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Absolute and construct form of nouns:  
The case of Kibiri, an endangered Papuan  
language.

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# Goals

- ▶ Present a typology of absolute and construct forms of nouns
  - ▶ Sets of parameters
  - ▶ Points of variation
- ▶ Present a descriptive analysis of the absolute and construct forms in Kibiri
  - ▶ Its position within the typological work
- ▶ Present a few points to be addressed in further typological research

# Outline

- ▶ Methodology
  - ▶ Languages of the sample
- ▶ A typology of Absolute and Construct form of nouns
- ▶ The case of Kibiri
  - ▶ General information
  - ▶ Absolute and construct form of nouns
  - ▶ Conclusions

# Methodology: Languages of the sample

Language	Family	Reference	Language	Family	Reference
<b>Americas</b>			<b>Africa</b>		
Nahuatl [nah]	Uto-Aztecan	Launey (2011)	Jamsay [djm]	Niger-Congo	Heath (2008)
Aguaruna [agr]	Chicham	Overall (2007)	Tommo So [dto]	Niger-Congo	McPherson (2013)
Myky [irn]	Isolate	Monserrat (2010)	Mano [mev]	Niger-Congo	Khatchaturyan (2015)
<b>Asia</b>			Soninke [snk]	Niger-Congo	Creissels (2016, 2017)
Karbi [mjw]	Sino-Tibetan	Konnerth (2014)	Mende [men]	Niger-Congo	Creissels (2017)
<b>Pacifics</b>			Wolof [wol]	Niger-Congo	Creissels (2017)
Martuthunira [vma]	Pama-Nyungan	Lynch & Ross (2001)	Igbo [ibo]	Niger-Congo	Eke (1985)
Nêlêmwa [nee]	Austronesian	Lynch & Ross (2001)	Yoruba [yor]	Niger-Congo	Rowlands (1969)
Anejôm [aty]	Austronesian	Lynch & Ross (2001)	Tswana [tsn]	Niger-Congo	Creissels (2017)
Vinmavis [vnm]	Austronesian	Lynch & Ross (2001)	Hausa [hau]	Afro-Asiatic	Creissels (2017)
Ulithian [uli]	Austronesian	Lynch & Ross (2001)	Sheko [she]	Afro-Asiatic	Hellenthal (2010)
Puluwatese [puw]	Austronesian	Lynch & Ross (2001)	Shilluk [shk]	Nilo-Saharan	Remijsen & Ayoker (2021)
Musau [emi]	Austronesian	Lynch & Ross (2001)			
Raga [lml]	Austronesian	Lynch & Ross (2001)			
Sakao [sku]	Austronesian	Lynch & Ross (2001)			
Gela [nlg]	Austronesian	Lynch & Ross (2001)			
Kibiri [prm]	Kibiri-Porome isolate group	First-hand data			

This and other languages are considered for the broader typological survey, but for this talk a smaller sample will be used: languages in **blue**

# Methodology

- ▶ Set of typological parameters in Creissels (2017)' typology
- ▶ Descriptions of the other languages
- ▶ First-hand data of Kibiri:
  - ▶ Elicitation
  - ▶ Narratives
- ▶ Taking a step further
  - ▶ Considering the absolute form and its behaviour
  - ▶ The interaction between the absolute and the construct form within the flexibility of the NP order (Head-Modifier; Modifier - Head)



# A typology of ABST and CSTR form of nouns

- ▶ ABST: Citation form of N, unmodified vs. CSTR: Modified form
- ▶ Creissels (2017)
  - ▶ The CSTR noun fulfills the role of head, accompanied by a modifier (POSSR, ADJ, DEM, RC, etc.)
  - ▶ Points of cross-linguistic variation:
    - ▶ P1: Marking means of the ABST/CSTR forms: tonal? morphological?
    - ▶ P2: ABST/ CSTR co-occur with features of the noun (e.g. number)
    - ▶ P3: Cross-referencing features of the modifier on the head
    - ▶ P4: The types of modifiers that trigger the CSTR form.
- ▶ My approach:
  - ▶ P5: Word-order within the NP: Head - Modifier OR Modifier<sub>6</sub> - Head
  - ▶ Interaction between the ABST and the CSTR forms



# P1: Marking means of the ABST/CSTR forms

- ▶ Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan, Launey 2011:15; 20; 88)

(1) **cihuā-tl**  
woman-**ABST.SG**  
'Woman, wife'

(2) **cihuâ** [?]  
**woman.ABST.PL**  
'Women, wives'

(3) in      **cihuā-tl**      cochi  
DEF      woman-**ABST.SG**      sleep  
'The woman is sleeping'

Morphological

# P1: Marking means of the ABST/CSTR forms

- Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan, Launey 2011:87-90)

(4)  $\bar{t}$ -cihuā-uh

3SG-woman-CSTR.SG

‘His wife’

Morphological

(5) to-cihuā-huān

1PL-woman-CSTR.PL

‘Our wives’

(6) in  $\bar{t}$ -tōtol-huān in  $\bar{t}$ -cihuā-uh  
DEF 3SG-turkey-CSTR.PL DEF 3SG-woman-CSTR.SG

