

On headedness and coordination: noun phrase conjunction in head-final languages

Jan-Wouter Zwart
University of Groningen

LAGB Annual Meeting, Cambridge, September 2, 2005

1. Introduction: context of the research

- (1) Minimalist hypothesis: language faculty builds up structure by recursively applying Merge
- (2) Merge = application of α to β yielding $\langle \alpha, \beta \rangle$ (i.e. asymmetric)
- (3) General idea: Merge α to β turns β into the dependent of α
- (4) Question: is linear order a direct translation of the dependency relation, s.t. $\langle \alpha, \beta \rangle = / \alpha \beta /$?
- (5) If the complement is a dependent of the head, a positive answer to (4) implies universal head-initial structure (cf. Kayne 1994)
- (6) Given the possibility of movement, (4) can only be studied in 'primitive syntactic objects' such as juxtapositions and concatenations
- (7) Is coordination head-initial? Look at coordination in head-final languages.

(8) *Hmar, Sino-Tibetan*

- a. bimɔl-in fà:k á tùm thù á hril
 Bimol-erg eat 3sg intend comp 3sg tell
 'Bimol says that he intends to eat.'
- b. à hún à **cún** thú-cù á hún hril
 3sg come 3sg and message-def 3sg come tell
 'He came and told the message.'

2. Sample

- ! 164 languages
- ! variety sample
- ! 19 families (Ruhlen 1991) + 3 additional categories (isolates, pidgins/creoles, sign languages)
- ! slight underrepresentation of Niger-Kordofanian (large/homogeneous), Austric (id.), and Indo-Pacific (scarcity of data)
- ! currently being upgraded to a 215 language sample of 97 families (Gordon 2005)

3. Quantitative analysis

- (9) Head-initial/final based on position of V and/or P w.r.t. their complement

	V AND P CLEAR			V OR P CLEAR		UNCLEAR
	CONVERGING	DIVERGING		V	P	
		V	P			
INITIAL	65	4	1	10	2	
FINAL	49	1	4	13	5	
TOTAL=164	114	5		23	7	15

(10) In sum

	NUMBER OF LGS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
HEAD-INITIAL	77	47
HEAD-FINAL	67	41
UNCLEAR/DIVERGING	20	12
TOTAL	164	100

(11) Position of monosyndetic conjunction (n = noun phrase, c = clause)

- a. **A & B = [A [& B]]** = INITIAL
 b. **A B & = [A [B &]]** = FINAL

	&N AND &C CLEAR			&N OR &C CLEAR		UNCLEAR
	CONVERGING	DIVERGING		&n	&c	
		&n	&c			
INITIAL	94	0	2	31	9	
FINAL	2	2	0	11	0	
TOTAL	96	2		42	9	36

NB1 some languages display more than one pattern

NB2 unclear = no data (16) + hard to classify, mostly polysyndetic (20)

(12) In sum

	NUMBER OF LGS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
&-INITIAL	134	82
&-FINAL	13	8
UNCLEAR/DIVERGING	38	23

NB the numbers don't add up because languages may display more than one pattern

(13) Provisional conclusions:

- Final conjunctions are rare
- Final clause conjunctions are exceedingly rare
- If a conjunct is marked, it is the second conjunct
- If the conjunct is marked by a head/linker, it precedes its complement

(14) What about Latin?

- senatus populus-*que* romanus (common inscription)
 senate people-and roman
 'the Senate and the people of Rome'
- ingenia fecunda totius-*que* naturae capacia (Plinius, *Nat. Q.* 2, 190)
 mind_{NTR:PL} prolific:NTR.PL entire:GEN-and nature:GEN able to grasp:NTR.PL
 'minds that are prolific and able to grasp the entire universe'
- obtestantur per amicitiam per-*que* sua antea fideliter acta
 beseech:3PL by friendship through-and 3SG:POSS before loyally perform:PART.PERF
 'they beg in the name of (their) friendship and their prior loyal behavior' (Sallustius, *Jug* 71,5)

(15) *-que* is a 'second position' initial conjunction

(16) *2P initial conjunctions in the sample*

Amharic, Evenki, Fon, Hausa, Kalasha-ala, Lezgian, Turkish, Wardaman, West-Greenlandic

(17) *West Greenlandic, Eskimo-Aleut*
 ippassaq tikip-put aqagu=lu ikinnguta-at tiki-ssa-put(Fortescue 1984:120)
 yesterday arrive-3PL:IND tomorrow=and friend their-PL arrive-FUT-3PL:IND
 'They arrived yesterday and their friends will arrive tomorrow.'

