
'Those things like flowers are lights.' (Kieviet 2017: 452)

(21) [**he** taŋata] tau manu era
PRED man DEM bird DIST
'That bird was a human being.' Rapa Nui (Kieviet 2017: 242)

Referential article (Rapa Nui)

- instrumental *hai*:

(22) e parū rō 'ā i te rāua hakari [**hai** kī'ea].
IPFV paint EMPH CONT ACC ART:REF 3PL body **INSTR** red.earth
'They painted their bodies with red earth.' (Kieviet 2017: 220)

(23) he nono'i e te korohu'a nei [**hai** haraoa].
NTR request AG ART:REF old.man PROX **INSTR** bread
'This old man asked for bread.' (Kieviet 2017: 221)

- equative *pē*:

(24) he u'i atu a Eva ko te me'e [**pē** he tiare] 'ā ka 'ī.
NTR look away PROP Eva PROM ART:REF thing like PRED flower IDENT CNTG full
'Eva saw something like flowers, in great numbers.' (Kieviet 2017: 219)

(25) a au e noho nei [**pē** he 'ōtare].
PROP 1SG IPFV stay PROX like PRED orphan
'I live as an orphan.' (Kieviet 2017: 220)


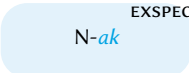
A typology of articles and article systems

A typology of articles

ref functions	article types		
	1 ref function	2 ref functions	3 ref functions
definite	DEFINITE/ ANAPHORIC/ RECOGNITIONAL	INCL-SPECIFIC	REFERENTIAL
specific	EXCL-SPECIFIC	INDEFINITE	
nonspecific	NONSPECIFIC		

A typology of article systems

article systems that cover the referential space only **minimally**

ref functions	system I	system II
definite	 è N ^{DEF}	
specific		 N-ak ^{EXSPEC}
nonspecific		
N systems	50	2
e.g.	Ao Mokpe	Karaja Domari

A typology of article systems

Article systems that cover **most** of the referential space

ref functions	system III	system IV	system V	system VI
definite	DEF N <i>no</i>	INSPEC		
specific	EXSPEC N <i>bi</i>	N- <i>ʔi</i>	EXSPEC <i>jun</i> N	INDEF
nonspecific			NSPEC <i>junoq</i> N	N- <i>gə</i>
N systems	7	2	/	15
e.g.	Palula, Akan	Bemba, Nuuchahnulth	Q'anjobal	Carib, Bonan

A typology of article systems

article systems that cover the **entire** referential space

ref functions	system VII	system VIII	system IX	system X
definite	<i>das</i> N ^{DEF}	<i>he</i> N ^{INSPEC}	N- <i>sh</i> ^{DEF}	<i>te</i> N ^{REF}
specific	<i>ein</i> N ^{INDEF}	<i>he</i> N ^{INSPEC}	N- <i>m</i> ^{EXSPEC}	
nonspecific	<i>ein</i> N ^{INDEF}	<i>ha</i> N ^{NSPEC}	N- <i>eem</i> ^{NSPEC}	
N systems	12	3	3	4
e.g.	Lavukaleve German	Blackfoot, Tongan	Biak, Crow	Halkomelem, Rapa Nui

definite

(26) Ich habe **die** Katze gekauft, von der wir letztsens gesprochen haben.

specific

(27) Ich habe **eine** Katze gekauft.

nonspecific

(28) Ich möchte **eine** Katze kaufen, ich habe aber noch keine passende gefunden.

definite

- (29) 'alu ki mui 'i **he** kā
geh SPAT.P.ALL hinten LOC **ART:INSPEC** Auto
'Geh zur hinteren Seite des Autos.'

Tongan (Völkel 2010: 135)

specific

- (30) na'e sio 'a Sione ki **he** ta'ahine
PST see ABS Sione to **ART:INSPEC** girl
'Sione saw a/the girl.'

Tongan (Otsuka 2000: 50)

nonspecific

- (31) 'oku 'i ai **ha** maa?
PRS in there **ART:NSPEC** bread
'Is there some bread?'

Tongan (Otsuka 2000: 50)

definite

- (32) **káalee-sh** dáawi-kawe-h he-m
old.woman-ART:DEF go.ON-POLIT-IMP say-DS
 ‘The old woman said, “go on”.

Crow (Graczyk 2007: 239)

specific

- (33) **dakáak-kaata-m** húu-laa hii-ka
bird-DIM-ART:EXSPEC come-SS reach-DECL
 ‘A bird came, it reached him.’

Crow (Graczyk 2007: 228)

nonspecific

- (34) **axée baláxxiikaashe dúup-eem** alúutkaashe áappaa
father bow **two-ART:NSPEC** arrow along.with
 dí-a-a-wa-ku-he
 make-CONT-1-give-AFF-Q
 ‘Father, will you please make me two bows and arrows?’

Crow (Graczyk 2007: 230)

Rapa Nui

definite

- (35) ki a kōrua ki **te** nu'u hakarōjo mai 'i a au he kī atu
to PROP 2PL to **ART:REF** people listen hither IMM PROP 1SG NTR say away
'To you, to the people listening, I tell you ...' Rapa Nui (Kieviet 2017: 46)

specific

- (36) 'i te noho iŋa tuai era 'ā **te** tanata e tahi te 'iŋoa
at ART:REF stay NMLZ ancient DIST IDENT **ART:REF** man NUM one ART:REF name
ko Tu'uhakararo
PROM Tu'uhakararo
'In the old times (there was) a man called Tu'uhakararo.' Rapa Nui (Kieviet 2017: 238)

nonspecific

- (37) he kī ō'oku ki kō'ku nā poki taina era mo oho o mātou mo kimi
NTR say O.POSS:1SG to O.POSS:1SG PL child sibling DIST for go of 1PL.EX for search
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'I told my brothers and sisters that we would go to look for (any kind of) shells.'
Rapa Nui (Kieviet 2017: 239)

A typology of article systems

The division into a definite and an indefinite domain

Article systems most frequently divide the referential space into a definite and an indefinite domain.

definite vs. indefinite

- 1 definite article (50)
- 1 indefinite article (15)
- definite + indefinite article (12)

other division

- 1 exclusive-specific article (2)
- 1 inclusive-specific article (2)
- inclusive-specific + nonspecific article (3)

A typology of article systems

non-attested article systems

referent types	system *I	system *II	system *III	system *IV
definite		DEF	DEF-NSPEC	DEF-NSPEC
specific				EXSPEC
nonspecific	NSPEC	NSPEC	DEF-NSPEC	DEF-NSPEC

- The existence of nonspecific articles depends on the existence of specific articles in the system.
- As expected, a single article cannot encode definite and nonspecific referents without encoding specific referents.

