

A SEMANTIC MAP OF PLURACTIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

THE PROJECT

- A PhD Thesis (Universities of Pavia/Bergamo) that investigates the under-studied phenomenon known as **PLURACTIONALITY** from a typological perspective.
- It is a large scale typological study based on the cross-linguistic comparison of a sample composed by 240 languages (cf. Appendix on the handout).
- The **SAMPLE** is a variety/convenience sample based on the WALS 200-language sample available online (cf. <http://wals.info/languoid/samples/200>), and the 194-language sample of Chapter 80 of WALS, “Verbal Number and Suppletion” (Veselinova 2005).

PLURACTIONALITY

- A term coined by Newman (1980:13) to refer to what was previously known as intensive in Chadic (especially Hausa) tradition. The first definition is by Newman (1990:53):

The essential semantic characteristics of such verbs is almost always plurality or multiplicity of the verb’s action. Newman (1990:53)

- Definition adopted in this work:

Pluractionality is a phenomenon that marks the plurality of the situations (i.e., events and states) encoded by the verb through any linguistic mean that directly modifies the form of the verb itself.

(1) Beng (Mande, Eastern Mande) (Paperno 2014:41)

- a. \check{O} *bè-éló.*
 3SG:ST+ run-PROG
 “He is running”

- b. *Ö* *bè~bé-éíó.*
 3SG:ST+ run~ITER-PROG
 ‘He is running (repeatedly back and forth)’

(2) Squamish (Salishan, Central Salish) (Bar-el 2008:34)

- a. *Chen* *kwelesh-t* *ta* *sxwi7shn*
 1SBJ.SG shoot-TR DET deer
 ‘I shot a deer.’
- b. *Chen* *kwel-kwelesh-t* *ta* *sxwi7shn*
 1SBJ.SG RED-shoot-TR DET deer
 ‘I shot a deer several times/continuously.’

THE FUNCTIONAL DOMAIN OF PLURACTIONALITY

- Cross-linguistically, pluractional constructions express a significant variety of functions.
1. Core functions: necessary to talk about pluractionality. They are: PLURACTIONALITY STRICTO SENSU (ITERATIVITY and FREQUENTATIVITY), DISTRIBUTIVITY, and PARTICIPANT PLURALITY (cf. ex. (3)-(6)).
 2. Additional functions: not necessary, but recurrent. They are: INTENSITY, EVENT-INTERNAL PLURALITY, CONTINUATIVITY, HABITUALITY, GENERIC (or GNOMIC) IMPERFECTIVITY, and RECIPROCITY (cf. ex. (7)-(14)).

(3) Konso (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic): Iterativity.

- a. *ʔifa-ʔ* *ʔinanta-siʔ* *ʔi=tuɠɠuur-ay*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM girl-DEF.F/M 3=push[SG]-PFV[3M]
 ‘He pushed the girl.’ (Ongaye 2013:263)
- b. *ʔifa-ʔ* *ʔinanta-siʔ* *ʔi=tu-tuɠɠuur-ay*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM girl-DEF.F/M 3=PL-push[SG]-PFV[3M]
 ‘He pushed the girl more than once.’ (Ongaye 2013:263)

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(4) Khwe (Khoisan, Central Khoisan): Frequentativity.

tí à bè-è-xú-t-a-tè!

1SG OBJ be.too.heavy-II-COMP-FREQ-I-PRES

‘It is often too heavy for me!’ (Kilian-Hatz 2008:146)

(5) Barasano (Tucanoan, Eastern Tucanoan): Distributivity.

gahe-rĩbĩ- bota-ri kea-kudi-ka-bã idã

other-day post-PL chop-ITER-far^PST-3PL 3PL

‘The next day they went from place to place chopping down posts (for the new house).’

(Jones & Jones 1991:101)

(6) Huichol (Uto-Aztecan, Southern Uto-Aztecan): Participant Plurality.

a. *Nee waakana ne-mec-umi?ii-ri eeki*

1SG chicken.SG 1SG.SBJ-2SG.OBJ-kill.SG-BEN 2.SG

‘I killed the chicken for you.’ (Comrie 1982:113)

b. *Nee waakana-ari ne-mec-uqi?ii-ri eeki*

1SG chicken-PL 1SG.SBJ-3PL.OBJ-kill.PL-BEN 2.SG

‘I killed the chickens for you.’ (Comrie 1982:113)

(7) Sandawe (Khoisan, Hatsa-Sandawe): Habituality.

