

# Growing verbal and nominal plural marking: New sources and pathways from South American languages

Olga Krasnoukhova & An Van linden  
*University of Liège*

LingTalk, November 17<sup>th</sup> 2025, *University of Liège*

# 1. Introduction



# 1. Introduction

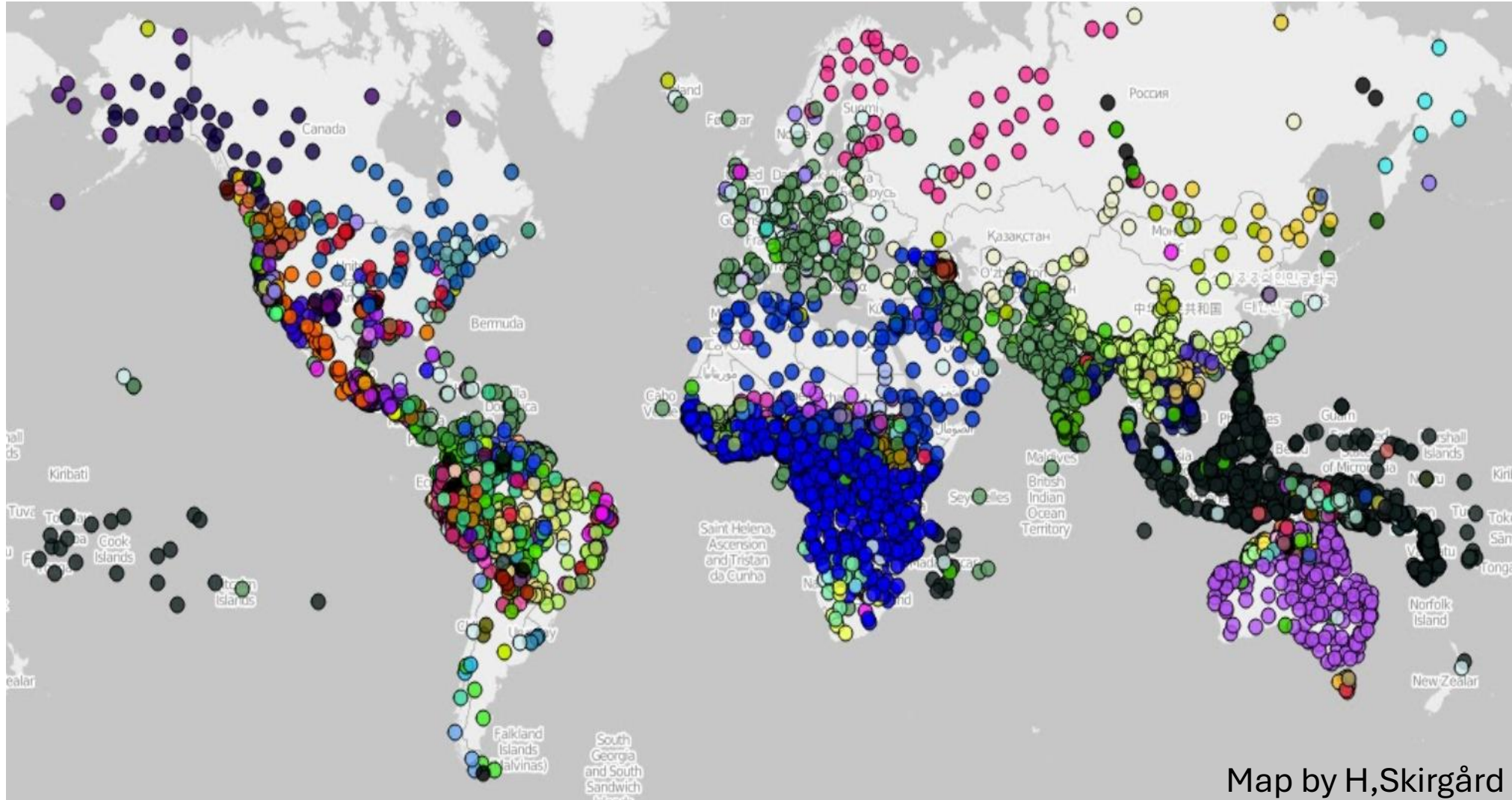
- Focus:

Sources and diachronic connection between nominal and verbal number, in South American (SA) indigenous languages

Why South American languages?