Systems with functionally overlapping articles

- Systems that have articles with overlapping functions are rare.
- Exceptions are anaphoric or recognitional articles that occur in systems with a definite article.

In Jamsay, the definite article and the anaphoric article can even co-occur.

- (38) tògù pò:ró tógó kó bèrê: bè nû: [**kò** tóg **kùⁿ**]
Hütte erste Hüttenbau 3SG.NHUM in 3PL .PFV **ART:ANA** Hütte **ART:DEF**
úró táná-ŋá mèyⁿ nîŋ yó=kò
Hütte bekomm-CAUS und nun existier=NHUM
'Die erste Hütte, die sie bauten und in der sie wohnten, diese Hütte als Haus
ausgebaut, steht noch immer dort.'

Jamsay (Heath 2008: 164)

Systems with functionally overlapping articles

A rare exception to this is Basque. Basque has an inclusive-specific (-a) and an indefinite article (*bat*).

-a in a definite context

- (39) nire lagun-a gure herri-ko alkate-a da
my friend.ART:INSPEC our town-REL mayor-ART:INSPEC is
'My friend is the mayor of our town.'

Basque (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 180)

-a in a specific context

- (40) kotxe berri-a erosi dut
car new-ART:INSPEC buy AUX
'I have bought a new car.'

Basque (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 119)

Systems with functionally overlapping articles

bat in specific/nonspecific contexts

- (41) Bilbon [etxe **bat**] erosi behar dut
Bilbao.LOC house **ART:INDEF** buy need AUX
'I need to buy a house in Bilbao.' Basque (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 694)
- (42) zergatik ez erregutu hari [bitxi **bat-zuk**] utz ziezazkion?
why not beg him jewel **ART:INDEF-PL** lend AUX.S.COMP
'Why not beg her to lend her some jewels?'
Basque (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 503)

- This functional overlap is less surprising, however, given that the inclusive-specific article in Basque is developing into a general noun marker, and used in a number of nonreferential contexts as well.
 - Therefore, it may be plausible that *-a* is not enough to signal the non-identifiability of a (prominent?) discourse participant, given that it does not disambiguate between definite and specific referents.
- This in turn may favor the development of *bat* into an indefinite article, especially in a bilingual setting with Spanish.

The lack of generic articles

- Articles whose main function it is to encode generic referents are not attested in the world's languages.
- Different types of articles can be used to express generic referents, but this is not their main function.

Examples of languages with articles that cannot occur in generic contexts:

- (46) **gárgá** íntfù-rà há=gyá-mə
termite wood-ACC 3SG.M=chew-IRR
'A termite eats wood.' Sheko (Hellenthal 2010: 142)
- (47) **ógbén** e-yíwo
child PROG-cry
'A child is crying / Children are crying' Oko (Atoyebi 2010: 161)
- (48) **amzarái** muṛ-u=bhaáu **insaán** na kha-áan-u
lion die.PTCP-M.SG=ADJ **human.being** NEG eat-PRS-MS.G
'A lion doesn't eat a human being that is dead.' Palula (Liljegren 2016: 398)

Are there non-anaphoric definite articles?

- Dryer (2014) predicts the existence of non-anaphoric definite articles

(49) anaphoric definite > **nonanaphoric definite** > pragmatically specific
indefinite > semantically specific indefinite > semantically nonspecific
indefinite (reference hierarchy, Dryer 2014)

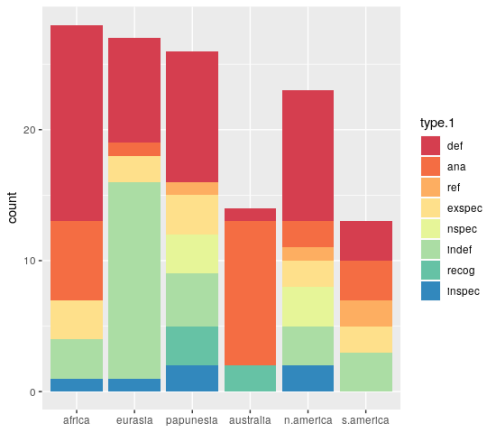
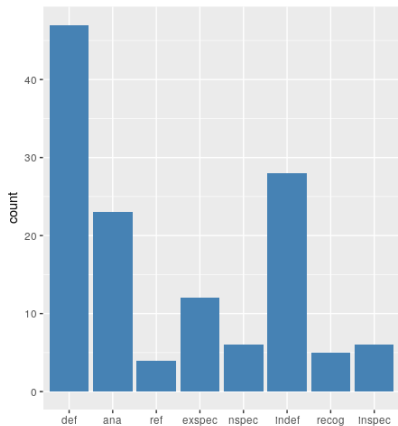
- Schwarz (2013) discusses languages that have two distinct types of definite articles:
 - anaphoric definite (strong)
 - non-anaphoric definite (weak)
 - the following languages are supposed to have non-anaphoric articles:
 - Ma'di → both articles can (co-)occur in anaphoric contexts
 - Lakota → all crucial examples of the anaphoric article go back to Buechel (1939)
 - German → within sentences, the distinction of the two types being syntactically restricted to prepositional phrases in the singular
 - Fering → within sentences
- the presence of the anaphoric articles does not automatically block the use of the definite article in anaphoric contexts
- emerging definite articles that develop from e.g. possessives could be non-anaphoric definite articles (Indonesian?)