a. *nì-ŋ hik'-wǎ-ŋ phàkhé-ŋ |'èé-ì*

CNJ-CL go:SG-PL2-L inspect-L look_at.3:NR

‘And he will often go, inspect and have a look at it’ (Steeman 2012:242)

b. *mindà-tà-nà=sì hik'ì-wà*

field-in-to=1SG go:SG-PL2

‘I go to the field.’ (Steeman 2012:188)

(8) Sandawe (Khoisan, Hatsa-Sandawe): Event-Internal Plurality.

a. *gélé-áá |-imé*

Gele-SFOC (sv.)come:SG-IT

‘Gele came repeatedly’ (Steeman 2012:143)

- b. *tsháá=sà xàd-ímé-é*
 pot=3F.SG scrape_out-IT-3OBJ
 ‘She scraped out a pot.’ (Steeman 2012:141)

(9) Rapanui (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian): Continuativity.

- a. *E ha’aki-’aki koe e oho apó*
 STA announce-DUP 2S STA go tomorrow
 ‘You go and show them all around tomorrow.’ (De Feu 1996:162)
- b. *I teki-teki i oho ai*
 PST tiptoe-DUP PST go PHO
 ‘He went tiptoeing along.’ (De Feu 1996:162)

(10) Meithei (Sino-Tibetan, Naga): Generic Imperfectivity.

- a. *nók-kən-pə*
 laugh-REPEAT-NOM
 ‘someone who laughs all the time whether or not there is a joke, as a habit.’
- b. *əy-ti yám-nə pí-kən-pə mí-ni*
 I-DLMTlot-ADV give-REPEAT-NOM man-COP
 I a lot always giving man am
 ‘I am a very generous man.’ (lit. I am a man who always gives a lot) (Chelliah 1997:216)

(11) Yimas (Lower Sepik-Ramu, Lower Sepik): Intensity.

- a. *ya-n-arkark-wampaki-pra-k*
 V.PL.O-3SG.A-break(RED: ark-)-throw-TOWARD-IRR
 ‘He repeatedly broke them and threw them as he came.’ (Foley 1991:319)
- b. *ya-mpu-nanaŋ-tacay-ckam-tuk-mpun*
 V.PL.O-3PL.A-DUR-see(RED: tay-)-show-RM.PAST-3PL.D
 ‘They were showing those to them very well (and they stared at those).’ (Foley 1991:319)

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(12) Turkana (Nilotic, Eastern Nilotic): Completeness.

- a. *-poc* ‘pinch’ → *a-poc-o-poc* ‘pinch repeatedly’
- b. *-ilug* ‘twist’ → *a-k-ilug-u-lug* ‘twist repeatedly’
- c. *-jrl* ‘crumble’ → *a-jrl-r-jrl* ‘crumble completely’
- d. *-ikic* ‘bone out’ → *a-k-ikic-i-kic* ‘bone out completely’ (Dimmendaal 1983:106)

(13) Batak Karo (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian): Emphasis.

- a. *Sapu-sapuna* *kucing* *é*.
(PASS.)stroke-stroke.she cat that
‘She stroked the cat again and again.’ (Woollams 1996:98)
- b. *Peturah-turah* *sitik* *ukurndu*
CAUS.grow-grow SOF mind.your
‘Grow up a bit! (i.e. Act like an adult!)’ (Woollams 1996:98)

(14) Jóola Karon (Atlantic, Bak): Reciprocity.

- a. *Lopeel* *a-muus-ool-a*
Robert 3SG-pass-PLCT-ACC
‘Robert went and came back.’ (adapted from Sambou 2014:150)
- b. *Sana ni* *Faatu* *ka-cuk-ool-a*
Sana and Fatou 3PL-see-RECP-ACC
‘Sana and Fatou saw each other.’ (Sambou 2014:149)