‘The turkeys of Peter’s wife’

Pedro  
Pedro



# P1: Marking means of the ABST/CSTR forms

► Soninke (Niger-Congo, Creissels 2016:43)

(7) qàlìsî ‘money’ (HLH, ABST)

(8) Dénbà qàlìsî (LLH, CSTR)

‘Demba’s money’

Tonal

## P2: ABST/ CSTR co-occur with features of the noun

► Hausa (Afro-Asiatic, Creissels 2017:6)

(9) **kàree** ‘dog’ (ABST)

(10) **saaniyaa** ‘cow’ (ABST)

(11) **kàre-n** Daudà  
**dog-CSTR.SG.M** Daudà  
‘Daudà’s dog’

(12) **saaniya-ĩ** Daudà  
**cow-CSTR.SG.F** Daudà  
‘Daudà’s cow’

No features in ABST  
Number and Gender + CSTR

## P3: Cross-referencing features of the modifier on the head

- Shilluk (Nilo-Saharan, Remijsen & Ayoker 2021:5-6)

(13) Kùl bǎa ǰáaŋ-ī p̄aac  
kùl NOMP chief-CSTR.SG village  
'Kùl is the chief of the village'

Number of nominal possessor

(14) Kùl bǎa ǰáaŋ-í ǰìì  
kùl NOMP chief-CSTR.PL people  
'Kùl is the chief of the people'

# P4: Types of modifiers that trigger the CSTR form

	POSSR	ADJ	DEM	NUM	QUANT	RC
Americas						
Nahuatl	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Aguaruna	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Asia						
Karbi	Yes	Yes / No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Africa						
Sheko	Yes/No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes/No	No	Yes/No
Shilluk	Yes/No	Yes / No	Yes	Yes/No	No	Yes/No
Pacific						
Kibiri	Yes	Yes/No	No?	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes

## P4: Types of modifiers that trigger the CSTR form

- ▶ Possessors (Pronominals or Nominals)
- ▶ Anejôm (Austronesian, Lynch 2001: 733)

(15) etma-**k**  
father-1SG  
'My father'

Direct possession (inalienable)  
POSSD-POSSRsfX  
POSSD-**CSTR** POSSR NP

(16) etma-**i**      Ani  
father-**CSTR**    Ani  
'Ani's father'

Only nominal possessors trigger  
the **CSTR** form

## P4: Types of modifiers that trigger the CSTR form

- ▶ Possessors (Pronominals or Nominals)
- ▶ Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan, Launey 2011:87-90)

(17) to-cihuā-**huān**  
1PL-woman-**CSTR.PL**  
'Our wives'

(18) in    ī-tōtol-**huān**    in    ī-cihuā-**uh**    Pedro  
DEF    3SG-turkey-**CSTR.PL** DEF    3SG-woman-**CSTR.SG**    Pedro  
'The turkeys of Peter's wife'

Pronominal and nominal possessors trigger the **CSTR** form

## P4: Types of modifiers that trigger the CSTR form

- ▶ Adjectives

- ▶ Shilluk (Nilo-Saharan, Remijsen & Ayoker 2021:18)

(19) gwóooŋ̄ dwóóŋ̄

dog.CSTR big

‘A big dog’ ([-def] [-spec])

ABST: gwôk



# P4: Types of modifiers that trigger the CSTR form

## ► Demonstratives

## ► Sheko (Nilo-Saharan, Hellenthal 2010: 253, 494)

(20) kaarì sáántà      yīs      kòòsù<sup>LLL</sup>-ra  
until front.LOC      DIST.M      divination.CSTR-ACC

ītə      māāk-o

who.COP tell-STI.ADDR

‘Who will tell this traditional practice in the future?’

ABST: koosù<sup>HL</sup>

## P4: Types of modifiers that trigger the CSTR form

- ▶ Numerals

- ▶ Sheko (Nilo-Saharan, Hellenthal 2010: 253)

(21) yí=yòw'ka t' āāgn̄ ʔyats'n-k̀n̄ ādī-k'à  
3FS=well two moon.CSTR-DAT footprint-IN

kàṣt'=í-k-ə

gē-t'-̀n̄

cut.straight.PASS=3FS-REAL-STI say-PASS-DS

‘Well, after two months she is said to be ritually clean’  
(Lit: ‘... it is said: She has been cut’)

ABST: ʔyáts'ń

## P4: Types of modifiers that trigger the CSTR form

- ▶ Relative clauses
- ▶ Sheko (Nilo-Saharan, Hellenthal 2010: 253)

(22) kyāz úm-kì-b ùmt'à  
king eat-exist-REL food.cstr  
'food which a king eats'