Articles:

Selected crosslinguistic trends

- areal distribution of article types
- article inflection
- definite articles with demonstratives and possessives

Areal distribution of article types



Areal distribution of article types

Anaphoric articles (Australia)

- often no distinct third person pronoun, use of demonstrative pronouns instead
- often no formal distinction between pronominal and adnominal forms (Bhat 2004: 191)

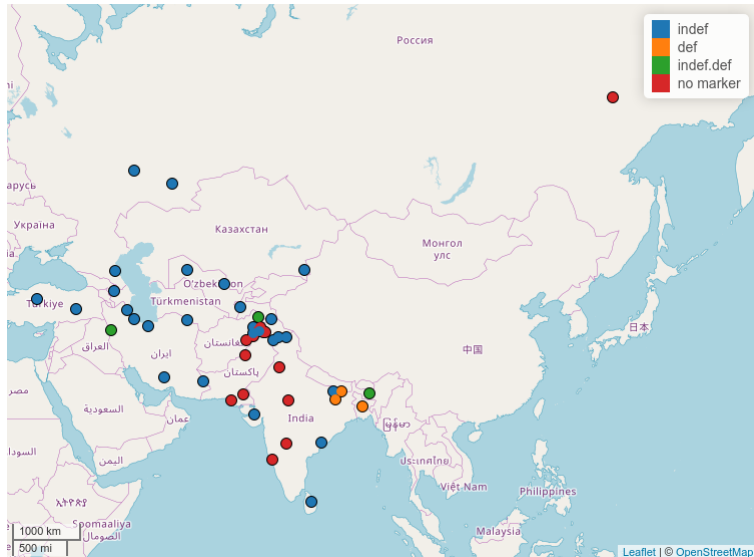
Indefinite articles (Eurasia)

- family influence (Iranian & Turkic?)
 - DOM?
 - language contact?
- needs further research!

Nonspecific articles (Papunesia & North America)

- at least for North America (Mayan, Siouan, Wakashan), word class flexibility (cf. Rijkhoff and Lier 2013) may have facilitated the development of nonspecific articles

Eurasia (Indo-Iranian & Turkic)



(Johanson and Csató 1998; Cardona and Jain 2003; Haig 2008; Windfuhr 2013)

A possible source for nonspecific articles

In some North American languages, we find a formal relation between specific and nonspecific articles:

	exclusive-specific article	nonspecific article
Q'anjobal	<i>jun</i>	<i>jun-oq</i>
Lakota	<i>wã</i>	<i>wã-ži</i>
Crow	<i>-m</i>	<i>-eem</i>

Can we identify the marker that combines with an specific (indefinite) article in order to form a nonspecific article?

Irrealis marker > nonspecific marker (Q'anjobal)

-oq as an irrealis marker in the verbal domain

- (50) q-q'anjab' ayach ta q-ach q'anjab'-oq
POT-talk TO.2 COND POT-2PL talk-IRR
'X will talk to you, if you talk.'

Q'anjobal (Mateo Toledo 2017: 538)

- (51) hoq-ach tyaj-l-oq yekal
POT-2 prayer-INTR-IRR tomorrow
'You will pray tomorrow'

Q'anjobal (Mateo Toledo 2017: 538)

-oq with predicative nouns

- (52) man anima-oq hach
NEG person-IRR 2SG
'You are not a person.'

Q'anjobal (Mateo Toledo 2017: 551)

- (53) maktxel max h-aq'-kan ko-taynomal-oq
who PFV 2SG-give-DIR:stay 1PL-guard-IRR
'Who did you leave as our guard?'

Q'anjobal (Mateo Toledo 2017: 553)

Irrealis marker > nonspecific marker (Mayan, Siouan)

Ch'ol allows for such a marker on indefinite articles with predicative nouns as well.

- (54) ma'an [jum-p'ej=ik vivienda]
EXIST.NEG **ART:INDEF-CL=IRR** residence
'There isn't any residence.' Ch'ol (Vázquez Alvarez 2011: 239)

Hidatsa allows this marker to occur instead of the indefinite article.

- (55) ééhgee-wa-rúg aru-nii-ma-hgi.wé[?]-he
know-1.ACT-**COND** IRR-2.STAT-1.ACT-tell-EMPH
If I knew it I would tell you.' Hidatsa (Park 2012: 228)
- (56) hiraacá-mià-rúg aru-m-úá-waa-c
Hidatsa-woman-**COND** IRR-1-marry-CAUS.1-DECL
'I am going to marry a Hidatsa woman.'
literally: 'If she is a Hidatsa woman I will marry her.' Hidatsa (Park 2012: 368)
- (57) hiraacá-mià-wa m-úá-waa-c
Hidatsa-woman-**ART:INDEF** 1-marry-CAUS.1-DECL
'I married a Hidatsa woman.' Hidatsa (Park 2012: 368)

Realis marker > specific article

Verbal realis markers may also be the source of specific (and definite?) articles in Siouan.

Assiniboine declarative marker -c

- (58) i-má-stùsta-c
LOC-1SG-be.tired-DECL
'I am tired of it.' Assiniboine (Cumberland 2005: 61)

Assiniboine specific article -c

- (59) a. šųkat^hąka o-wa-ne
horse ST-1SG-look.for
'I am looking for a horse (no particular in mind)'
b. šųkat^hąka-c o-wa-ne
horse-SPEC ST-1SG-look.for
'I am looking for a particular horse' Assiniboine (Cumberland 2005: 108)

Article inflection (number, gender, case)

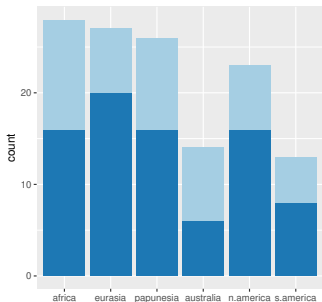
Potential factors to influence the inflectional behaviour of articles

- ☹ macro area
- ☹ position of the article (pre/postnominal)
- ☹ article type

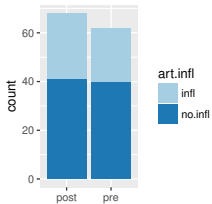
- ☺ noun inflection
- ☺ inflection of the source element of the article
(demonstrative, personal pronoun, numeral 'one')