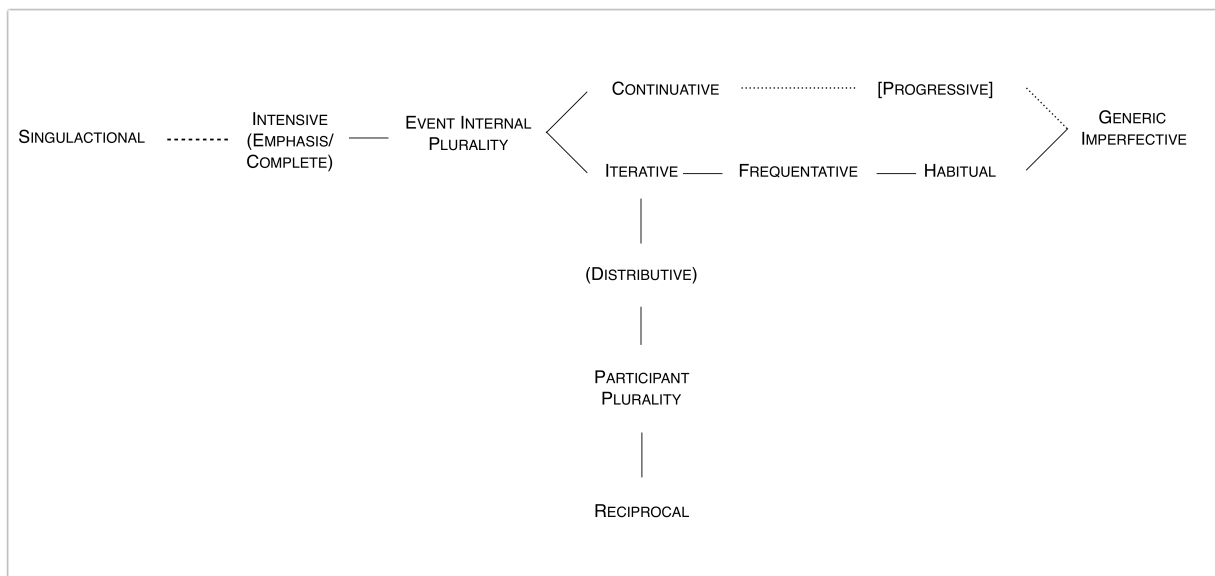
THE SEMANTIC MAP MODEL

- In order to describe and explain such a wide multifunctionality, I adopted the so called **SEMANTIC MAP MODEL** (cf. Croft 2001, Haspelmath 2003).

A semantic map is a geometrical representation of functions in “conceptual/semantic space” that are linked by connecting lines and thus constitute a network. The configuration of functions shown by the map is claimed to be universal. Haspelmath (2003:213)

- An important terminological issue involves the distinction between **CONCEPTUAL SPACE** and **SEMANTIC MAP**: the former is a network of functions of a specific domain and it is universal, the latter is the language-specific expression of the conceptual space.

THE CONCEPTUAL SPACE OF PLURACTIONALITY



HOW DOES PLURACTIONALITY WORK?

- To show how pluractional constructions work in specific languages and to verify the cross-linguistic generalizations, I have analyzed in detail extensive texts of three different languages (corpora analysis).
 1. Akawaio (Cariban, Venezuelan);
 2. Beja (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic);
 3. Maa (Nilo-Saharan, Nilotic).

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PLURACTIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN AKAWAIO

- In Akawaio, the morpheme *-pödi* (and its allomorphs) can express pluractional functions, both core and additional ones.

(15) Akawaio (Cariban, Venezuelan)

naigaza kuru pöröu ennogì-bödi zerö ta-'pì i-ya
 how EMPH arrow shoot-ITER this say-PAST 3-ERG
ji mörö
 EMPH a.i.?

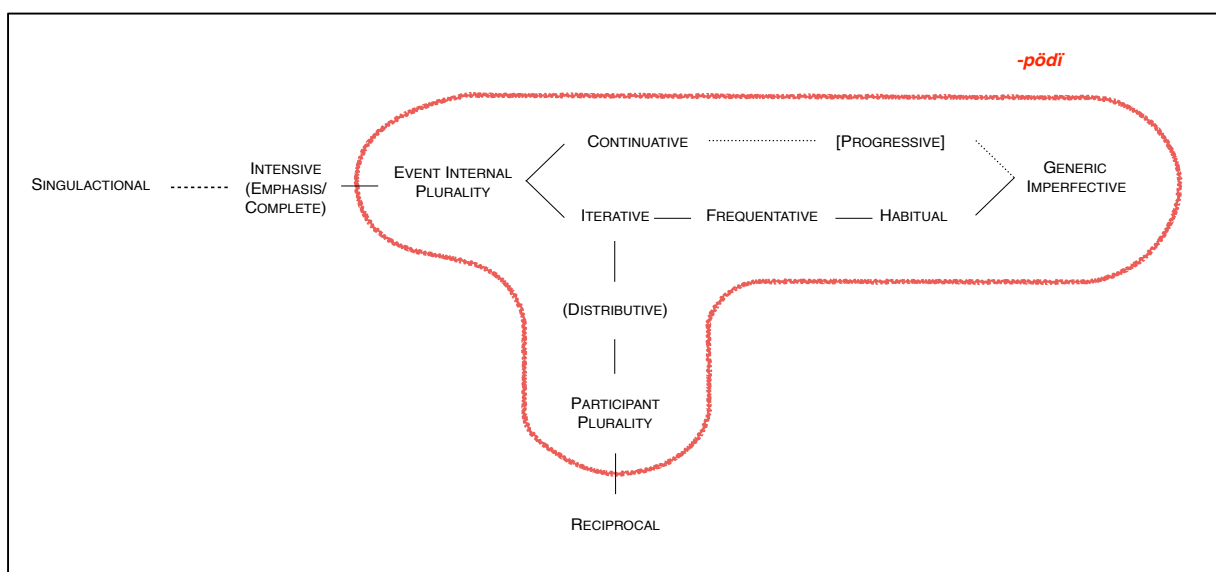
“‘How, really, will we shoot the arrow more than one time?’ he said.’ (RA Piyai'ma Story 033 <106.543>)