# 1. Introduction

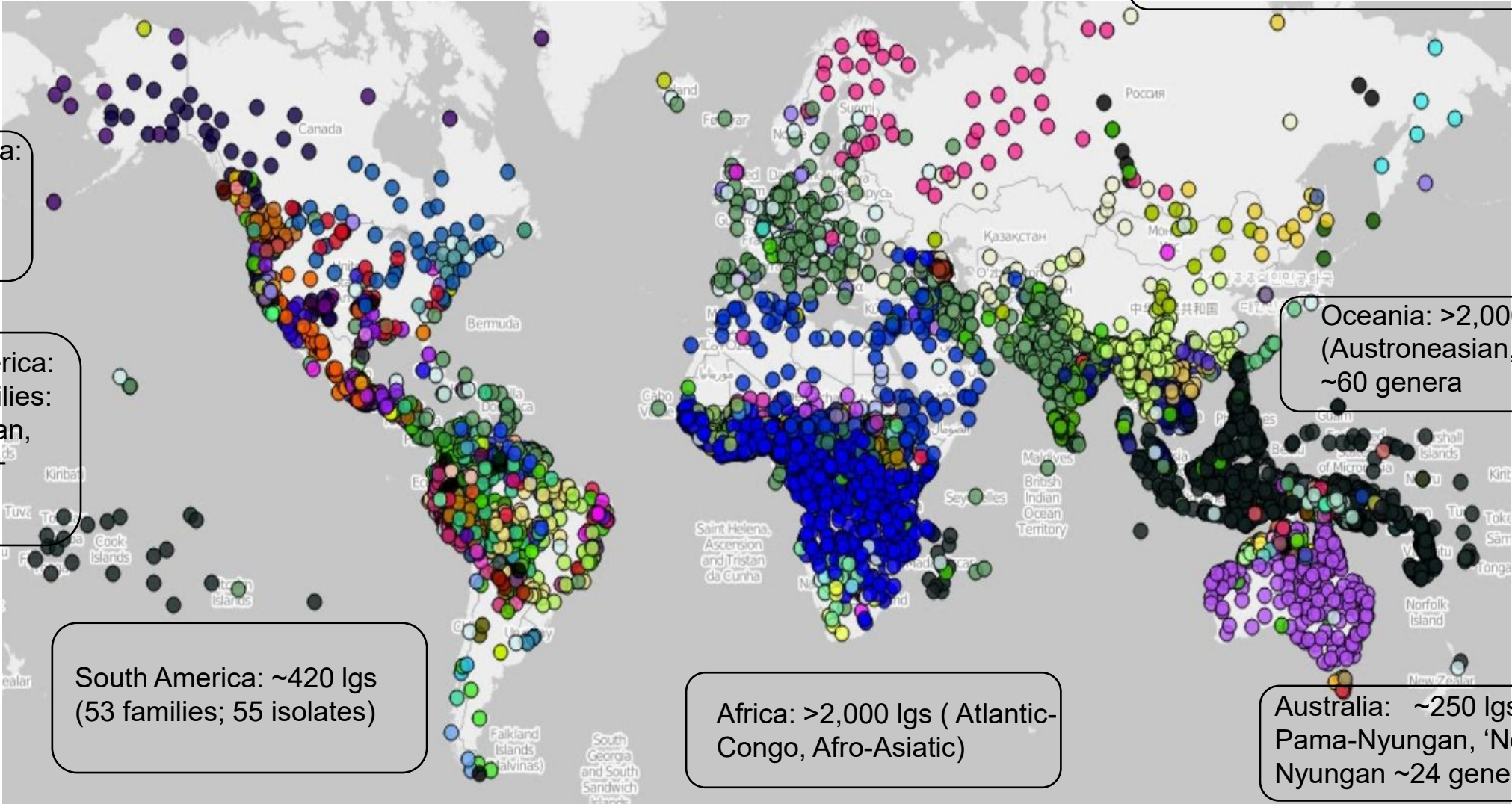


**Different color = different family. (NB except for black)**



# 1. Introduction

Eurasia: >1,400 lgs (Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Austroasiatic, etc + 8 isolates)



North America: ~320 lgs (30 families; 13 isolates)

Central America: ~300 (9 families: Otomanguean, Mayan, etc + 2 isolates)

South America: ~420 lgs (53 families; 55 isolates)

Africa: >2,000 lgs (Atlantic-Congo, Afro-Asiatic)

Oceania: >2,000 lgs (Austroneasian, 'Papuan' ~60 genera)