ABST: umt'à

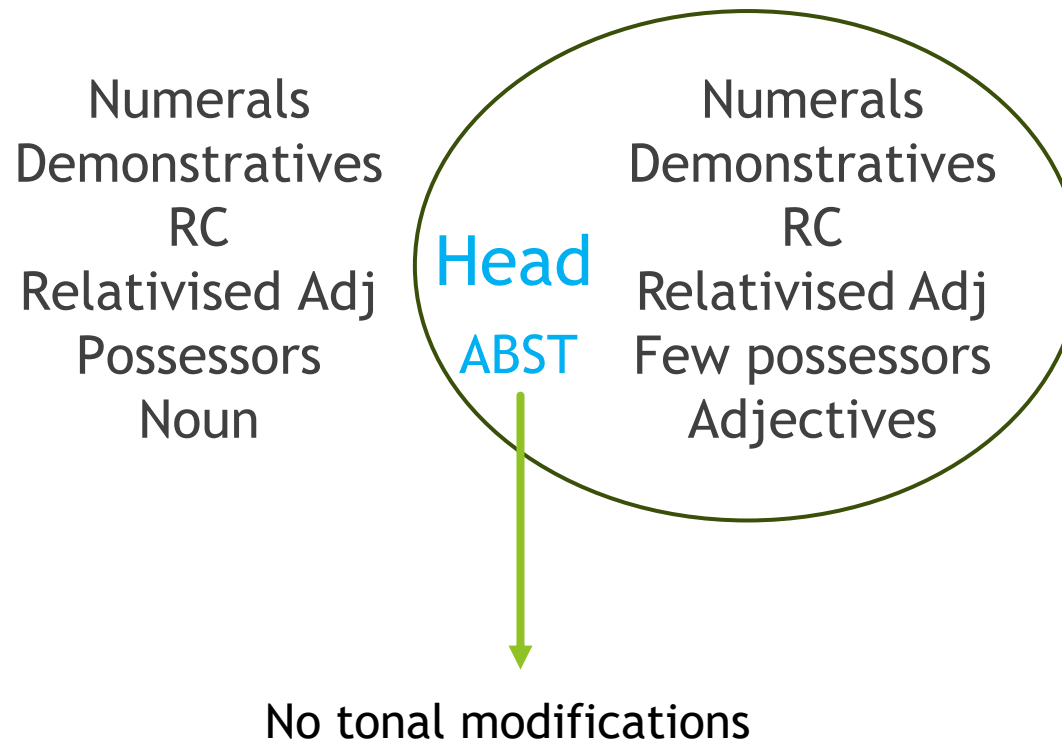
# P5: Word order at the NP level (H-M or M-H)

## ► Interaction of ABST and CSTR forms: Sheko

Numerals		Numerals
Demonstratives		Demonstratives
RC	Head	RC
Relativised Adj		Relativised Adj
Possessors		Few possessors
Noun		Adjectives

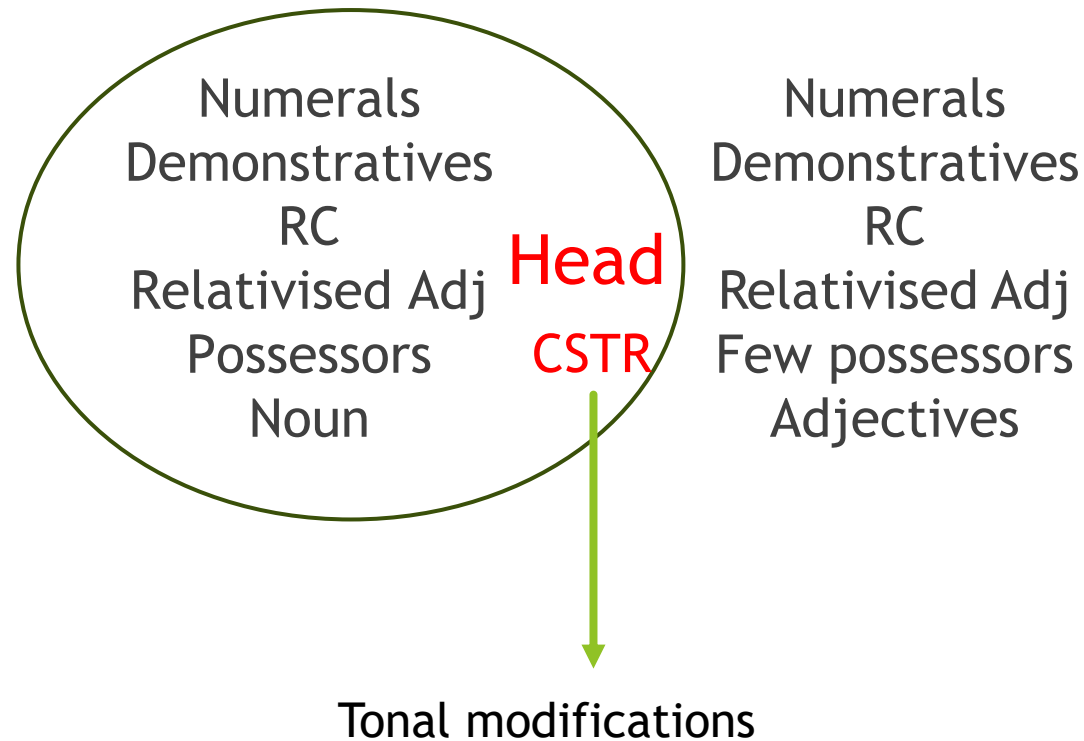
# P5: Word order at the NP level (H-M or M-H)