- 220 occurrences of *-pödi* that can be grouped in different function-clusters.

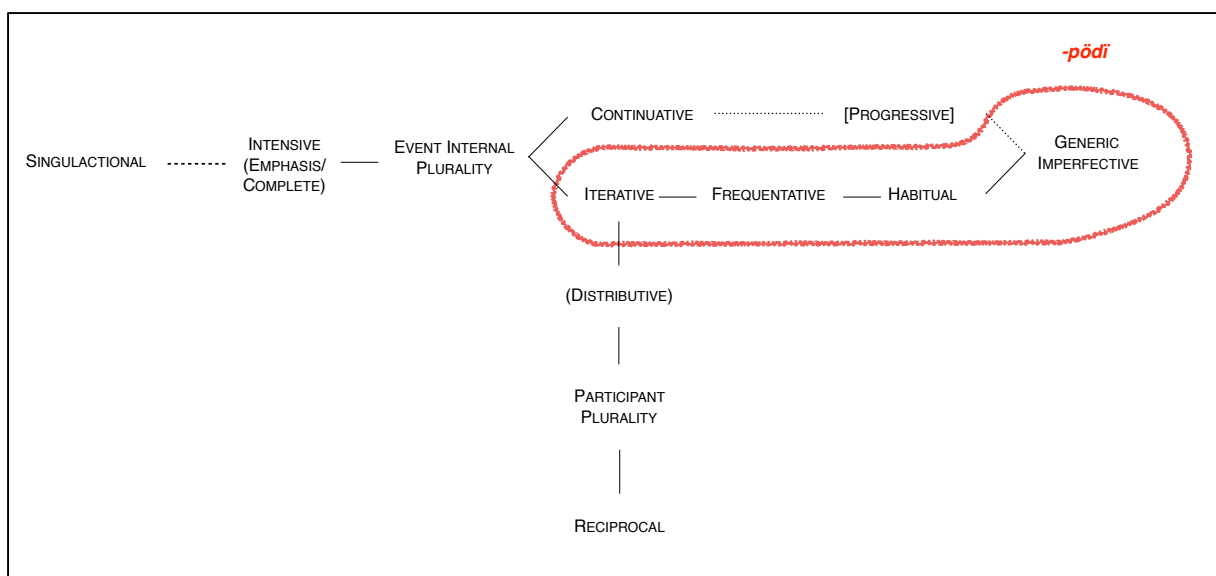
Set(s)	Function(s)	Occurrence(s)
Freq./habituality/generic imperfectivity	<i>frequentative/habitual</i>	101 (45,9 %)
	<i>frequentative</i>	18 (8,2 %)
	<i>habitual</i>	1 (0,4 %)
	<i>generic imperfective</i>	12 (5,4 %)
	<i>frequentative/habitual/generic imperfective</i>	15 (6,8 %)
	Total occurrences	147 (66,7 %)
Iterativity	<i>iterative/frequentative</i>	30 (13,6 %)
	<i>iterative</i>	13 (5,9 %)
	<i>event-internal plurality/iterative</i>	10 (4,5 %)
	Total occurrences	53 (24,0 %)
Participant plurality	<i>Participant plurality</i>	5 (2,3 %)
	<i>Participant plurality/iterative</i>	2 (0,9 %)
	Total occurrences	7 (3,2 %)
Durativity	<i>durative/iterative</i>	4 (1,8 %)

	<i>event-internal</i>	2 (0,9 %)
	<i>plurality/durative/iterative</i>	
	<i>durative(/progressive)</i>	2 (0,9 %)
	Total occurrences	8 (3,6 %)
	Other minimal functions	5 (2,3 %)
	Total occurrences	220 (100 %)

- The (extended) semantic map of pluractional constructions in Akawaio (Cariban, Venezuelan).



- The semantic map of pluractional constructions in Akawaio (Cariban, Venezuelan).



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PLURACTIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN BEJA

- In Beja, two strategies can express pluractional functions.