Article inflection

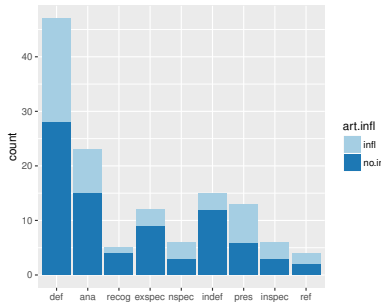
☹ macro area



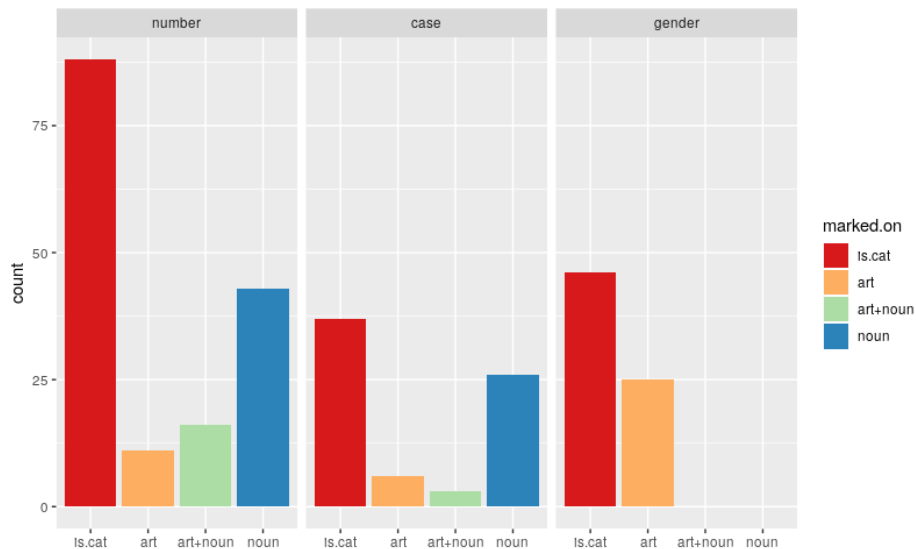
☹ position



☹ article type



Inflection of the article and the noun



Inflection of the article and its source element

There are 3 possible scenarios:

- (i) the article retains the inflection of its source element
- (ii) the article loses morphological distinctions of its source element
- (iii) the article develops new inflectional morphology

→ we almost only find evidence for scenario (i) and (ii)

Inflection of articles and their source elements

language	article	ART-inflection	pronoun	PRO-inflection
Oko (def)	<i>àyɛ</i> (SG), <i>ábɛ</i> (PL)	num	<i>àyɛ</i> (3SG), <i>ábɛ</i> (3PL)	num
Lango (ana)	<i>én</i>	/	<i>én</i> (3SG)	num
Amharic (def)	-w/u (M.SG, PL), -wa (F.SG)	num+gen	-w/u (M.SG), -wa (F.SG)	num+gen
Pap. Malay (def)	<i>de</i> (3SG)	num	<i>de</i> (3SG)	num
Biak (spec.in)	-ya/-i (3SG)	num+gen	<i>i</i>	num+gen
Warrwa (ana)	<i>kinya</i>	case	<i>kinya</i> (3SG)	num +case
Dyari (def)	<i>nhawu</i> (3NF.SG)	num+gen+case	<i>nhawu</i> (3NF.SG)	num+gen+case
Sumu (ana)	-ni (3SG)	/	-ni (3SG)	num
Cupeño (def)	<i>pe'</i> (SG), <i>pem</i> (PL)	num	<i>pe'</i> (3SG), <i>pem</i> (3PL)	num
Apinayé (def)	<i>ja</i>	/	<i>ja</i> (3SG)	num

Inflection of articles and their source elements

language	article	ART-inflection	pronoun	PRO-inflection
Oko (def)	<i>àyɛ</i> (SG), <i>ábɛ</i> (PL)	num	<i>àyɛ</i> (3SG), <i>ábɛ</i> (3PL)	num
Lango (ana)	<i>én</i>	/	<i>én</i> (3SG)	num
Amharic (def)	-w/u (M.SG, PL), -wa (F.SG)	num+gen	-w/u (M.SG), -wa (F.SG)	num+gen
Pap. Malay (def)	<i>de</i> (3SG)	num	<i>de</i> (3SG)	num
Biak (spec.in)	-ya/-i (3SG)	num+gen	<i>i</i>	num+gen
Warrwa (ana)	<i>kinya</i>	case	<i>kinya</i> (3SG)	num +case
Dyari (def)	<i>nhawu</i> (3NF.SG)	num+gen+case	<i>nhawu</i> (3NF.SG)	num+gen+case
Sumu (ana)	-ni (3SG)	/	-ni (3SG)	num
Cupeño (def)	<i>pe'</i> (SG), <i>pem</i> (PL)	num	<i>pe'</i> (3SG), <i>pem</i> (3PL)	num
Apinayé (def)	<i>ja</i>	/	<i>ja</i> (3SG)	num

Inflection of articles and their source elements

language	article	ART-inflection	Demonstrativum	DEM-inflection
Supyire (def)	<i>-ke</i> (CL2.SG)	num+gen	<i>-ṛǰé</i> (CL2.SG)	num+gen
Konso (def)	<i>-siʔ</i> (M.SG) <i>-siniʔ</i> (M.PL)	num+gen	<i>-oosiʔ</i> (M.SG) <i>-oosiniʔ</i> (M.PL)	num+gen
Sheko (def)	<i>-ns/nf</i> (M.SG) <i>-in</i> (F.SG)	gen	<i>yīz</i> (M.SG) <i>yīni</i> (F.SG)	num+gen
Hungarian (def)	<i>a</i>	/	<i>az</i> (NOM.SG)	num+case
Armenian (def)	<i>-n</i>	/	<i>-ayn</i> (SG)	num+case
Maori (def)	<i>te</i> (SG) <i>ngā</i> (PL)	num	<i>tēnā</i> (SG) <i>ēnā</i> (PL)	num
Alamblak (def)	<i>ind</i>	num+gen	<i>indar</i>	num+gen
Ch'ol (def)	<i>li</i>	/	<i>ili</i>	/
Ute (def)	<i>ʻu</i> (S.AN.SG) <i>ʻumu</i> (S.AN.PL)	num+gen+case	<i>ʻuwa</i> (S.AN.SG) <i>ʻumu</i> (S.AN.PL)	num+gen+case
Tarahumara (def)	<i>echi</i>	/	<i>echi</i>	/
Arawak (def)	<i>to</i> (NM.SG), <i>na</i> (PL)	num+gen	<i>toho</i> (NM.SG), <i>naha</i> (PL)	num+gen

Definite articles with demonstratives and possessives

Definite articles with demonstratives and possessives

- A syntactic category of “determiners” (Bloomfield 1933; Abney 1987) assigns articles and demonstratives to the same category.
- This motivates the assumption that, by default, they usually do not co-occur.