## ► Interaction of ABST and CSTR forms: Sheko



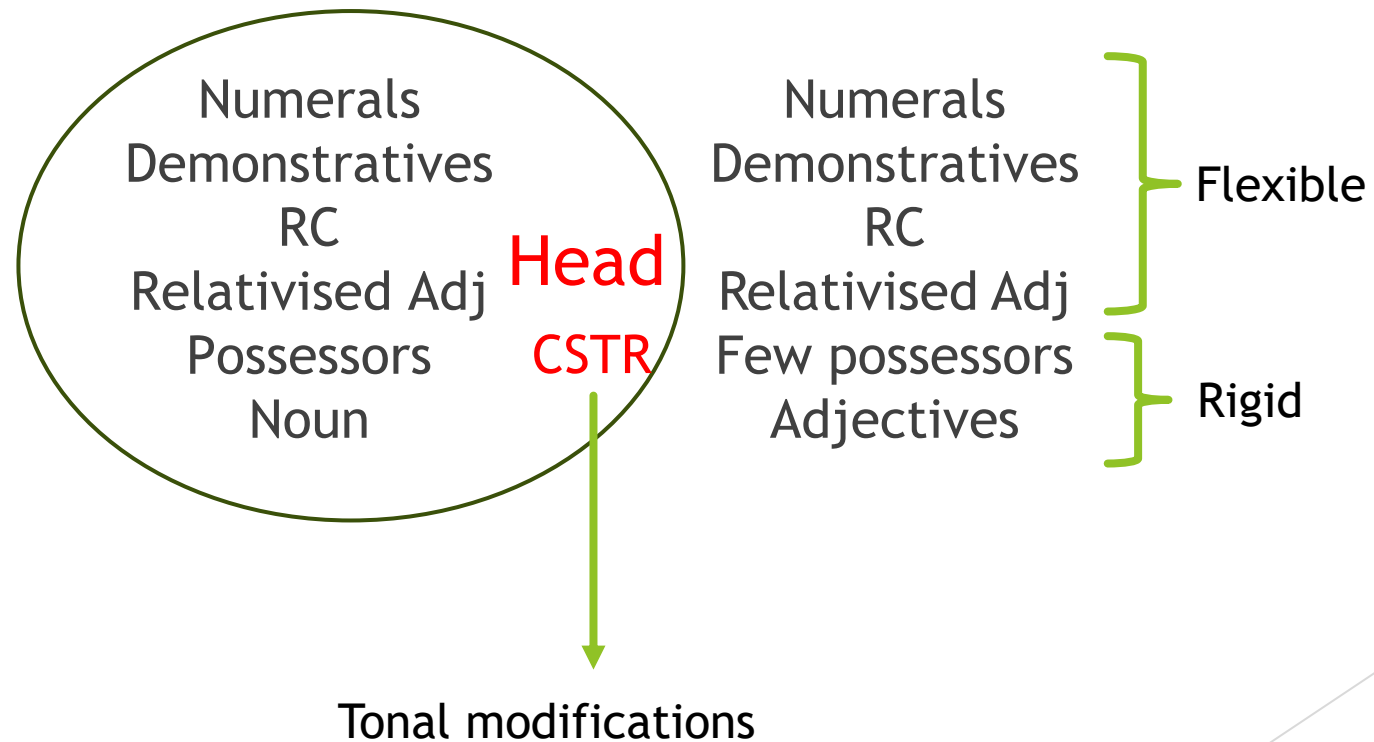
# P5: Word order at the NP level (H-M or M-H)

## ► Interaction of ABST and CSTR forms: Sheko



# P5: Word order at the NP level (H-M or M-H)

## ► Interaction of ABST and CSTR forms: Sheko





## P5: Word order at the NP level (H-M or M-H)

- Sheko (Nilo-Saharan, Hellenthal 2010: 252)

(23) há=ʔōtì            k'oy    sàm̀  
3MS=COW.ABST    one    remain.DS  
'One cow remained' (Numeral)

H-M: No tonal modifications = ABST form

## P5: Word order at the NP level (H-M or M-H)

- Sheko (Nilo-Saharan, Hellenthal 2010: 252)

(24) yí=yòw'ka t' āāgn̄ ʔyats'n-k̀n̄ ādī-k'à  
3FS=well two moon.CSTR-DAT footprint-IN