(18) *Turkish, Turkic, Altaic*
 Hasan iş-in-e git-ti Ali ev-in-e dön-dü
 H work-3SG-DAT go-PAST A house-3SG-DAT return-PAST

 ben-de park-ta kal-dı-m (Kornfilt 1997:109)
 I-and park-LOC stay-PAST-1SG

 'Hasan went to work, Ali returned home, and I stayed in the park.'

(19) 'postpositive' conjunctions ([**A=& B**], Haspelmath 2000) invariably seem to involve cliticization, no evidence for head-final structure

4. Qualitative analysis

(20) *Three types of noun phrase conjunction* (Mithun 1988, Stassen 2003, Haspelmath 2000)
 a. *and* coordination (conjunctive strategy)
 b. *with* coordination (comitative strategy)
 c. *also/they* coordination (summary strategy)

(21) *Abun, West Papuan: comitative*
 Apner git sugit si Fredik si Musa (Berry & Berry 1999:97)
 Apner eat food with Fredik with Musa
 'Apner dined with Fredik and Musa.'

(22) *Kalasha-ala, Nuristani: summary*
 zaga, iştri, şarṃal di sārōt ? (Degener 1998:161)
 son wife cattle also healthy
 'Are (your) son, wife, and cattle healthy?'

(23) *Baule, Kwa: comitative + summary*
 wūsī kpongbo nī sɛ be nū (Timyan 1976:261)
 wash:IMP basin with pot 3PL inside
 'Wash the basins and pots.'

(24) *Elements used in the summary strategy:*
 a. copula (Hualapai, Paumarí, Wari)
 b. number expression or 'together' (Barasano, Daga, Enets, Kham)
 c. pronoun (Amele, Baram Kayan, Baule, Mapudungu)
 d. focus marker (Amharic, Baram Kayan, Barasano, Kalasha-ala, Kham, Slave, Wari', Western Desert Language)

(25) *Final &n: type of coordination strategy*

LANGUAGE	AND	COMITATIVE	SUMMARY
Barasano (Jones & Jones 1991:134)			X
Enets (Künnap 1999:38)			X
Hualapai (Watahomigie et al 1999:414)		(X)	X
Ika (Frank 1990:38)		X	
Kalasha-ala (Degener 1998:161,166)	X		X
Ket (Werner 1997:321)		X	

Kolyma Yukaghir (Maslova 2003:313,318)		X	
Logbara (Crazzolara 1960:100)	X?	X	X
Navaho (Reichard 1974:322-323)		X	
Paumarí (Chapman & Derbyshire 1991:189)			X
Slave (Rice 1989:1066)		X	X
Tubu (Lukas 1953:166)	X		X
Wari' (Everett & Kern 1997:164-165)			X
W Desert Language (Glass & Hackett 1970:66)		X	X
Yaqui (Dedrick & Casad 1999:363)		X	X?

- (26) *Kalasha-ala, Nuristani*
- a. e meši ye e muša (productive) (Degener 1998:166)
a woman and a man
- b. meši-moša-y (fixed expression) (Degener 1998:166)
women-men-and
'men and women'

- (27) *Logbara, Central Sudanic*
- à mu èri pie àkú-a (Crazzolara 1960:100)
we go he and home-to
'I went home with [sic] him.'

NB, the inclusory effect (a plural pronoun used for a singular one under coordination) is almost exclusively found with the comitative strategy, suggesting *pie* is not simply 'and'.

- (28) *Tubu, Saharan (Kaširda dialect)*
- wúden arkó ye (Lukas 1953:166)
gazelle goat and

NB, other dialects have *A ye B* or *A ye B ye*, which is also used in complex numerals.

- (29) **Generalization**
No language in the sample uses final *and*-conjunctions exclusively

- (30) **Idealization**
And-conjunctions are always initial

- (31) Initial *and*-conjunction next to final comitative/summary conjunction:

- a. *Kalasha-ala, Nuristani* (22) vs. (26)
- b. *Ket*
ətna hissij-diŋta ɔn' qɪ:n, s'ɛʔn haj qo'n duyi'n'
1PL:POSS forest?-NONMASC:SG:ADESS many elk:PL reindeer:PL and bear:PL live:3PL
'In our forest live many elks, reindeer and bears.' (Werner 1997:321)
- c. *Kolyma Yukaghir*
tudā taŋdjet odul-pe kereke-pul-n'e tāhile erpeje-pul-n'e
that.time CA Yukaghir-PL Koryak-PL-COM and Even-PL-COM[=RECIP]
kimd'i-nun-nji (Maslova 2003:319)
fight-HAB-3PL:INTR

'That is how Yukaghirs fought with Evens and Koryaks long ago.'