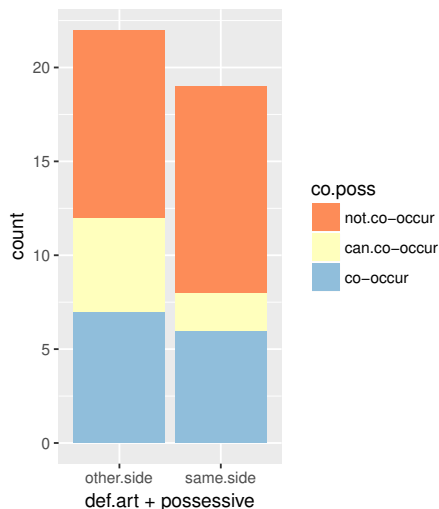
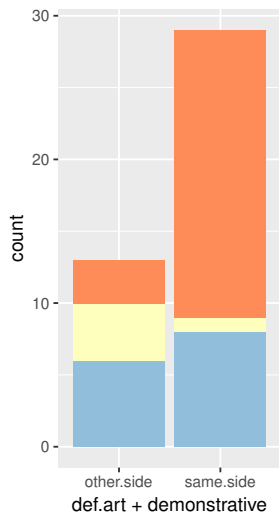
Is this supported by a crosslinguistic sample?

- ☞ We only see a trend against co-occurrence if both the article and the demonstrative occur on the same side of the noun.

What about articles and adnominal possessive markers?

- ☞ Definite articles and possessives show no such positional effect.

Definite articles with demonstratives and possessives



- A plausible explanation of this difference is that demonstratives are a much more frequent source of definite articles than possessives.

Ch'ol as example of both trends

DEF does not co-occur with DEM:

- (60) a. **ili** xkaläl-ob
DEM:PROX girl-PL
'this girl'
b. **li** xk'aläl
ART:DEF girl
'the girl'

Ch'ol (Vázquez Alvarez 2011: 85,355)

DEF co-occurs with POSS:

- (61) **li** k-alo'bil
ART:DEF POSS:1-son
'my son'

Ch'ol (Vázquez Alvarez 2011: 327)

Also DEM can co-occur with POSS:

- (62) **ili** la=k-tyaty=i
DEM:PROX PL.IN-POSS:1-lord-PM
'(this) our Lord'

Ch'ol (Vázquez Alvarez 2011: 341)

Concluding remarks

Concluding remarks

Article types & article systems

- we can distinguish 8 types of articles in the languages of the world:
DEF, **ANA**, **RECOG**, **INDEF**, **EXSPEC**, **NSPEC**, **INSPEC**, **REF**
- there is a tendency for article systems to divide the referential space into a definite and an indefinite domain
- nonspecific articles only occur in systems with specific articles

Macro areal patterns

- Certain grammatical properties could be related to certain types of articles:
 - demonstratives, personal pronoun system and anaphoric articles in Australia
 - word class flexibility allowing for verbal markers to occur on nouns and nonspecific articles in N America

Explaining article properties through diachrony

- article inflection
 - there are 2 main restricting factors:
inflection of the article's source element & of the noun
- definite articles with demonstratives and possessives
 - the diachronic relation between demonstratives and definite articles (rather than their synchronic syntactic or semantic properties) can account for different behaviors of the article with demonstratives and possessives

Thank you!

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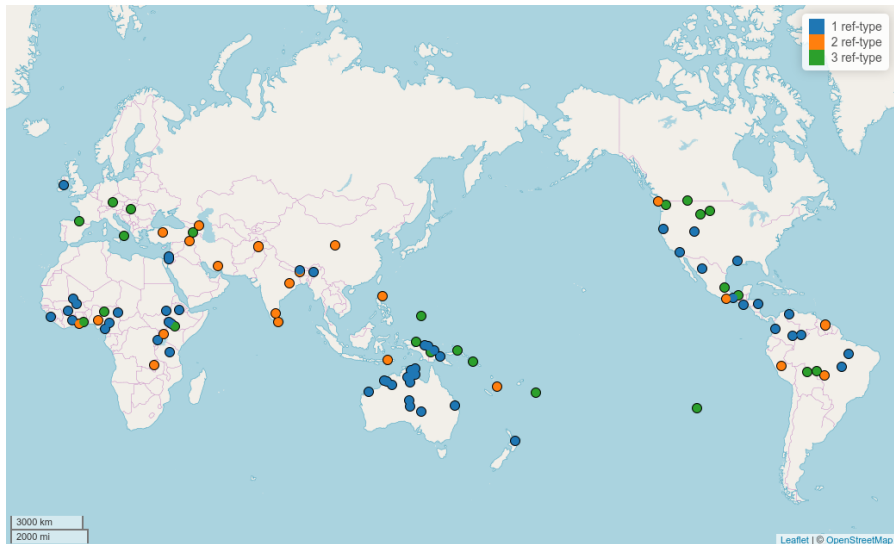
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Areale Verteilung von Artikelsystemen



Artikeltypen in Afrika

language	article	Position	art.infl	nom.cat	nom.infl	Exponent
Akan	ana	post	/	num+gen	num	N <i>no</i>
	exspec	post	/	num+gen	num	N <i>bi</i>
Amharic	def	post	num+gen	num+gen	num	N- <i>u</i> , N- <i>wa</i> , ...
Bemba	inspec	pre	/	num+gen	num	<i>u</i> -N, <i>i</i> -N, <i>a</i> -N, ...
Beng	def	post	/	num	/	N <i>l'ɛ</i>
Bullom So	def	post	num+gen	num+gen	num	N <i>cé</i> , N <i>àcɛ́</i> , N <i>tice</i> , ...
Dime	def	post	/	num+gen+case	num+case	N- <i>ís</i>
Gaahmg	def	post	/	num+case	num+case	N- <i>á</i>
Hausa	pres	pre	num+gen	num+gen	num	<i>wani</i> N, <i>wata</i> N, ...
	ana	post	/	num+gen	num	N- <i>n</i>
Jamsay	def	post	/	num+gen	num	N <i>kùⁿ</i>
	ana	pre	/	num+gen	num	<i>kò</i> N
Konso	def	post	num	num+gen	num	N <i>si?</i> , N <i>sini?</i> , ...
	pres	post	num+gen	num+gen	num	N <i>tokka</i> , N <i>takka</i> , ...