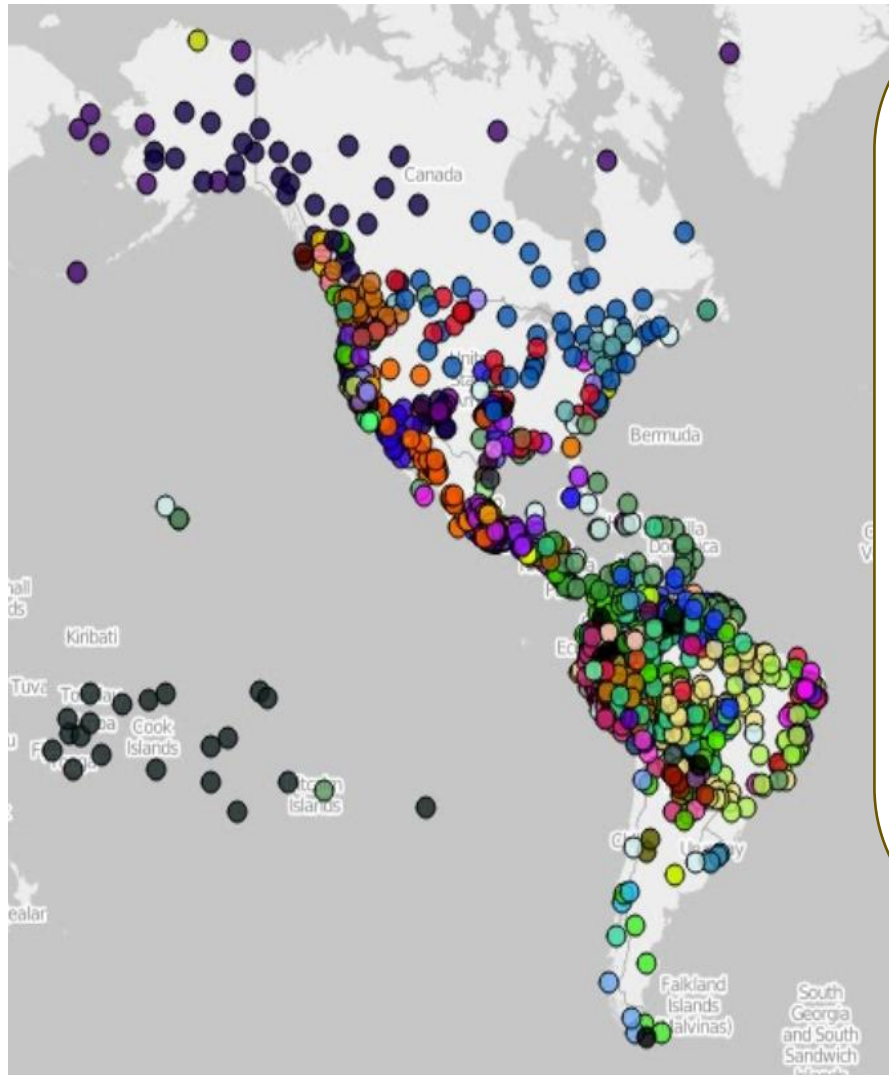
Australia: ~250 lgs (majority: Pama-Nyungan, 'Non-Pama-Nyungan' ~24 genera)

Different color = different family. (NB except for black)

Map by H, Skirgård



# 1. Introduction



## Why South America interesting?

Compare:

- **420 families** in the world, out of which **1/4 in South America**
- **153 isolates** in the world, out of which **1/3 in South America**

**Extreme genealogical diversity ...**

**... and extreme typological diversity**

Map by H, Skirgård

**Different color = different family. (NB except for black)**



# 1. Introduction

- Terminology:
  - ‘**Nominal number**’: marking on nouns that encode plurality (non-singularity) of the referent of the noun,  
e.g. white clouds, clever boys
  - ‘**Verbal number**’: **marking on the verb** that encodes **plurality** of **a participant**.
    - **Marking on the verb**: morphological (bound) markers and free markers syntactically associated with the verb
    - **Plurality**: our focus is on markers that encode only plurality (as the main function), so we exclude person+number markers.
    - **Participant**: **S** (the only argument of an intransitive verb), **A** (the most Agent-like argument of a transitive verb) and/or **O** (the most Patient-like argument of a transitive verb).



# 1. Introduction

(1) Harakmbut (isolate; adapted from Van linden (2023: 467, 470))

(a) *wambo-ta*    *i-mba-uk-i*  
boy-ACC      1SG-VPL-search-1.IND  
'I am looking for the **boys**.'

(b) *wasi?po*    *on-mba-tay-mbedn*      *ndaka*  
child          3PL.IND-VPL-sleep-ALL.NIGHT    well  
'The **children** slept well all night.'



# 1. Introduction

## Terminological issue:

- ‘Verbal number’ (Corbett 2000) / ‘Pluractionality’ (Mattiola 2019) as an (umbrella) term for 2 types: **event number** (= a non-singular occurrence of an event or action encoded by the verbal predicate) and **participant number** (= non-singular number of participants involved in a state or action encoded by the verbal predicate) (Corbett 2000: 246)
  - Can be either ‘event plurality’ or ‘participant plurality’, or both.
  - Markers that do not encode participant plurality are excluded in our study

## Encoding strategies (most common cross-linguistically) (see Mattiola 2019: ch.3)

- Reduplication
- Stem alternation
- Affixation
  - Most interesting from a diachronic perspective: **affixation** and **stem alternation**



# 1. Introduction

- **Same plural marker used on pronouns, nouns, verbs in the languages of SA** (Krasnoukhova 2022; Krasnoukhova & Van linden In prep.)
- Also observed by Frajzyngier (1977,1997) and Newman (1990) for Chadic languages; Langdon (1992) for Yuman languages, Mithun (1988) for North American languages
- Supported by data in the *ATLAS* database (Inman *et al.* 2025), released in June 2025: **shared plural marker most common in the Americas** (and sporadically present in Australia and Africa, and nearly absent on the Eurasian continent)

The world without the Americas	7,6% (8 out of 105 sample languages)
North America (including Mesoamerica)	16,5% (19 out of 115 sample languages)
South America	11,4% (12 out of 105 sample) languages



# 1. Introduction

- Shared (pro)nominal and verbal plural markers

## (2) Buglere (Chibchan)

(a) *muire*                    *isi*            *ngarribega-ble-dre*  
woman                    snake    kill-REM.PST-PL  
'The **women** killed a snake.' (Quesada 2012:86)

(b) *muire-dre*  
woman-PL  
'women' (Quesada 2012:74)

- PL always optional, irrespective of locus
- PL on verb always signals plurality of the S/A, not the O



# 1. Introduction

## **Our research questions:**

RQ1: What is the extent of the phenomenon of shared plural marking?