(32) Mithun (1988):

the comitative construction is “originally used to circumvent coordinate noun phrases”, an elaboration of a more basic asyndetic construction which has a similar purpose. Mithun notes that “conjoined noun phrases are actually relatively rare in spontaneous discourse, (...) considerably rarer than conjoined clauses” (1988:337). The observation Mithun makes is that in narrative, distinct entities are preferably introduced by distinct information units, e.g. separate clauses, after which they can be referred to by plural pronouns. This suggests that juxtapositions/summary constructions and comitative constructions are not strictly speaking coordinations

5. The diachronic dimension

(33) Grammaticalization of comitative markers as conjunctions

postpositional languages (where COM = postposition)	56
of these, using comitative strategy	21
of these, comitative element becomes initial conjunction	15

(34) *Languages deriving initial conjunctions from postpositional comitative elements*

Burmese	Kinnauri	Navaho
Dogon	Kokborok	Northern Qiang
Haida	Ladakhi	Slave
Japanese	Lavukaleve	Suppire
Ket	Mikir	Turkish

NB, two others (Kobon, Amele) have developed a bisyndetic coordination pattern, which also involves the introduction of an initial conjunction.

(35) *Japanese, Korean-Japanese*

- a. Mary ga John to kekkonsita (Kuno 1973:116)
 Mary NOM John with married
 ‘Mary married John.’
- b. John to Mary ga kekkonsita (Kuno 1973:116)
 John with Mary NOM married
 ‘John and Mary married.’

(36) *Kinnauri, Himalayish, Sino-Tibetan*

- a. əŋ rəŋ doː chaŋ due (Sharma 1988:91)
 1SG:GEN with 3SG:GEN son be:3PAST
 ‘His son was with me.’
- b. gə rəŋ ki bi-tič (Sharma 1988:182)
 1SG:DIR and you:HON go-FUT:1DU.INCL.HON
 ‘I and you will go.’

(37) *Kokborok, Jingpho-Konyak-Bodo, Sino-Tibetan*

- a. ram bi-bi-bay phay-anu (Pai 1976:56)
 Ram his-elder.sister-with come-will
 ‘Ram will come with his elder sister.’
- b. bə-bay bə-ta baʃar-ɔ̄ thaŋ-ɔ̄ (Pai 1976:86)
 3HUM-and his-elder.brother market-to go-PRES
 ‘He and his elder brother are going to the market.’

(38) *Northern Qiang, Sino-Tibetan*
 a. qa khumtsi-*ŋa* tiantse-*ba* ka: (LaPolla 2003:96)
 1SG Khumtsi-COM store-LOC go:PROSP:1SG
 'I am going to the store with Khumtsi.'

b. mutsi^ʃu-*ŋa*-tugant^ʃu zəpəq-ta ho-lu-*ɑ*:ji (LaPolla 2003:95)
 Mutsi^ʃu-COM-Tugant^ʃu earth-LOC DIR-come-PROSP-CHST
 'Mutitsu and Tugantsu wanted to come to earth.'

NB, PROSP = prospective aspect, CHST = change of state marker

(39) *Mikir, Sino-Tibetan*
 a. la-*pen* na corapnon (Jeyapaul 1987:76)
 3SG-ASS 2SG eat
 'You eat with him.'

b. notbuk, kitap *pen* penchil (Jeyapaul 1987:135)
 notebook book and pencil

(40) *Lavukaleve, East Papuan, Indo-Pacific*
 a. ma-mita'keu-mal va vo-*ne* (Terrill 2003:159)
 3PL.POSS-dog-PL PL.DEF 3PL-with
 'with their dogs'

b. airal mima e-*ma-re* vo-mal nala
 man:DU way of life_{NTR} 3SG.NTR.OB-take-INF come-DU MASC.DU.DEF
 finala Sepo *ne* Laumate (Terrill 2003:160)
 3DU.MASC.FOC S_{MASC} and L_{MASC}

'The two men who brought the church were Sepo and Laumate.'