(16) Beja (Afroasiatic, Cushitic): Ablaut of the verb stem (Intensive).

- a. *ʔawi=b* *jhak-s-an=t* *a-gid*
stone=INDF.M.ACC get_up-CAUS-PFV.1SG=COORD 1SG-throw\PFV
‘I took a stone and threw it.’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_05_eritrea_389)
- b. *ge:d-e:ti* *ho:so:* *ti:-simh=je:b=ka*
throw\INT-CVB.CSL 3SG.ABL 3SG.F-get_rid_of\AOR=REL.M=DISTR
‘Each time she throws stones at it to get rid of it.’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_05_eritrea_147)

(17) Beja (Afroasiatic, Cushitic): Reduplication of the verb stem (Pluractional).

- a. *to:t* *ti=takat* *ti=waw-ti=t*
PROX.SG.F.ACC DEF.F=woman DEF.F=cry-AOR.3SG.F=INDF.F
rh-i=ho:b
see-AOR.3SG.M=when
‘when he saw this woman who was crying,’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_14_sijadok_155)
- b. *tu:=ndi* *ʔakir-a:=t* *wa:w~wa:w-e:ti:t*
DEF.SG.F.NOM=mother be_strong-CVB.MNR=INDF.F PLAC~cry-CVB.ANT
‘the mother having wept a lot’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_13_grave_076)

- 188 occurrences of Intensive and 77 of Pluractional.

Intensive

Function(s)	N° of occurrences	Percentage
Iterative	95	50,5 %
Iterative/Participant plurality	20	10,6 %
Iterative/Frequentative	16	8,5 %

Iterative/Event internal plurality	5	2,7 %
Iterative/Continuative	5	2,7 %
Iterative/Distributive	1	0,5 %
Distributive	1	0,5 %
Participant plurality/Distributive	1	0,5 %
Participant Plurality	9	4,8 %
Frequentative	2	1,1 %
Frequentative/Habitual	17	9,0 %
Successive events	2	1,1 %
Dubious cases	14	7,5 %
Total	188	100 %

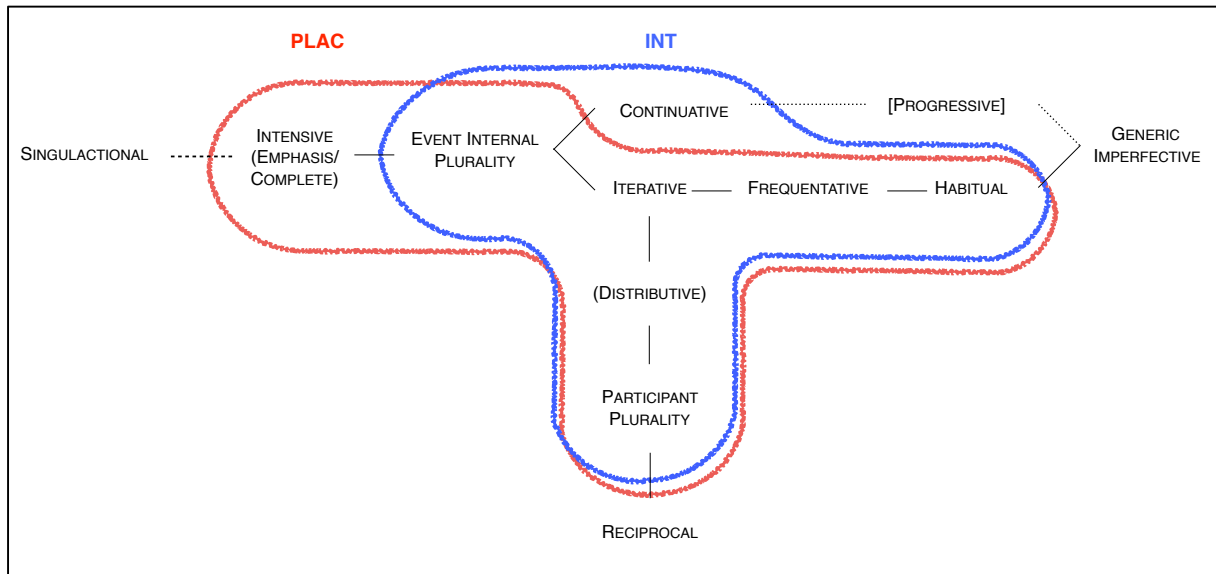
Pluractional

Function(s)	N° of occurrences	Percentage
Iterative	41	53,2 %
Iterative/Frequentative	7	9,1 %
Iterative/Distributive	5	6,5 %
Iterative/Event internal plurality	1	1,3 %
Participant plurality	7	9,1 %
Frequentative/Habitual	2	2,6 %
Intensive	2	2,6 %
Dubious cases	12	15,6 %
Total	77	100 %

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- The semantic map of pluractional constructions in Beja (Afro-Asiatic, Cushitic).



PLURACTIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN MAA

- In Maa, pluractionality is expressed through: (i) stem alternation (verb ‘to go’), and (ii) reduplication (no more productive > lexicalized forms).

(18) Maa (Nilo-Saharan, Nilotic): Stem alternation.

a. *te-n[HL]-è-lo(t) kulîê áñítie*
 OBL-CN1-3-go.SG others.ACC houses.ACC
 ‘when he goes to other homes.’ (elengon2.010b)

b. *n-è-po(n)-í₃ áa₁-ya-ú(n) ílô rínká*
 CN1-3-go.PL-PL INF.PL-take-TOWARD that.MSG.ACC club.ACC
 ‘They went to bring that club,’ (arinkoi.041a)

(19) Maa (Nilo-Saharan, Nilotic): Reduplication.

n[HL]-kí₂-duŋ-i₂-duŋ
 CN1-1PL-cut-EP-cut
 ‘we shall cut it into pieces.’ (arinkoi.011b)

(20) Maa (Nilo-Saharan, Nilotic): Reduplication lexicalized.

[L]- ε- itokitok

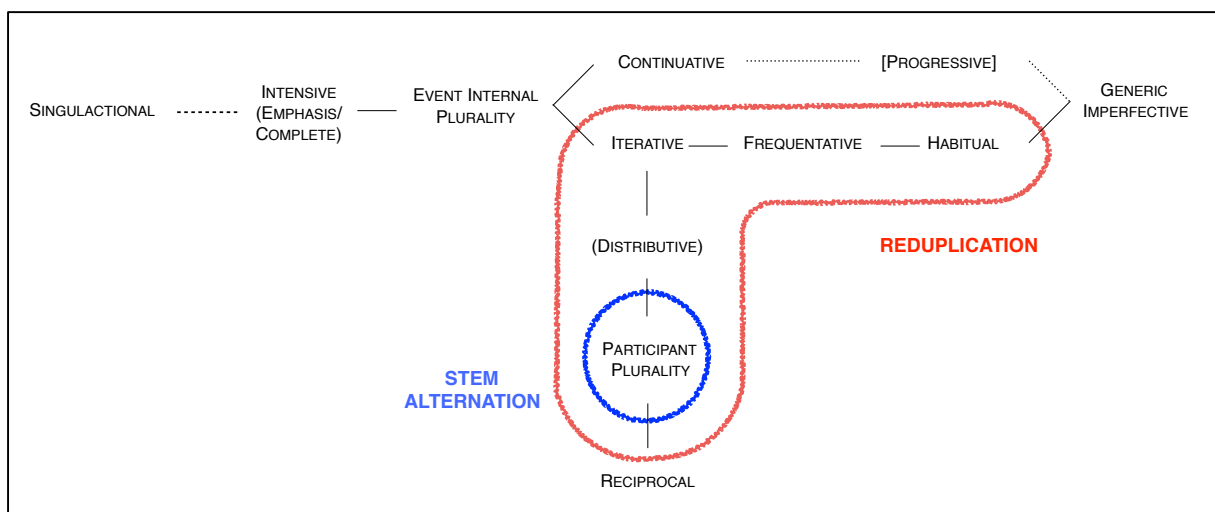
TEMP-3-boil

When it was still boiling' (arinkoi.019b)

- 396 occurrences of the verb 'to go' (238 SG, 158 PL), and 53 of reduplicated verbs.

Functions		N° of occurrences	Percentage
Pluractional	Iterative	9	17,0 %
	Participant plurality	10	18,9 %
	Iterative/Participant plurality	1	1,9 %
	Frequentative	2	3,8 %
	Habitual	1	1,9 %
	Total	23	43,5 %
Lexicalized		25	47,1 %
Textual		4	7,5 %
2 Person plural		1	1,9 %
Total		53	100 %

- The semantic map of pluractional constructions in Maa (Nilo-Saharan, Nilotic).



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- In Maa, the directional AWAY –*áa* sometimes can express pluractional function.