RQ2: In order to understand the nature of these markers: what are the diachronic sources of plural marking on verbs?

RQ3: How did plural marking spread from one host category/locus to another?

## 2. Data



## 2. Data

- Based on Krasnoukhova's (2022) sample :
  - for nominal number: 100 languages (52 genealogies: 36 families + 16 isolates)
  - for verbal number: 70 languages (41 genealogies: 31 families + 10 isolates)(the samples overlap to a great extent)
- Extended by additional related languages for the Chibchan family (19 out of 27 languages) for a case-study (more families are work in progress)



## 3. Results



## RQ1: Shared plural marking: Extent of the phenomenon

- A regular (balanced) typological sample is not telling, great variation within families
  - e.g. Barbacoan (N langs = 6)

Language	pl on PRO	pl on N	pl on V
Awa Pit	-pa (?)	---	-a, -na
Tsafiki	-la	-la	-la
Cha'palaa	-la	-la	de-
Tororó	?	-mera	?

- Formal variation even within a domain (e.g. within nominal markers, verbal markers)
  - e.g. Tupi-Guaraní (N langs = 47, part of the Tupí stock): lack of a common plural morpheme (Jensen 1999: 151), Rose (2011)
- Need for micro-typological approach (exhaustive family coverage)

# Chibchan (N langs = 27)

[suppletive verbs not included]



	<b>Subgroup</b>	<b>Language</b>	<b>pl on PRO</b>	<b>pl on N</b>	<b>pl on V</b>
Eastern Isthmic (4)	Guaymic (2)	<b>Buglere</b>	<i>dre</i>	<i>dre</i>	<i>dre</i>
Eastern Isthmic (4)	Guaymic (2)	<b>Ngäbere</b>	<i>tre</i>	<i>tre</i>	<i>tre</i>
Eastern Isthmic (4)	Kuna (2)	<b>Border Kuna</b>	<i>mal</i>	<i>mal(a); gan(a)/kan(a)</i>	<i>mal(a)</i>
Eastern Isthmic (4)	Kuna (2)	<b>San Blas Kuna</b>	<i>mal(a)</i>	<i>mal(a)/mar; gan(a)</i>	<i>mal(a); gal</i>
Western Isthmic (4)	no-subgroup	<b>Boruca</b>	<i>róhk</i>	<i>róhk</i>	<i>róhk</i>
Western Isthmic (4)	no-subgroup	<b>Teribe</b>	<i>ga (?)</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>lok</i>
Western Isthmic (4)	Viceitic (2)	<b>Bribri</b>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>alor, ulur ; dak ~-rak; -yar ~-lar</i>
Western Isthmic (4)	Viceitic (2)	<b>Cabécar</b>	<i>wá ; s</i>	<i>wá</i>	<i>tulámi</i>
Northern Magdalenic (5)	no-subgroup	<b>Chimila</b>	<i>ra (and mbʔre)</i>	<i>mbʔre, mbʔri , tikwi</i>	<i>mbʔre; ne, bre; dee/de'- , -bre, -ko</i>
Northern Magdalenic (5)	Arhuacic (4)	<b>Cogui</b>	<i>ing~ing</i>	<i>kũě ; lula /zhula</i>	<i>kũě</i>
Northern Magdalenic (5)	Arhuacic (4)	<b>Arhuaco/Ika</b>	<i>not analysable</i>	<i>džina</i>	<i>ri-/win-</i>
Northern Magdalenic (5)	Arhuacic (4)	<b>Malayo/Damana</b>	<i>ihk (?)</i>	<i>dina/ džina / nyina</i>	<i>nyina ; mə-...-ua ; ihk</i>
Southern Magdalenic (7)	no-subgroup	<b>Barí</b>	<i>ji [dʒi]</i>	<i>ji [dʒi]</i>	<i>drã (??)</i>
Southern Magdalenic (7)	Chibcha-Duit (2)	<b>Chibcha/Muisca</b>	<i>?</i>	<i>---</i>	<i>?</i>
Southern Magdalenic (7)	Tunebo (4)	<b>Angostunas Tunebo</b>	<i>in</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>in; e; o; suka; kir</i>
Southern Magdalenic (7)	Tunebo (4)	<b>Central Tunebo</b>	<i>in</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>sí-</i>
Votic (3)	no-subgroup	<b>Maléku Jaika</b>	<i>maráma</i>	<i>maráma</i>	<i>maráma</i>
Votic (3)	no-subgroup	<b>Rama</b>	<i>-ut</i>	<i>lut, dut</i>	<i>??</i>
no_subgroup	no-subgroup	<b>Pech</b>	<i>---</i>	<i>wàrya?</i>	<i>ir / er ; wa</i>



## RQ2: Diachronic sources of verbal plural markers

- In languages **from different families (and areas)** we find a plural marker (used on verbal predicates and sometimes also on nouns) formally identical (or very similar) to motion or posture verbs, e.g.