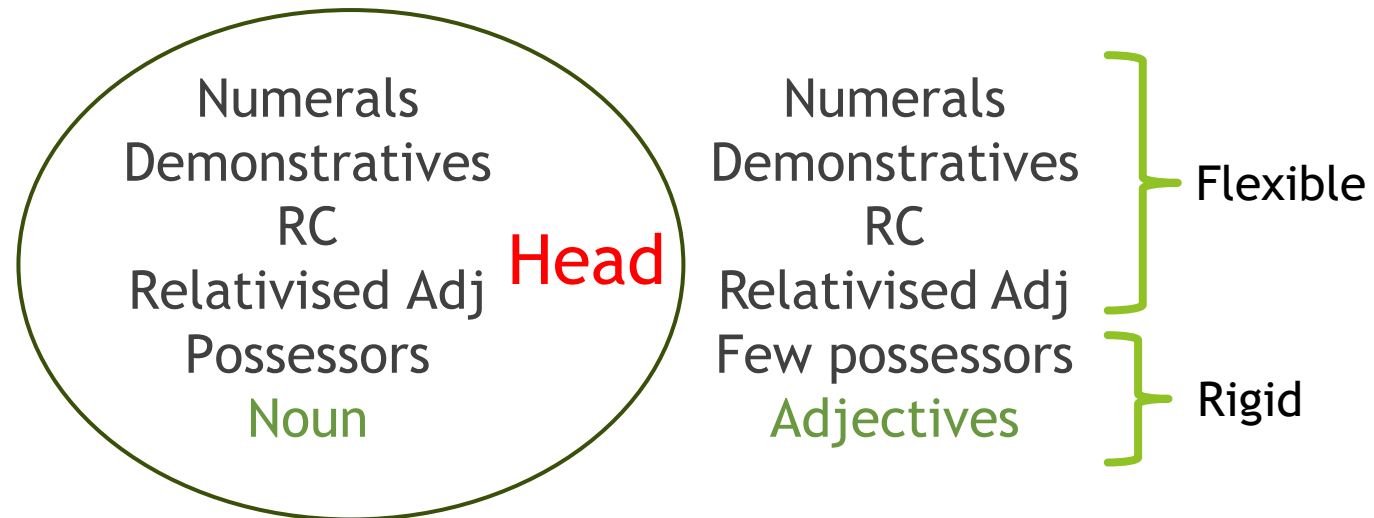
kàʂt'=í-k-ə gē-t'-n̄  
cut.straight.PASS=3FS-REAL-STI say-PASS-DS  
'Well, after two months she is said to be ritually clean'  
(Lit: '... it is said: She has been cut' (Numeral))

M-H: Tonal modifications = CSTR form

ABST: ʔyáts'ń

# P5: Word order at the NP level (H-M or M-H)

## ► Interaction of ABST and CSTR forms: Sheko



Nouns and adjectives are in complementary distribution with respect to ABST and CSTR

## P5: Word order at the NP level (H-M or M-H)

- Sheko (Nilo-Saharan, Hellenthal 2010: 253)

(25) kōmtū dādù  
chief child.CSTR  
'Son of a/ the chief'

M-H.CSTR

(26) \*dādū kōmtū  
child.ABST chief

(27) jēēmā sūb-m̄-s  
cloth.ABST red-DEF-M  
'Red cloth'