(21) Maa (Nilo-Saharan, Nilotic) (Payne 2013:260)

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|------------|------------------------------|----|-------------------------------|
| a. | <i>a-súj</i> | b. | <i>a-súj-áá</i> | c. | <i>a-súj-ít</i> |
| | INF.SG-follow | | INF.SG-follow-AWAY | | INF.SG-follow-TOWARD |
| | ‘to follow’ | | ‘to follow away’ | | ‘to follow hither’ |
| b. | <i>n[HL]-è-puo(n)</i> | <i>adé</i> | <i>íl=múrrân</i> | | <i>ll-ɔ́ɔ́</i> |
| | CN1-3-go.PL | later | M.PL=warriors.NOM | | M.PSD-PSR.PL.ACC |
| | <i>íl=áíkípiá</i> | | <i>áa₁-puo(n)</i> | | <i>áa₁-ínɔs-áa</i> |
| | M.PL=Laikipia.people.NOM | | INF.PL-go.PL | | INF.PL-tell-AWAY |
| | ‘the Laikipia warriors went to report (tell out/repeatedly)’ (emutata.036b) | | | | |

GRAMMATICAL STATUS OF PLURACTIONALITY

- If we take into consideration the grammatical status of pluractionality in these languages, we can see that the situation is not straightforward:
 1. Akawaio: it can be described as aspectual, but the morpheme *-pödi* can co-occur with real aspectual markers (such as *-bö́k* ‘progressive’);
 2. Beja: it seems to have an independent status within Beja grammar: pluractional constructions are evidently different from aspectual markers. At the same time, there is an interesting parallelism (both formal and semantic) with nominal number.
 3. Maa: though it seems that pluractionality used to be an independent phenomenon, the new incoming pluractional marker is strictly related with motion and directionality.

WHAT IS PLURACTIONALITY?

- In the literature, there are several proposals of conceiving pluractionality from a theoretical point of view, for example: an actional value (cf. Dressler 1968, Cusic 1981), a value of aspect (Corbett 2000), or an independent phenomenon (Corbett 2000).

- They are all correct and incorrect at the same time because pluractionality can be explained only adopting the Radical Construction Grammar approach (cf. Croft 2001).
- This approach proposes to consider grammatical categories as language- and construction-specific, and not universally valid.

PLURACTIONALITY IN CROSS-LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

- Usually, categories are defined as “a class of elements that display at least partially overlapping grammatical properties” (Cristofaro 2009:441).
- It is undeniable that the members of categories have common properties in the languages of the world, but at the same time they show also extensive differences:

“[...] it is important to realize that similarities do not imply identity: It is very hard to find categories that have fully identical properties in two languages, unless these languages are very closely related. [...] [O]ne has to start with the awareness that each language may have totally new categories.” Haspelmath (2007:126)

- Often, linguists focus only on similarities and give no importance to these differences.
- We cannot consider categories universally valid because they do not have the same grammatical status in all languages.
- Linguistic categories are language- and construction-specific (Cristofaro 2009). However, “this does not mean [...] that grammatical relations [and categories] will be entirely incommensurable across languages” (Cristofaro 2009:469).
- We should conceive categories only as classificatory labels that group together different constructions that share a specific semantic or pragmatic value.

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“The most important consequence of the non-existence of pre-established categories for language typology is that cross-linguistic comparison cannot be category-based, but must be substance-based, because substance (unlike categories) is universal” Haspelmath (2007:124)

- In this sense, pluractionality is a classificatory label that group together a set of different constructions that share the common function of expressing a plurality of events, places, and participants.

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APPENDIX. LANGUAGE SAMPLE

Macro-Area	Classification	Languages
Africa	Afro Asiatic	Tamasheq, Amharic, Arabic (Egyptian), Beja, Dime, Eastern (Harar) Oromo, Hausa, Iraqw, Lele, Masa, Mupun, Wandala, Wolaytta
	Austronesian	Malagasy
	Kadugli	Krongo
	Khoisan	Kxoe, Sandawe, †Amkoe
	Niger-Kordofan	Beng, Bijogo, Eton, Ewe, Godié, Ha, Igbo, Jalonke, Jamsay, Kisikongo, Koalib, Koromfé, Lunda, Makonde, Mambay, Mono, Supyire Senoufo, Swahili, Tima, Wolof, Yoruba
	Nilo-Saharan	Beria, Fur, Gumuz, Mbay, Kanuri, Kunama, Lango, Masalit, Murle, Ngiti, Turkana
	Pidgin Creoles	Sango
	Songhay	Koyra Chiini
Asia	Afro-Asiatic	Hebrew
	Austro-Asiatic	Khasi, Khmer, Khmu, Mundari, Semelai, Vietnamese
	Austronesian	Batak Karo, Indonesian, Paiwan, Tagalog
	Chukotko-Kamchatkan	Chukchi
	Dravidian	Brahui, Kannada
	Hmong-Mien	Hmong-Njua
	Indo-European	Bengali, Hindi, Pashto, Western Farsi
	Isolate	Ainu, Burushaski, Nivkh
	Japonic	Nuclear Japanese
	Koreanic	Korean
	Mongolic	Khalkha - Mongolian
	Sino-Tibetan	Bawm, Burmese, Cantonese, Eastern Kayah Li, Garo, Ladakhi, Lepcha, Mandarin Chinese, Meithei
	Tai-Kadai	Thai
	Tungusic	Evenki
	Uralic	Tundra Nenets
Yeniseian	Ket	
Yukaghir	Yukaghir (Southern/Kolyma)	
Australia/Papunesia	Angan	Hamtai
	Austronesian	Chamorro, D(r)ehu, Fijian, Gilbertese/Kiribati, Kilivila, Maori, Mokilese, Paamese, Rapanui, Samoan, Taba, Tukang Besi
	Border	Imonda
	Bunaban	Bunuba, Gooniyandi
	Dagan	Daga
	East Bird's Head	Meyah
	Gunwinyguan	Nunggubuyu
	Isolate	Kuot, Lavukaleve, Maybrat, Tiwi
	Iwaidjan Proper	Maung
	Lower Sepik- Ramu	Yimas
Mangarrayi- Maran	Mangarrayi, Mara	