Boruca and Teribe (Chibchan): ***róhk / lok*** 'be.pl',

Angosturas Tunebo and Uwa (Chibchan): ***in*** 'enter.pl'

Shipibo-Konibo and Chacobo (Panoan): ***bo*** 'go.pl S', ***be*** 'come.pl S'...

Mekens (Tupian): ***kwa*** 'go/come.pl'

Tsafiki (Barbacoan): ***la*** 'come out/up'

...

- Note that we cannot exclude accidental homonymy



## RQ2: Diachronic sources of plural markers in Chibchan

Plural marker	Diachronic source
Only with nouns:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- 'small' (4 cases)</li><li>- 'all' (2)</li><li>- 'seed' (2)</li><li>- motion verb (AUX 'enter') ? (2)</li><li>- borrowing ? (2)</li></ul>
Only with verbal predicates:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- position verb (2)</li><li>- motion verb (1)</li><li>- caused motion verb 'throw' (1)</li></ul>
Shared by nouns and verbs:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- 'all' (4)</li><li>- 'small' (3)</li><li>- 'seed, fruit' (1)</li><li>- position verb (1)</li></ul>



## RQ2: Diachronic sources of plural markers in Chibchan

Plural marker	Diachronic source
Only with nouns:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- 'small' (4 cases)</li><li>- 'all' (2)</li><li>- 'seed' (2)</li><li>- motion verb (AUX 'enter') ? (2)</li><li>- borrowing ? (2)</li></ul>
Only with verbal predicates:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- position verb (2)</li><li>- motion verb (1)</li><li>- caused motion verb 'throw' (1)</li></ul>
Shared by nouns and verbs:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- 'all' (4)</li><li>- 'small' (3)</li><li>- 'seed, fruit' (1)</li><li>- position verb (1)</li></ul>

Known sources cross-linguistically:

- 'all'
- 'children'
- 'people'
- 3rd pl pronoun
- numeral 'three' (Kuteva et al. 2019: 485)
- demonstrative (Frajzyngier 1997)



## RQ2: Diachronic sources of plural markers in Chibchan

Plural marker	Diachronic source
Only with nouns:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- 'small' (4 cases)</li><li>- 'all' (2)</li><li>- 'seed' (2)</li><li>- motion verb (AUX 'enter') ? (2)</li><li>- borrowing ? (2)</li></ul>
Only with verbal predicates:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- position verb (2)</li><li>- motion verb (1)</li><li>- caused motion verb 'throw' (1)</li></ul>
Shared by nouns and verbs:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- 'all' (4)</li><li>- 'small' (3)</li><li>- 'seed, fruit' (1)</li><li>- position verb (1)</li></ul>

Known sources cross-linguistically:

- 'all'
- 'children'
- 'people'
- 3rd pl pronoun
- numeral 'three' (Kuteva et al. 2019: 485)
- demonstrative (Frajzyngier 1997)

**NEW!**

**Seed** < children  
**Small** < children

**VERY NEW!**

**Position and motion verbs**



# From a verb to a plural marker? Suggested development

**Serial-verb construction (monoclausal multi-verb construction\*) involving a verb of motion ('come', 'go') or a posture verb ('be', 'stand', etc.)**

**Path 1:**

Plural suppletive stem (of motion or posture verb) loses semantics of motion/posture grammaticalizing into a dedicated plural marker, syntactically associated with the verbal predicate

**Path 2:**

Stem (of motion or posture verb) develops into a marker of iterativity / pluractionality first, triggering participant pl meaning. Participant pl meaning becomes dominant

- Motion and posture verbs are the most common sources for pluractional (i.e. event number) markers  
for motion verbs:  
TRAJECTORY > DISTRIBUTIVE > ITERATIVE  
(Mattiola 2019: 154-156; Mattiola & Zanchi 2022; Mattiola & Krasnoukhova 2023)
- Their role in development of participant plurality markers is underexplored

\* monoclausal multi-verb construction (Aikhenvald & Muysken 2011)



## Example for Path 1

### (3) Teribe (Chibchan)

*dbong ī-na lok*

Tiger see-PERF.3 PL

‘**They** saw a tiger.’ (Quesada 2000: 66)

[>Lit. ‘They were there and saw a tiger’].