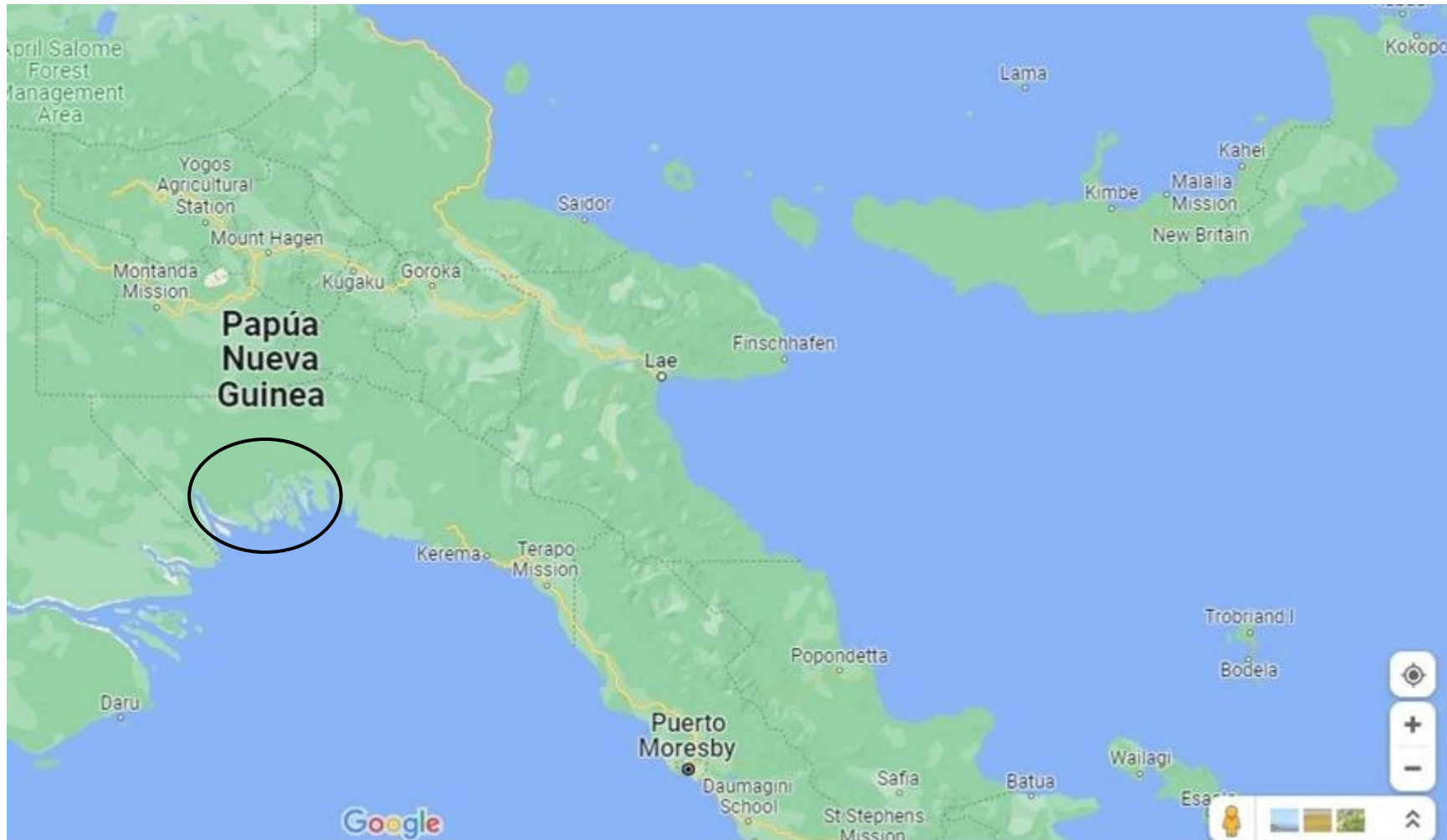
H.ABST-M

(28) \*sūb-m̄-s jèèmà

# Kibiri: General information

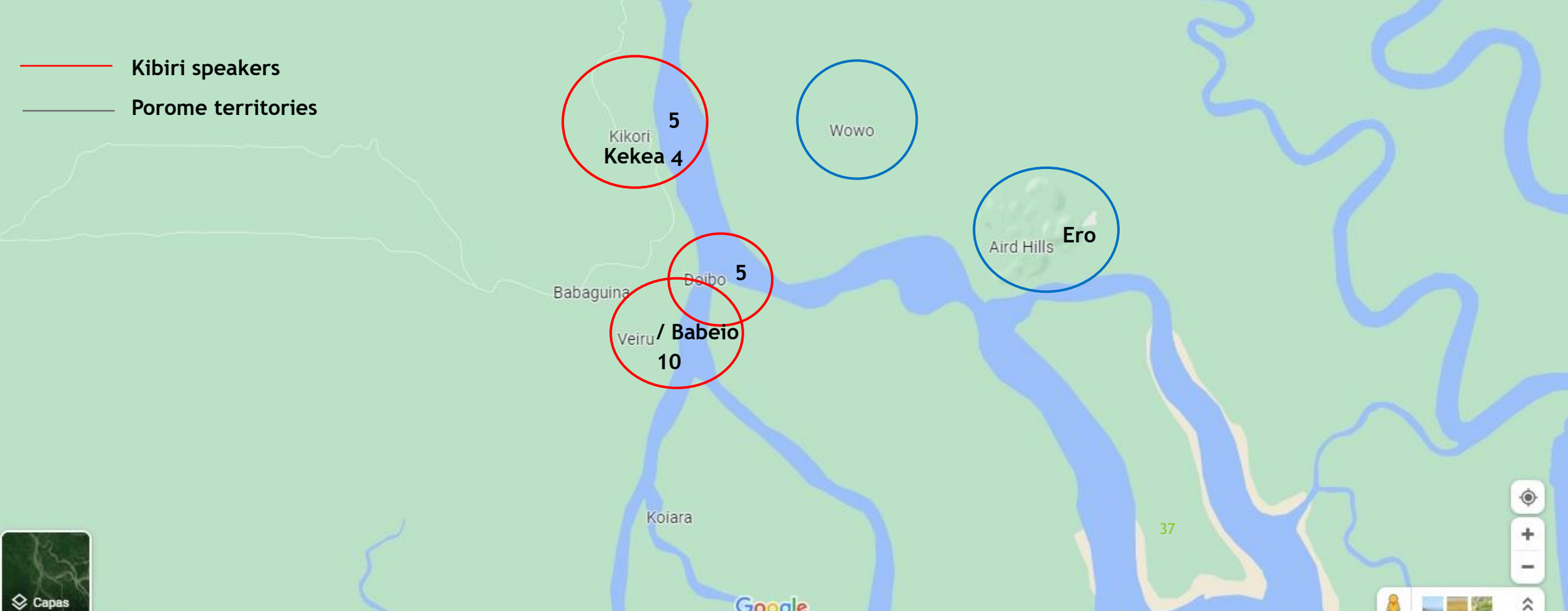
- ▶ Kikori river and environs, Gulf Province, southern PNG
- ▶ With Porome [prm]: Kibiri-Porome isolate family (underresearched)
- ▶ 32 speakers (2022), 41 - 90 years old
- ▶ Attrition process since the 1970's
  - ▶ Intermarriage with Kerewo, an imponent group in the area. Language: Kerewo [kxz] (Kiwaian)
  - ▶ Banned (?) to use Kibiri within the family context
  - ▶ All speakers use Hiri Motu and some English, not much Tok Pisin.
  - ▶ Lack of socialization among remaining speakers.
- ▶ **8a Moribund** or **8b Nearly extinct** (EGIDS), Lewis & Simons<sup>25</sup> (2010)