(41) *Slave, Athabaskan, Na-Dene*
 a. ʔjyɛ bee *hé* tadjhwee (Rice 1989:1073)
 meat knife with 2SG:cut
 'You cut the meat with the knife.'

b. hɲií tsá *hé* tehk'ái kwik'íi t'áh kagenjwe (Rice 1989:1067)
 past beaver with muskrat gun with 3PL:hunted
 'In the past, people hunted beaver and muskrat with guns.'

(42) *Haida, Na-Dene*
 a. kilraad-*ʔad* xàaydas-*ʔad* tlljing xàaydaraay-*ʔad* hllnagid
 Tsimshians-with Haidas-with Bellabellas-with Tlingits
 gud-*ʔilaa* gina-ra suu-s-ii (Skidegate; Enrico 2003:1080)
 REC-different thing-PP sing-PR-TC

'Tsimshians and Haidas and Bellabellas and Tlingits were singing different songs.'

b. kyaa.n q'aal-gee-*rahl* taaw-ee-*ʔisan* 'la gya.alati'a.a-gan
 can empty-DF-with food-DF-too 3PL bring-PA
 'She brought the empty cans and the food.' (Masset; Enrico 2003:1081)

(43) *Turkish, Turkic, Altaic*
 a. Hasan Ali-*yle* opera-ya git-ti-*∅* (Kornfilt 1997:115)
 H A-with opera-DAT go-PAST-3SG
 'Hasan went to the opera with Ali.'

- b. Ali-yle Zeynep dün sinema-ya git-ti-ler (Kornfilt 1997:114)
 A-with Z yesterday cinema-DAT go-PAST-3PL
 'Ali and Zeynep went to the cinema yesterday.'

5.1 Other final elements developing into initial conjunctions

! focus markers

- (44) *Lezgian, Northeast Caucasian*
 a. Zun-ni q^hüre-na (Haspelmath 1993:328)
 1sg:abs-also smile-AOR
 'I also smiled.'

- b. Isa-di-ni Ali-di sada-sada-w ğil-er wuga-na (Haspelmath 1993:327)
 Isa-ERG-CONJ Ali-ERG one-one-ADESS hand-PL give-AOR
 'Isa and Ali shook hands.'

- (45) *Kayardild, Pama-Nyungan, Australian*
 a. ngada ban (Evans 1995:395)
 1SG.NOM too

- b. riya-thi nga-rr-a banga-y kabathaa-th bana banga-a bana banga-a
 east-REM 1-DU-NOM turtle-MLOC catch-ACT and turtle-NOM and turtle-NOM
 bana banga-a (Evans 1995:394)
 and turtle-NOM

'Way in the east we two caught turtles and turtles and turtles and turtles.'
 MLOC = modal locative case, expressing 'instantiated' modality

- (46) *Monguor*
 a. mori nige da uguā (De Smedt & Mostaert 1964:51)
 horse one also not exist
 'There is not a single horse.'

- b. mori da rdžigeni xulōx (De Smedt & Mostaert 1964:163)
 horse and donkey hitch.up
 'Hitch up the horse and the donkey.'

! Noncomitative postpositions

- (47) *Ainu, Korean-Japanese*
 a. nupuri ka wa hotuyapa (Tamura 2000:133)
 hills top.of from call.in.loud.voice
 'Someone called in a loud voice from the top of the mountain.'

- b. otcike huraye wa pirpa (Tamura 2000:149)
 tray wash and wipe
 'Wash and wipe the tray.'

! Suffixes

- (48) *Amharic, Semitic, Afro-Asiatic*
 kā-gäbäya čäw-ənnä bārbärre amätṭa^wh (Leslau 2002:154)
 from-market salt-and pepper I:brought
 'I brought salt and pepper from the market.'