Artikeltypen in Afrika

language	article	Position	art.infl	nom.cat	nom.infl	Exponent
Koyra Chiini	def	post	/	num	num	N <i>di</i>
Lango	ana	post	/	num	num	N- <i>méré</i>
	exspec	post	/	num	num	N- <i>móró</i>
Limbum	ana	post	/	num+gen	num	N <i>fɔ</i>
Logba	def	post	/	num+gen	num	N- <i>á</i>
	pres	post	num+gen	num+gen	num	N <i>ɔ-kpe</i> , ...
Mokpe	def	pre	num+gen	num+gen	num	<i>è</i> N, ...
Moloko	def	post	/	num	num	N <i>na</i>
Okó	def	post	num	num	num	N <i>áyé</i> , N <i>ábẹ</i>
	exspec	post	num	num	num	N <i>óbẹ̀n</i> , N <i>ẹ̀bẹ̀n</i>
Runyankore	ana	pre	/	num+gen	num	<i>nya</i> -N
Sandawe	def	post	num+gen	num+gen	/	N- <i>ŋ</i> , ...
Sheko	def	post	gen	num+gen	/	N- <i>ŋj</i> , N- <i>in</i>
Supyire	def	post	num+gen	num+gen	/	N- <i>ŋj</i> , N- <i>ke</i> , ...

Artikeltypen in Eurasien

language	article	Position	art.infl	nom.cat	nom.infl	Exponent
Aghul	pres	pre	/	num+case	num+case	<i>sa</i> N
Albanian	def	post	num+case	num+gen+case	/	N- <i>u</i> , N- <i>ja</i> , ...
	indef	pre	/	num+gen+case	case	<i>një</i> N
Ao	ana	post	/	/	/	N <i>sə</i>
Armenian	def	post	/	num+case	num+case	N- <i>n</i>
	indef	pre	/	num+case	case	<i>mi</i> N
Basque	inspec	post	num+case	num+case	/	N- <i>a</i> , ...
	pres	post	num+case	num+case	/	N <i>bat</i> , ...
Bonan	indef	post	/	num+case	case	N- <i>gə</i>
Dameli	pres	pre	/	num+case	case	<i>ek</i> N
Domari	exspec	post	/	num+gen+case	/	N- <i>ak</i>
German	def	pre	num+gen+case	num+gen+case	num	<i>das</i> N, ...
	indef	pre	gen+case	num+gen+case	num	<i>ein</i> N, ...
Hebrew	def	pre	/	num+gen	num	<i>ha</i> -N

Artikeltypen in Eurasien

language	article	Position	art.infl	nom.cat	nom.infl	Exponent
Hungarian	def	pre	/	num+case	num+case	<i>a</i> N
	indef	pre	/	num+case	case	<i>egy</i> N
Irish	def	pre	/	num+gen	num	<i>an</i> N
Kharia	pres	pre	/	num+case	case	<i>moŋ</i> N
Lepcha	def	post	/	num	num	N- <i>re</i>
Neo-Aramaic	pres	pre	gen	num+gen	/	<i>xa</i> -N, <i>ða</i> -N
Palula	def	pre	/	num+gen+case	num+case	<i>so</i> N
	exspec	pre	/	num+gen+case	case	<i>áa</i> N
Persian	indef	post	/	num+case	num+case	N- <i>i</i>
Rajbanshi	pres	pre	gen	num+gen+case	case	<i>ekṭa</i> N, ...
Tamil	indef	pre	/	num+case	case	<i>oru</i> N
Turkish	indef	pre	/	num+case	case	<i>bir</i> N
SL Malay	indef	flexible	/	num+case	case	<i>hatthu</i> =N

Artikeltypen in Papunesien

language	article	Position	art.infl	nom.cat	nom.infl	Exponent
Abui	recog	post	/	num	num	N <i>nu</i>
	exspec	post	/	num	num	N <i>hu</i>
Agta	def	pre	/	num	num	<i>i</i> N
	exspec	post	/	num	/	N= <i>a</i>
Alamblak	def	pre	/	num	num	<i>ind</i> -N
Biak	exspec	post	num+gen	num+gen	/	N= <i>ya</i> , N= <i>na</i> , ...
	def	post	num+gen	num+gen	/	N <i>anya</i> , N <i>ani</i> , ...
	nspec	post	num	num+gen	/	N= <i>o</i> , N= <i>no</i>
Lavukaleve	def	post	num+gen	num+gen	num	N <i>na</i> , N <i>la</i> , ...
	pres	post	num+gen	num+gen	num	N <i>roa</i> , N <i>ro</i> , ...
	recog	post	num+gen	num+gen	num	N <i>me</i> , N <i>mea</i> , ...
Maori	def	pre	num	num+case	case	<i>te</i> N, <i>ngā</i> N
Menya	def	post	/	num	/	N= <i>i</i>

Artikeltypen in Papunesien

language	article	Position	art.infl	nom.cat	nom.infl	Exponent
Oksapmin	indef	post	/	num	/	N <i>tit</i>
	recog	post	/	num	/	N <i>max</i>
	def	post	/	num	/	N <i>jox</i>
Papuan Malay	def	post	num	num	/	N <i>diu</i>
Rapa Nui	ref	pre	/	num+case	num+case	<i>te</i> N
Siar Lak	inspec	pre	num+gen	num+gen	/	<i>ep</i> N, <i>a</i> N, ...
	nspec	pre	gen	num+gen	/	<i>ti</i> N, <i>tok</i> N, ...
Skou	def	post	/	gen	/	N= <i>ija</i>
Sye	indef	pre	/	num	/	<i>hai</i> N
Tongan	inspec	pre	/	num+case	num+case	<i>he</i> N
	nspec	pre	/	num+case	num+case	<i>ha</i> N
Yapese	def	pre	/	num	num	<i>fa</i> N
	indef	pre	/	num	/	<i>ba</i> N

Artikeltypen in Australien

language	article	Position	art.infl	nom.cat	nom.infl	Exponent
Arrernte	ana	post	case	case	/	N <i>nhenge</i>
Bardi	ana	pre	/	case	case	<i>jarri</i> N
Diyari	def	pre	num+gen+case	num+gen+case	case	<i>nhani</i> N, ...
Duunidjawa	ana	pre	/	case	case	<i>mo:</i> N
Gooniyandi	recog	pre	/	num+case	case	<i>ginharndi</i> N
Guragone	ana	pre	gen	gen	/	<i>adjini</i> N, ...
Jingulu	ana	pre	num+gen+case	num+gen+case	case	<i>kuna</i> N, ...
Mangarrayi	ana	pre	/	num+gen+case	case	<i>ginara</i> N
Martuthunira	ana	pre	case	num+case	num+case	<i>nhiyaa</i> N
Wardaman	ana	post	/	num+gen+case	num+case	N- <i>marlang</i>
Warrwa	ana	pre	case	num+case	/	<i>kinya</i> N
Wubuy	ana	post	num+gen	num+gen	num	N <i>bagi</i> , ...
Yankuntjatjara	recog	post	/	num+case	case	N <i>panya</i>
Yolŋu	ana	pre	num	num+gen+case	num+case	<i>ŋunhi</i> N, ...