# Kibiri: General information



# Kibiri: General information

- Kibiri speakers
- Porome territories





# Kibiri: General information

- ▶ SOV
- ▶ 3 tonal melodies: H, HL, LH (so far), no grammatical tone (so far)
- ▶ Number expression becoming analytic (SG/PL)
- ▶ No gender
- ▶ Verbal number (Participant AND Event)
- ▶ Head - Modifier AND Modifier - Head attested
- ▶ ABST and CSTR forms identified for Porome, Petterson (2019)

# Kibiri: ABST and CSTR form of nouns

- ▶ Absolute form: Citation form, unmodified nouns (!)
  - ▶ P1 Marking means: Morphologically and tonally unmarked (only lexical tone)
  - ▶ P2: Co-occurs with features of the noun: Number
  - ▶ No semantic restrictions: kin terms, body parts, mass nouns, etc.
  - ▶ Semantics of the NP: Referent +/- specific; +/- definite
  - ▶ No syntactic role restrictions of NPs: S, O...

# Kibiri: ABST and CSTR form of nouns

## ► Absolute form

(29) **kau**-da=nei                      pe-ireme                      pi-me  
**river.ABST**-DEF.SG=LOC    go-NON3.HODFUT            AUX-1SG

**vi**                      o-me                      pi-me  
**shellfish.ABST**    get-FUT            AUX-1SG (...) (indefinite)

**vi**-da                      karu-reme                      pi-me  
**shellfish.ABST**-DEF.SG            cook-NON3.HODFUT    AUX-1SG

'I will go to the river to get shellfish (...) I will cook the shellfish' (definite, specific) [*Daru kere*]

**CSTR: vi-ro / kau-ro**

# Kibiri: ABST and CSTR form of nouns

## ► Absolute form

### ► P2: Co-occurs with features of the noun: Number

(30) **ia-bu**                      pe-a   vi                      o-me amo   koberika  
**mother.ABST-PL** go-3   shellfish.ABST   get-? 1PL   unmarried

amo   kareraka  
1PL   kid

'The mothers would go for shellfish. We were young. We were kids' (definite) [*Kibiri moro*]

# Kibiri: ABST and CSTR form of nouns

- ▶ Construct form: For modified head nouns (!)
  - ▶ P1 Marking means: Morphologically (and not tonally) marked
    - ▶ 14 inflectional classes (so far)
  - ▶ P2: Co-occurs with features of the noun: Number
  - ▶ P3: Cross-referencing features of the modifier on the head: only prefixed POSSR: 1SG, 2PL
  - ▶ P4: Triggering modifiers: POSSR, ADJ, NUM, QUANT, RC, V
  - ▶ No semantic restrictions: kin terms, body parts, mass nouns, etc.
  - ▶ No syntactic role restrictions of NPs: S, O...

# Kibiri: ABST and CSTR form of nouns

## ► Construct form

► P2: Co-occurs with features of the noun: Number

(31) kumi                **wara-bu**  
dog.ABST            **bone.CSTR-PL**  
'The bones of the dog' [*Elicited*]

ABST: *vei*

# Kibiri: ABST and CSTR form of nouns

## ► Construct form

- P3: Cross-referencing features of the modifier on the head: only in prefixed POSSR: 1SG, 2PL

(32) Moses **arauro**-da  
Moses **cheek.CSTR**-DEF.SG  
'Moises' cheek' [*Elicited*] **ABST: arauri**

(33) a-**ro**                      ivari tere  
1SG-**son.CSTR**              big male  
'My oldest son' [*Daru kava pi tere*] **ABST: ai**

# Kibiri: ABST and CSTR form of nouns

## ► Construct form

### ► P4: Modifiers: Possessors (Pronominal and Nominal)

(34) Moses arauro-da  
Moses cheek.CSTR-DEF.SG [*Elicited*] ABST: arauri  
'Moises' cheek'

(35) a-ro ivari tere  
1SG-son.CSTR big male  
'My oldest son' [*Daru kava pi tere*] ABST: ai



# Kibiri: ABST and CSTR form of nouns

## ► Construct form

### ► P4: Modifiers: Adjectives

(36) **etauri** **mapi-ro**  
**small** **house-CSTR**  
'Small house' [*Elicited*] **ABST: mapi**

### ► P4: Modifiers: Numerals

(37) **buai** **mapi-ro**  
**two** **house-CSTR** [*Elicited*] **ABST: mapi**  
'Two houses'

# Kibiri: ABST and CSTR form of nouns

## ► Construct form

### ► P4: Modifiers: Quantifiers

(38) **keu wai=ba ma~mapi-ro**  
many NEG=DECL PL~house-CSTR  
'Not many houses' [*Elicited*] **ABST: mapi**

### ► P4: Modifiers: Relative clauses

(39) **do ururo pi-e dara**  
2SG speak AUX-2SG language.CSTR

amo umo wai=ba  
1SG know NEG=DECL

'I do not understand the language that you speak'<sup>47</sup>  
[*Elicited*] **ABST: daru**