- (49) *Tauya, Adelbert Range, Indo-Pacific*
 fei-ti ya-tu-a-ʔa (MacDonald 1990:247)
 boil-CONJ 1SG-give-3SG-IND
 'She cooked it and gave it to me.'
- (50) *Kiowa, Tanoan*
 a. báò: ø-né-dò: gɔ́ mí: ø-né-p'òy
 cat 2/3SG.AG-1SG.PAT:DU.OB-be and:SS almost 2/3SG.AG-1SG.PAT:DU.OB-lose:PERF
 'They are my cats and I almost lost them.' (Watkins 1980:293)
- b. ò:pàl sép ø-cándé-à: nò pàhí: bà-t'á:dáy
 closer rain 3SG-arrive-coming and:DS clearly 2PL-get wet:PERF
 'The rain is getting closer and it's obvious that we'll get wet.' (Watkins 1980:272)
- c. mà:yí gɔ́ k'yá:hí:
 woman and man (Watkins 1980:288)

! Verbs

- (51) *Suppire, North Central Niger-Congo, Niger-Kordofanian*
 a. Uru na ŋ-káágé sà ù kàcìiyí bàrà Bàmβεμε wúyi
 he:EMPH PROG INTR-go:IMPF go his bones:DEF add Babemba POSS:DEF(IISG)
 na Sogo Kanha na (Carlson 1994:267)
 on Sikasso town at
 'He was going to go add his bones to Babemba's in Sikasso.'
- b. Mu bàrà mìl na, wùù sí ñ-kàrè Sukwoo na (Carlson 1994:268)
 you add me on we FUT FUT-go Sikasso at
 'You and I, we will go to Sikasso.'

6. Other cases of head-final languages using initial conjunctions

- (52) *Kolyma Yukaghir, Uralic-Yukaghir*
 pajpe tãhile mēmē (Maslova 2003:318)
 woman CA bear
 'The woman and the bear.'
- (53) *Kabardian, West Caucasian*
 p'šə-k'wəz (Colarusso 1992: 159)
 ten-plus-one
 'eleven'
- (54) *Logbara, Central Sudanic, Nilo-Saharan*
 mōōdrí dri-nī àlō (Crazzolara 1960:38)
 ten on-it one
 'eleven'
- (55) *Mao Naga, Kuki-Chin-Naga, Sino-Tibetan*
 okhro kaxi ye khodu kali (Giridhar 1994:454)
 dao two and gun one
 'two daos and a gun'
- (56) *Central Asmat, Trans New Guinea, Indo-Pacific*
 Juwúr enërim Ew (Voorhoeve 1965:172)
 dog and crocodile
 [story title]

- (57) *Canela, Ge-Pano-Carib*
 capi me kryt ma tē (Popjes & Popjes 1986:150)
 Capi and Kryt away go
 'Capi and Kryt go away.'
- (58) *Basque, isolate*
 lagun eta ahaide-ei agur egi-n d-∅-ie-∅
 friend and relative-PL:DAT salute make-PERF 3ABS-PRES:AUX2-3PL:DAT-3SG:ERG
 'He has greeted his friends and family.' (Saltarelli 1988:90)
- (59) *Ket, isolate: (31b)*
- (60) *Daga, Trans New-Guinea, Indo-Pacific*
 wata ge manapawa (Murane 1974:95)
 yesterday and day before yesterday
 'yesterday and the day before yesterday'

6.1 Conjunctions borrowed into head-final languages

- (61) *Djingili, Australian*
 ŋargu'lii an ŋuilaimbirgari (Chadwick 1975:97)
 Tommy and Ned
 an < English and
- (62) *Lezgian, Northeast Caucasian*
 gūzel wa č'exi šeher (Haspelmath 1993:330)
 beautiful CONJ big city
 'a beautiful and big city'
 wa < Turkic < Arabic wa
- (63) *Turkish, Turkic, Altaic*
 sen ve ben (Lewis 1986:206)
 you and I
 ve < Arabic wa
- (64) *Generalization*
 Borrowed conjunctions are invariably initial

7. Bisyndetic conjunction

- (65) *Amele, Madang, Indo-Pacific*
 Banag ca Bunag ca ale due bele-si-a (Roberts 1987:105)
 B add B add 3DU dance go-3DU-HOD.PAST
 'Banag and Bunag have gone to the dance.'
- (66) *Generalization*
 If there is an unmarked monosyndetic counterpart to bisyndetic conjunction, it is initial.
- (67) *Marind, Trans New-Guinea, Indo-Pacific*
 a. nok namèk a nok namùk a (Drabbe 1955:135)
 1SG brother and 1SG sister and
 'my brother and my sister'
- b. inah a izakod (Drabbe 1955:26)
 two and one
 'three'

- (68) *Daga, Trans New-Guinea, Indo-Pacific: involving summary strategy*
- a. nenip Bure ge nenip Dukuik dere (Murane 1974:94)
 bird Bure and bird Dukuik two
 'the Bure bird and the Dukuik bird'
- b. wata ge manapawa (Murane 1974:95)
 yesterday and day before yesterday
 'yesterday and the day before yesterday'