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	Nuclear Torricelli	Bukiyip (Arapesh Mountain)
	Nuclear Trans New Guinea	Amele, Kewa, Kobon, Suena, Tamnim Citak (Asmat), Una, Usan, Western Dani
	Pama- Nyungan	Arabana, Djabugay, Djapu, Kugu Nganhcara, Martuthunira, Ngiyambaa, Pitjantjatjara, Yidiny
	Sentani	Nuclear Nuclear Sentani
	Sepik	Alamblak
	Tangkic	Kayardild
	Western Daly	Maranunggu
	Worrorran	Ngarinyin
	Yangmanic	Wardaman
Europe	Abkhaz-Adyge	Abkhaz
	Afro-Asiatic	Maltese
	Indo-European	Armenian, English, French, German, Greek, Irish, Latvian, Russian, Serbian, Spanish
	Isolate	Basque
	Kartvelian	Georgian
	Nakh-Daghestanian	Dargwa, Hunzib, Ingush, Lezgian
	Turkic	Turkish
	Uralic	Finnish, Hungarian
North America	Algic	Malecite-Passamaquoddy, Plains Cree, Yurok
	Athapaskan	Hupa, Navajo, Sarcee, Slave, Tlingit
	Caddoan	Caddo, Wichita
	Chibchan	Bribri
	Cochimi-Yuman	Maricopa
	Coosan	Coos
	Eskimo-Aleut	Central Alaskan Yupik, West Greenlandic
	Iroquoian	Oneida, Seneca
	Isolate	Coahuilteco, Euchee, Haida, Karok, Klamath, Kutenai, Tunica, Zuni
	Keresan	Acoma
	Kiowa-Tanoan	Kiowa
	Mayan	Jacaltec
	Miwok-Costanoan	Miwok
	Mixe-Zoque	Zoque Chimalapa
	Muskogean	Chickasaw, Creek, Koasati
	Otomanguean	Otomi (Mezquital), San Miguel El grande (Chalcatongo) Mixtec
	Pomoan	Eastern Pomo
	Sahaptian	Nez Perce
	Salishan	Bella Coola, Squamish
	Siouan	Lakhota
	Tsimishian	Coast Tsimshian
	Uto-Aztecan	Cahuilla, Comanche, Hopi, Huichol, Northern Tepehuan, Southern Paiute, Yaqui
	Wakashan	Nootkan
South America	Araucanian	Mapudungun
	Arawakan	Warekena, Apuriña
	Arawan	Jarawara (Jamamadi)
	Aymaran	Aymara

	Barbacoan	Awa Pit
	Cariban	Galibi Carib, Hixkaryana, Panare, Macushi
	Chapacuran	Wari'
	Chibchan	Ika (Arhuaco)
	Chonan	Selknam (Ona)
	Huitotoan	Huitoto (Minica)
	Indo-european	Ndyuka
	Isolate	Cayubaba, Pirahã, Trumai, Warao
	Kawesqar	Qawasqar
	Matacoan	Wichí (Lhamtés Güisnay)
	Nuclear Macro-Je	Canela-Krahô
	Panoan	Shipibo-Konibo
	Peba-Yagua	Yagua
	Quechuan	Huallaga Huanuco Quechua
	Tacanan	Araona
	Tucanoan	Barasano
	Tupian	Paraguayan Guarani, Kokama-Kokamilla
	Yanomam	Sanumá