Artikeltypen in Nord-Amerika

language	article	Position	art.infl	nom.cat	nom.infl	Exponent
Blackfoot	inspec	post	num+gen	num+gen	/	N- <i>wa</i> , N- <i>iksi</i> , ...
	nspec	post	/	num+gen	/	N- <i>i</i>
Chatino	pres	pre	/	/	/	<i>skaf</i> N
Chimariko	def	post	/	/	/	N- <i>op</i>
Ch'ol	def	pre	/	num+gen	num	<i>li</i> N
	indef	pre	gen	num+gen	/	<i>jump'ej</i> N, ...
Crow	def	post	/	num	/	N- <i>sh</i>
	exspec	post	/	num	/	N- <i>m</i>
	nspec	post	/	num	/	N- <i>eem</i>
Cupeño	def	pre	num	num+case	num+case	<i>pe'</i> N, <i>pem</i> N
Halkomelem	ref	pre	gen	num+gen	num	<i>kwθə</i> N, <i>tə</i> N

Artikeltypen in Nord-Amerika

language	article	Position	art.infl	nom.cat	nom.infl	Exponent
Koasati	ana	post	/	num+case	num+case	N- <i>sáya</i>
Lakota	def	post	/	num	/	N <i>ki</i>
	exspec	post	num	num	/	N <i>wā</i>
	nspec	post	num	num	/	N <i>wāži</i>
Nuuchahnulth	inspec	post	/	num	num	N- <i>?i</i>
Sumu	ana	post	/	num	num	N- <i>ni</i>
Tarahumara	def	pre	/	num	/	<i>echi</i> N
Tepehua	def	pre	/	num	/	<i>juu</i> N
	indef	pre	/	num	/	<i>tam</i> N
Ute	def	post	num+gen+case	num+gen+case	num	N <i>'uru</i> , ...
Xinkan	def	pre	/	num+gen	num	<i>na</i> N
Zoque	def	pre	/	num	num	<i>bi</i> N

Artikeltypen in Süd-Amerika

language	article	Position	art.infl	nom.cat	nom.infl	Exponent
Apinayé	def	post	/	num	num	N <i>ja</i>
Arawak	def exspec	pre pre	num+gen /	num+gen num+gen	num /	<i>li</i> N, ... <i>aba</i> N
Asheninca Perené	pres	pre	/	num	/	<i>aparoni</i> N
Baré (Barawana)	ana	pre	gen	num+gen	/	<i>da</i> N
Baure	ref	pre	gen	num+gen	num	<i>to</i> N, <i>ti</i> N
Carib	indef	flexible	num	num	/	N <i>amu</i>
Cubeo	ana	pre	/	num+gen	num	<i>di</i> =N
Epeena Pedee	ana	pre	/	num+case	num+case	<i>ma</i> N
Karajá	exspec	post	/	/	/	N= <i>dō</i>
Parecis	pres	pre	/	num	num	<i>hatya</i> N
Sabanê	ref	post	/	/	/	N= <i>mi</i>
Wayuu	def	post	num+gen	num+gen	num	N= <i>kalü</i> , N= <i>kai</i> , ...

Afro-Asiatic

1	Amharic	Semitic	(Leslau 1995)
2	Dime	South Omotic	(Seyoum 2008)
3	Hausa	West Chadic	(Newman 2000)
4	Konso	East Cushitic	(Orkaydo 2013)
5	Moloko	North Biu-Mandara	(Friesen 2017)
6	Sheko	Dizoid	(Hellenthal 2010)

Benue-Congo

7	Oko	Oko-Eni-Osayan	(Atoyebi 2010)
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Dogon

8	Jamsay	Dogon	(Heath 2008)
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Eastern Sudanic

9	Gaahmg	Eastern Jebel	(Stirtz 2011)
10	Lango	Nilotic	(Noonan 1992)

Mande

11	Beng	Eastern Mande	(Paperno 2014)
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Niger-Congo

12	Akan	Kwa (Nyo)	(Amfo 2010; Arkoh 2011; Arkoh and Matthewson 2013), Sampson Korsah, pc
13	Bemba	Sabi	(Givón 1969)
14	Bullom So	Mel	(Childs 2011)
15	Limbang	Narrow Grassfields	(Fransen 1995), Jude Nformi, pc
16	Logba	Kwa (Na-Togo)	(Dorvlo 2008)
17	Mokpe	Sawabantu	primary data, (Atindogbe 2013)
18	Runyankore	Northeast Savanna Bantu	(Asimwe 2014)
19	Supyire	Gur	(Carlson 1994)

Sandawe

20	Sandawe	Sandawe	(Steeaman 2011)
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Songhay

21	Koyra Chiini	Songhay	(Heath 1999)
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Das Sample. Eurasien

Afro-Asiatic

- | | | | |
|---|-------------|---------|----------------|
| 1 | Hebrew | Semitic | (Glinert 2005) |
| 2 | Neo-Aramaic | Semitic | (Khan 2008) |
-

Altaic

- | | | | |
|---|----------------|----------|----------------------------|
| 3 | Bonan (Bao'an) | Mongolic | (Fried 2010) |
| 4 | Turkish | Turkic | (Göksel and Kerslake 2005) |
-

Austro-Asiatic

- | | | | |
|---|--------|-------|-----------------|
| 5 | Kharia | Munda | (Peterson 2011) |
|---|--------|-------|-----------------|
-

Austronesian

- | | | | |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 6 | Sri Lanka Malay | Malayo-Sumbawan | (Nordhoff 2009) |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
-