- Intransitive positional verb *lok* ‘be plural’ (Koontz & Andersen 1975; Heinze 1979)
- Originally only as part of a serial verb construction (syntax matches the SVC syntax)
- Positional verbs in Teribe can’t take verbal / aspectual morphology themselves (Quesada 2000: 66, 131)

- Absence of verbal morphology could have been a factor ‘not hindering’ reanalysis (van Gelderen 2022: 593)
- Synchronically, *lok* functions as a **plural particle** syntactically associated with the verb, indexing plurality of S/A participants; the 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject is interpreted as plural without an external pronoun in the sentence.
- Note that nominals (nouns and pronouns) can be marked by plural marker *-ga*, but plurality of S/A is mainly indicated by *lok* following the verb



# Extention Path 1: from V to N

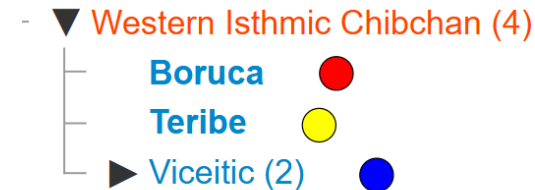
(4) Boruca (Chibchan) [extinct]

(a) *lñ dabacrá rójc*  
3-TOP arrived PL  
'They arrived.' (Quesada 2018:127)

(b) *abí rójc morén rójc*  
person PL good PL  
'good people' (Quesada Pacheco 2018: 89)

(c) *i' rójc ki bú'k kabát rójc-íra*  
3 PL top two brother PL-DUR  
'They were two brothers.' (lit.: 'They, two brothers, were')  
(Constenla & Maroto 1986:70 in Castro 2012:6)

## Micro-typological perspective informs on direction of spread



(Source: Hammarström *et al.* 2025)

- Plural *rójc* in Boruca is a cognate of plural *lok* in Teribe (Quesada 2011:112)
- The plural *rójc* mainly indicates plurality of S/A (only one example of O plurality is found in the grammar)
- Different from the sister language Teribe, plural *rójc* is also used to mark plurality on nouns and all three personal pronouns
- The profound use of plural with nominals is atypical for Chibchan



## Example for Path 2

(5) Mekens (Tupian)

(a) *o-teg=õ*                    *ka*                    *o-seesoe*  
1SG-house=DAT    **go/come.sg**    1SG-AUX.in.motion  
'I am going home.' (Galucio 2001:55)

(b) *seteyat-set*    *se-teg-õ*                    *kwa*                    *i-et*  
3PL-go                    3COREF-house-DAT    **go/come.PL**    3-AUX.in.motion.PL  
'They left, they are going home/to their own house.' (Galucio 2001:56)

(c) *popoba*    *se-erek-kwa*                    *naat*    *yě*  
owl                    3COREF-speak-PL.action    ?    AUX.sitting  
'The owl was singing' (**sg S, multiple action**) (Galucio 2001:34)

(d) *se-no*                    *mi-kwa*                    *pāāt*  
3COREF-other    kill-PL                    like  
'He likes to kill **others**' (Galucio 2001:55)

- Lexical verbs *ka* 'go/come' for **sg S** (6a) and *kwa* 'go/come' for **pl S** (6b)
- *-ka* and *-kwa* are also transitivity suffixes, applied to adjectives and uninflectable verb stems. The difference is that *-kwa* adds '**plurality of action**' (6c) (Galucio 2001:99-101)
- *-kwa* also encodes **participant plurality** (5d) (S or O-participant, operating on the ABS basis) (Galucio 2001:54)



## Example for Path 2

(5) Mekens (Tupian)

(a) *o-teg=õ*                    *ka*                    *o-seesoe*  
 1SG-house=DAT    **go/come.SG**    1SG-AUX.in.motion  
 'I am going home.' (Galucio 2001:55)

(b) *seteyat-set*    *se-teg-õ*                    *kwa*                    *i-et*  
 3PL-go                    3COREF-house-DAT    **go/come.PL**    3-AUX.in.motion.PL  
 'They left, they are going home/to their own house.' (Galucio 2001:56)

(c) *popoba*    *se-erek-kwa*                    *naat*    *yě*  
 owl                    3COREF-speak-PL.action    ?                    AUX.sitting  
 'The owl was singing' (**sg S, multiple action**) (Galucio 2001:34)

(d) *se-no*                    *mi-kwa*                    *pāāt*  
 3COREF-other    kill-PL                    like  
 'He likes to kill **others**' (Galucio 2001:55)



Lexical verbs of motion,  
suppletive stems for  
sg/pl



Event plurality



Participant plurality



## Example for Path 2

(5) Mekens (Tupian)

(a) *o-teg=õ*                    *ka*                    *o-seesoe*  
 1SG-house=DAT    **go/come.SG**    1SG-AUX.in.motion  
 'I am going home.' (Galucio 2001:55)

(b) *seteyat-set*    *se-teg-õ*                    *kwa*                    *i-et*  
 3PL-go                    3COREF-house-DAT    **go/come.PL**    3-AUX.in.motion.PL  
 'They left, they are going home/to their own house.' (Galucio 2001:56)