8. Head-initial languages using final conjunctions?

The only candidates seem to involve the summary strategy:

- (69) *Eastern Kayah Li, Karen, Sino-Tibetan*
- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------|---------|--------|---------|----------|---------|
| vē | ʔomā | kā | Mòphrè | né Pímò | sī | klēmēkū |
| 1SG | lie down | COM.PRT | Mophre | NE Pimo | and them | between |
- 'I slept between Mophre and Pimo.' (Solnit 1997:171)
- (70) *Mapudungu, Andean*
- | | | | |
|---------|--------|--------|--------------------|
| (iñché) | eymi | inchiu | i-y-u |
| I | you:SG | we:DU | eat-IND-1NONGSG-DU |
- 'You and I ate.' (Smeets 1989:177)

9. Conclusion

- (71) a. *and*-conjunctions are universally initial
 b. there appears to be a universal developmental path from final comitative and summary elements to initial conjunctions
 c. borrowed conjunctions are universally initial
 d. where polysyndetic conjunction has an unmarked monosyndetic counterpart, it is always of the initial type
- (72) In the domain of coordination, head-final languages have a strong preference for head-initial structure

Appendix: list of languages in the sample

Khoisan: !Kung, [to be decided]; *Niger-Kordofanian*: Krongo, Soninke, Toucouleur, Temne, Grebo, Dogon, Nateni, Suppire, Mundang, Ngbaka, Kalabari, Baule, Fon, Yoruba, Degema, Igbo, Jukun, Ibibio, Duka, Birom, Tiv, Tikar, Limbum, Ewondo, Kikuyu, Nkore-Kiga; *Nilo-Saharan*: Dilling, Lango, Logbara, Tubu, Songhai; *Afro-Asiatic*: Kabyle, Lele, Margi, Hausa, Kafa, Iraqw, Gulf Arabic, Amharic; *Kartvelian*: Georgian; *North Caucasian*: Kabardian, Lezgian; *Indo-Hittite*: Gojri, Kalasha-ala, Dimli, Portuguese, Breton, Dutch, Russian, Albanian; *Uralic*: Kolyma Yukaghir, Enets, Hungarian; *Altaic*: Turkish, Monguor, Evenki; *Korean-Japanese*: Ainu, Japanese; *Chukchi-Kamchatkan*: Chukchi; *Eskimo-Aleut*: West Greenlandic, Aleut; *Dravidian*: Brahui, Abujhmaria, Tamil; *Sino-Tibetan*: Cantonese, Ladakhi, Kinnauri, Kham, Kokborok, Eastern Kayah, Mao Naga, Burmese, Digaru, Northern Qiang, Mikir; *Austic*: [to be decided], Bhumij, Vietnamese, Chrau, Khmer, Temiar, Kam, Tsou, Chamorro, Tagalog, Ivatan, Hiligaynon, Mongondow, Muna, Baram Kayan, Malagasy, Sama, Acehnese, Toba Batak, Roti, Kambera, East Makian, Lusi, Kilivila, Loni, Tiri, Sie, Iaai, Ponapean, North Efate, Fijian, Samoan; *Indo-Pacific*: Nabak, Kobon, Central Asmat, Marind, Daga, Amele, Tauya, Eipo, Nimboran, Abun, Arapesh, Abelam, Yimas, Lavukaleve, [to be decided]; *Australian*: Dyrbal, Kayardild, Western Desert Language, Djingili, Wardaman, Gooniyandi; *Na-Dene*: Slave, Navaho, Tlingit, Haida; 'Amerind': Eastern Ojibway, Nootka, Tuscarora, Yokuts, Cakchiquel, Coos, Hualapai, Kiowa, Yaqui, Chalcatongo Mixtec, Ika, Saija, Mapudungu, Barasano, Guarani, Paumari, Wari, Hixkaryana, Kadiweu, Canela; *Isolates*: Basque, Burushaski, Ket, Nivkh; *Pidgins/creoles*: Ndyuka, Mauricien, Naga Pidgin, Cape Verdean Creole; *Sign Languages*: American Sign Language.

Faculty of Arts, P.O. Box 716, NL-9700 AS Groningen, The Netherlands
 zwart@let.rug.nl ! <http://www.let.rug.nl/~zwart/>