Dravidian

- | | | | |
|---|-------|--------------------|----------------|
| 7 | Tamil | Southern Dravidian | (Lehmann 1993) |
|---|-------|--------------------|----------------|
-

Indo-European

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|----------|--|
| 8 | Albanian | Albanian | (Newmark, Prifti, and Hubbard 1982; Buchholz and Fiedler 1987; Zymberi 2004) |
| 9 | Armenian | Armenian | (Dum-Tragut 2009; Andonian 2005) |
| 10 | Dameli | Iranian | (Perder 2013) |
| 11 | Domari | Indic | (Matras 2012) |
| 12 | German | Germanic | (Hentschel and Weydt 2003) |
| 13 | Irish | Celtic | (Stenson 2008a; Stenson 2008b) |
| 14 | Palula | Dardic | (Liljegren 2016) |
| 15 | Rajbanshi | Iranian | (Wilde 2008) |
-

Isolate

- | | | | |
|----|--------|---------|---|
| 16 | Basque | Isolate | (de Rijk 2008; Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003) |
|----|--------|---------|---|
-

Nakh-Dagestanian

- | | | | |
|----|-------|--------|--|
| 17 | Aghul | Lezgif | (Ganenkov, Maisak, and Merdanova 2009) |
|----|-------|--------|--|
-

Sino-Tibetan

- | | | | |
|----|--------------|-----------|----------------|
| 18 | Ao (Mongsen) | Kuki-Chin | (Coupe 2007) |
| 19 | Lepcha | Lepcha | (Plaisir 2006) |
-

Uralic

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|-------|------------------------------------|
| 20 | Hungarian | Ugric | (Kenesei, Vago, and Fenyvesi 1998) |
|----|-----------|-------|------------------------------------|
-

Das Sample. Papunesien

Austro-Asiatic

1 Papuan Malay Malayo-Sumbawan (Kluge 2017)

Austronesian

2 Agta Greater Central Philippine (Robinson 2008)
3 Biak South Halmahera (van den Heuvel 2006)
4 Maori Oceanic (Eastern Polynesian) (Harlow 2012)
5 Rapa Nui Oceanic (Centr. East. Polynesian) (Kieviet 2017; Weber 2003)
6 Siar Lak Oceanic (Rowe 2005)
7 Sye Oceanic (Southern Melanesian) (Crowley 1998)
8 Tongan Oceanic (Nuclear Polynesian) (Völkel 2010; Churchward 1985)
9 Yapese Yapese (Jensen 1977)

Oksapmin

10 Oksapmin Oksapmin (Loughnane 2009)

Sepik

11 Alambak Sepik Hill (Bruce 1979)

Skou

12 Skou Western Skou (Donohue 2004)

Solomons East Papuan

13 Lavukaleve Lavukaleve (Terrill 2003)

Timor-Alor-Pantar

14 Abui Greater Alor (Kratochvil 2007)

Trans-New Guinea

15 Menya Angan (Whitehead 2006)

Das Sample. Australien

Bunuban			
1	Gooniyandi	Bunuban	(McGregor 1990)

Gunwinyguan			
2	Wubuy	Nunggubuyu	(Heath 1984)

Mangarrayi-Maran			
3	Mangarrayi	Mangarrayi	(Merlan 1989)

Maningrida			
4	Curagone	Bureran	(Green 1995)

Mirndi			
5	Jingulu	Djingili	(Pensalfini 1997)

Nyulnyulan			
6	Bardi	Nyulnyulan	(Bower 2004)
7	Warrwa	Nyulnyulan	(McGregor 1994b)

Pama-Nyungan			
8	Diyari	Central Pama-Nyungan	(Austin 2011)
9	Duuridjawa	Southeastern Pama-Nyungan	(Kite and Wurm 2004)
10	Martuthunira	Western Pama-Nyungan	(Dench 1994)
11	Yankuntjatjara	Western Pama-Nyungan	(Goddard 1985)
12	Yolngu	Yolngu	(Wilkinson 1991)

Worrorran			
13	Gunin	Worrorran	(McGregor 1994a)

Yangmanic			
14	Wardaman	Yangmanic	(Merlan 1994)

Das Sample. Nord-Amerika

Algic			
1	Blackfoot	Algonquian	(Taylor 1969; Frantz 1991)
Hokan			
2	Chimariko	Chimariko	(Jany 2009)
Mayan			
3	Ch'ol	Mayan	(Vázquez Alvarez 2011)
Misulmalpan			
4	Sumu (Mayangna)	Misumalpan	(Norwood 1997)
Mixe-Zoque			
5	Zoque	Mixe-Zoque	(Johnson 2000)
Muskogean			
6	Koasati	Muskogean	(Kimball 1985)
Oto-Manguean			
7	Chatino (Teotepecan)	Zapotecan	(McIntosh 2011)
Salishan			
8	Halkomelem	Central Salish	(Suttles 2004)
Siouan			
9	Crow	Core Siouan	(Graczyk 2007)
10	Lakota	Core Siouan	(Van Valin 1977; Ingham 2003; Rood and Taylor 1996)
Totonacan			
11	Tepehua	Totonacan	(Kung 2007)
Uto-Aztecan			
12	Cupeño	California Uto-Aztecan	(Hill 2006)
13	Tarahumara	Tarahumaran	(Cohen 1998)
14	Ute	Numic	(Givón 2011)
Wakashan			
15	Nuuchahnulth	Southern Wakashan	(Davidson 2002)

Xinkan

Das Sample. Süd-Amerika

Arawakan

1	Arawak	Caribbean Arawakan	(Pet 2011)
2	Asheninka Perené	Pre-Andine Maipuran	(Mihás 2010)
3	Bare	Inland North. Arawakan	(Aikhenvald 1995)
4	Baure	Bolivia-Parana	(Danielsen 2007)
5	Parecis	Central Arawakan	(Barros Brandão 2014)
6	Wayuu	Wayuu	(Álvarez 2017)

Cariban

7	Carib	Cariban	(Courtz 2008)
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Choco

8	Epena Pedee	Choco	(Harms 1994)
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Macro-Ge

9	Apinayé	Ge-Kaingang	(Cunha de Oliveira 2005)
10	Karajá	Karajá	(Ribeiro 2012)

Nambikwaran

11	Sabanê	Sabanê	(Antunes de Araujo 2004)
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Tucanoan

12	Cubeo	Tucanoan	(Chacon 2012)
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