(c) *popoba*    *se-erek-kwa*                    *naat*    *yě*  
 owl                    3COREF-speak-PL.action    ?                    AUX.sitting  
 'The owl was singing' (sg S, multiple action) (Galucio 2001:34)

(d) *se-no*                    *mi-kwa*    *pāāt*  
 3COREF-other    kill-PL                    like  
 'He likes to kill **others**' (Galucio 2001:55)

Open issue:  
 Participant plurality in Mekens targets S/O  
 participant, while in Teribe always S/A



## Cross-linguistic circumstantial evidence

- **Lexical verbs: common source of grammatical markers of different categories**, e.g.
  - aspectual suffixes (e.g. Mapudungun, Zúñiga 2017: 115-119),
  - negation suffixes (> verbs with terminative semantics such as ‘finish’ in Macro-Ge (van der Auwera & Krasnoukhova 2022)
  - Associated Motion markers (Hill 2005; Elliot 2021)
  
- **Serial verb constructions / multi-verb constructions play a major role in the development of new morphology** in South American languages (Epps et al. forthc.) e.g.
  - middle voice marker in Yurakaré (van Gijn 2010 in Epps et al. forthc.),
  - negation suffixes in Tukanoan (Krasnoukhova et al. 2022)



## RQ3: Mechanisms of spread from V to N

➤ **Extension of verbal markers to *non-verbal* predicates** (Epps *et al.* forthcoming).

e.g. Hup evidential markers encoding nonvisual and inferred information sources > verb roots within serial verb constructions and were then extended to non-verbal predicates (Epps 2005).

(6) Boruca (Chibchan)

[i' **rójc** ki] [bú'k kabát **rójc-íra]**

3 PL top two brother PL-DUR

'**They** were two brothers.' (lit.: '**They, two brothers, were**')

(Constenla & Maroto 1986:70 in Castro 2012:6)



## RQ3: Mechanisms of spread from V to N

- **Deverbal nouns and nominalizations as an intermediary stage**

Nominalizations in SA are ubiquitous; nominalization is the most common strategy for forming (the functional equivalent of) subordinate clauses in SA (van Gijn, Haude & Muysken 2011), significantly more common in SA compared to the world (van Gijn 2014)



## RQ3: Mechanisms of spread from V to N

### ➤ Deverbal nouns and nominalizations as an intermediary stage

(7) Nivacle (Matacoan)

*ja7-p'ôw-ja-yan=sham=**sha7ne***

1ACT-notch-LIG-VBLZ=through/inside=PL

'I make notches.' (Campbell *et al.* 2020: 260, p.c.)

- The marker =**sha7ne** is used on verbs to indicate plurality of the S or O (7).
- It can also encode 'event number'/iterativity, although less frequently (Campbell *et al.* 2020:260).
- This marker also occurs on adjectives (which are nouny in Nivacle) and some nouns. Crucially, all these nouns are either deverbal nouns or nominalizations (Campbell *et al.* 2020:101).

## 4. Conclusions



- RQ 1:
  - Verbs and nouns can share a plural marker, observed so far for ~11,4% of the languages, the real extent of this phenomenon is still to be seen: requires screening of entire families as the presence/availability of plural is not uniform
  - Plural marking - an unstable category
  
- RQ 2:
  - Motion and positional verbs as a diachronic source of participant plurality markers
  - Serial-verb construction (involving a motion/posture verb) as a source construction
  
- RQ 3:
  - Extension of verbal markers to non-verbal predicates, subsequent spread to nominals
  - Nominalization as an intermediary stage
  
- Further steps:
  - extend micro-typological approach to other relevant families (for alternative sources, directionality of change)

# Thank you for listening!

**Olga Krasnoukhova (Olga.Krasnoukhova@uliege.be) &  
An Van linden (An.Vanlinden@uliege.be)**

Acknowledgement: Work on this article was funded by grant FSR-S-SH-PDR-22/11 – NumVerNoSA  
of the Research Council of the University of Liège.



# References

- Aikhenvald, A. & P. Muysken (eds.). 2011. *Multi-Verb constructions: A view from the Americas*. Leiden : Brill.
- Castro, D. 2012. The Boruca verbal dimension. *Amerindia*, 36: 1-24.
- Constenla, A. & E.S. Maroto. 1986. *Leyendas y tradiciones borucas*. San José: Editorial Universidad de Costa Rica.
- Corbett, Greville. 2000. *Number*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Dickinson, C. 2002. Complex predicates in Tsafiki. University of Oregon diss.
- Elliott, J. A. 2021. A grammar of Enxet Sur. University of Hawai'i at Manoa. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Epps, P., Gijn, R. van, & Emlen, N. (Forthc.). South America. In P. Arkadiev & F. Rainer (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Morphology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Frajzyngier, Z. 1977. The plural in Chadic. In P. Newman & R. Ma Newman (eds.) 'Papers in Chadic linguistics', 37-56. Leiden: Afrika studiecentrum.
- Frajzyngier, Z. 1997. Grammaticalization of number : From demonstratives to nominal and verbal plural. *Linguistic Typology* 1 :193-242.
- Galucio, A.V. 2001. The Morphosyntax of Mekens (Tupi). U of Chicago diss.
- Gildea, S. 1998. On reconstructing grammar: Comparative Cariban morphosyntax. Oxford: OUP.
- Gildea, S. 2012. Linguistic studies in the Cariban family. In L. Campbell & V. Grondona (eds.), *The Indigenous languages of South America: A comprehensive guide*, 441–494. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.
- Hammarström, H. & R. Forkel, M. Haspelmath & S. Bank. 2025. Glottolog 5.2. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.



# References

- Heinze, C. 1979. *Cursillo de asimilación teribe*. Panama: Instituto Linguístico de Verano.
- Hill, J. A. 2005. A Grammar of Cupeño, vol. 136. Berkeley & Los Angeles: Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Inman, D. & M. Vuillermet, Singular-plural verb stem alternation: uncovering global and local drivers of typological variation. *Linguistic Typology* 29(1):81–125.
- Jensen, C. 1999. Tupí-Guaraní. In R. M. W. Dixon & A. Y. Aikhenvald (eds.), *The Amazonian Languages*, 125–163. CUP.
- Koontz & Andersen 1975;
- Krasnoukhova, O, M. Bruil & J. van der Auwera. 2022. *Negation in Tucanoan: A closer look at diachrony*. Paper presented at the workshop on ‘Negation in clause combining’, University of Helsinki. 19-20 May 2022.
- Krasnoukhova, O. 2022. Number in South American languages. In P. Acquaviva & M. Daniel (eds.) *Number in the world’s languages. A comparative Handbook*. [Comparative Handbooks of Linguistics, 5], 609-669. Berlin: dGM.
- Krasnoukhova, O., J. van der Auwera & M. Crevels. 2021. Postverbal negation: Typology, Diachrony, Areality. *Studies in Language* 45(3): 499-519.
- Langdon, M. 1992. Yuman plurals: From derivation to inflection to noun agreement. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 58(4), 405-424.
- Mattiola, S. 2019. *Typology of Pluractional Constructions in the Languages of the World*. [Typological studies in language, 125]. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: JBPC.
- Mattiola, S. & C. Zanchi. 2022. ‘On the diachrony of pluractional constructions: a first typological survey’. Paper presented at ALT, UTexas at Austin, Austin (USA).
- Mattiola, S. & O. Krasnoukhova. 2023. Diachronic typology of pluractional constructions in South America. Paper presented at 56th Annual Meeting of the *SLE*, U of Athens, 29/08-01/09, 2023.
- Mithun, M. 1988. Lexical categories and the evolution of number marking. In M. Hammond & M. Noonan (eds.) *Theoretical morphology: Approaches in modern linguistics*, 211-234. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Newman, P. 1990. Nominal and verbal plurality in Chadic. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.



# References

- Quesada Pacheco, M.A. 2018. Gramática boruca. (LINCOM Studies in Native American Linguistics, 82.) München: LINCOM.
- Quesada, J. D. 2000. A Grammar of Teribe. LINCOM. München: Lincom.
- Quesada, J. D. 2012. Gramática del buglere. Quito, Ecuador: Abya-Yala.
- Rose, F. 2012. Borrowing of a Cariban number marker into three Tupi-Guarani languages. In M.Vanhove, T.Stolz, A.Urdze & H. Otsuka (eds.) *Morphologies in contact*.
- van Gelderen, E.. 2022. The Negative Existential and other cycles: Jespersen, Givón, and the copula cycle. In L.Veselinova & A.Hamari (eds.), *The Negative Existential Cycle*, 589–610. Berlin: LSP.
- van Gijn, R. 2010. Middle Voice and Ideophones, a Diachronic Connection: The Case of Yurakaré. *Studies in Language* 34 (2). 273–97.
- van Gijn, R. 2014. Subordination Strategies in South America: Nominalization. In L. O'Connor & P. Muysken (eds.), *The Native Languages of South America: Origins, Development, Typology*, 274–96. Cambridge: CUP.
- van Gijn, R., K. Haude & P. Muysken. 2011. Subordination in South America: An Overview. In R. van Gijn, K. Haude & P. Muysken (eds.), *Subordination in Native South American Languages*, 1–24. Amsterdam: JBPC
- Van linden, A. 2023. Harakmbut. In P. Epps & L. Michael (eds.), *Amazonian Languages, An International Handbook. Vol 1: Aikanã to Kandozi-Shapra*. Berlin: dGM.
- Vuillermet, M., D. Inman, N. Chousou-Polydouri, B. Bickel. 2025. Monoexponential verbal plurals. In D. Inman, N. Chousou-Polydouri & M. Vuillermet (eds.) *ATLAs* (<http://atlas.evolvinglanguage.ch/contributions/MonPI>).
- Zúñiga, F. 2017. On the morphosyntax of the indigenous languages of the Americas. *IJAL* 83(1):111-139.