# Kibiri: ABST and CSTR form of nouns

## ► Construct form

### ► P4: Modifiers: Interrogative pronouns

(40) do    apau    beiro    pou-me    pi-e    anaira?  
2SG    which    day.CSTR    come-FUT    AUX-2SG    1SG.ALL  
'What day are you coming to (see) me?' [Elicited] ABST: bari

### ► P4: Modifiers: Verbs

(41) ko    do-me    uburo  
drink    AUX-?    water.CSTR  
'Water for drinking' [Elicited] ABST: ubi

# Kibiri: ABST and CSTR form of nouns

## ► Construct form

### ► 2 CSTR-marked nouns as verbs

(42) a-**pumuro** dabui-da  
1SG-**heart.CSTR** place.ABST-DEF.SG  
'I like the place' [Observed] **ABST: *pumi***

(43) a-**imini-a**=nei orio baba=nei vere-bo-ro  
1SG-**mind-CSTR**=AGT old father.CSTR=AGT create.O.SG-3-FPST

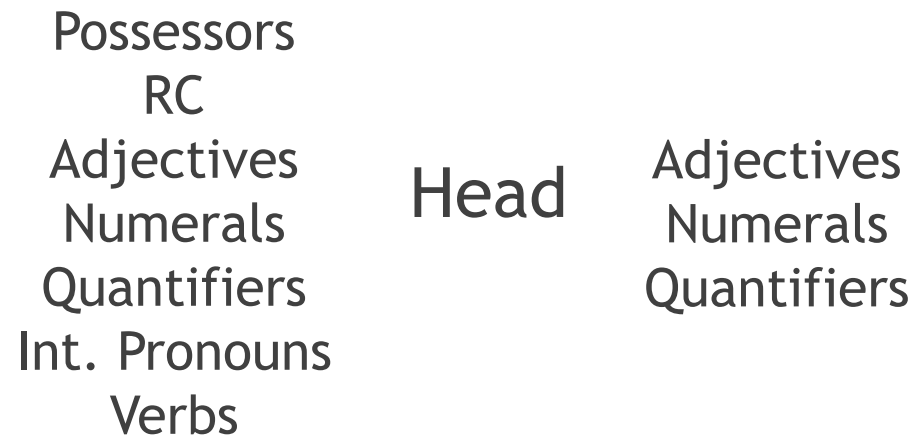
ei-da

land.ABST-DEF.SG

'I think God created the world' [Elicited] **ABST: *imini***<sup>49</sup>

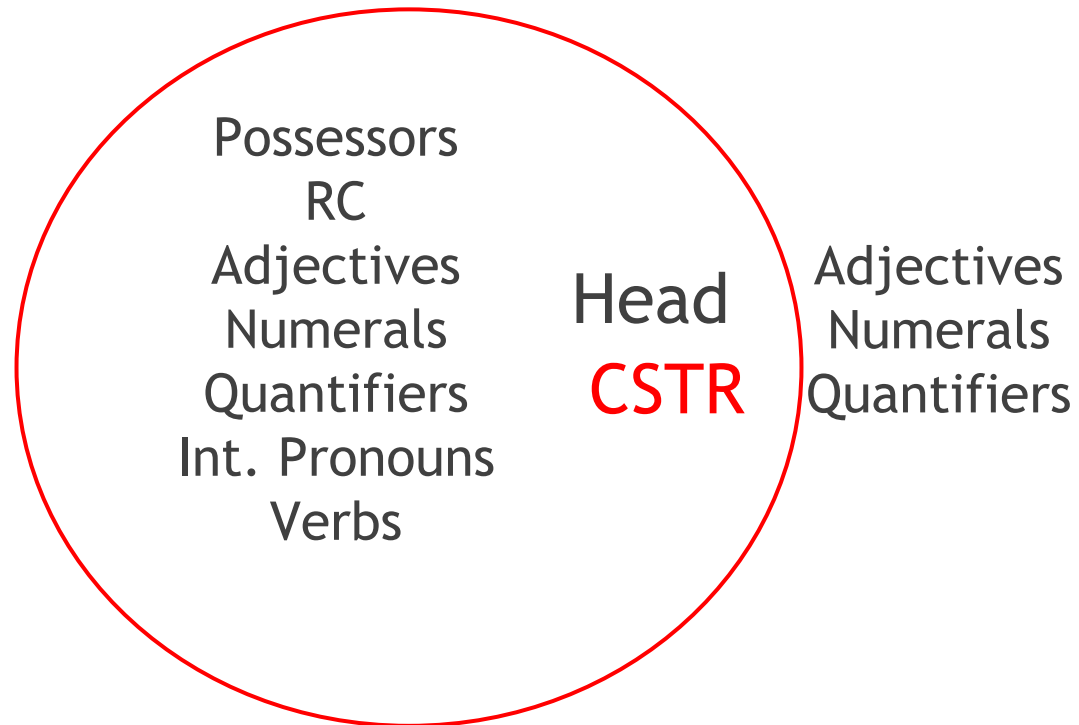
# P5: Word order at the NP level (H-M or M-H)

## ► Interaction of ABST and CSTR forms: Kibiri



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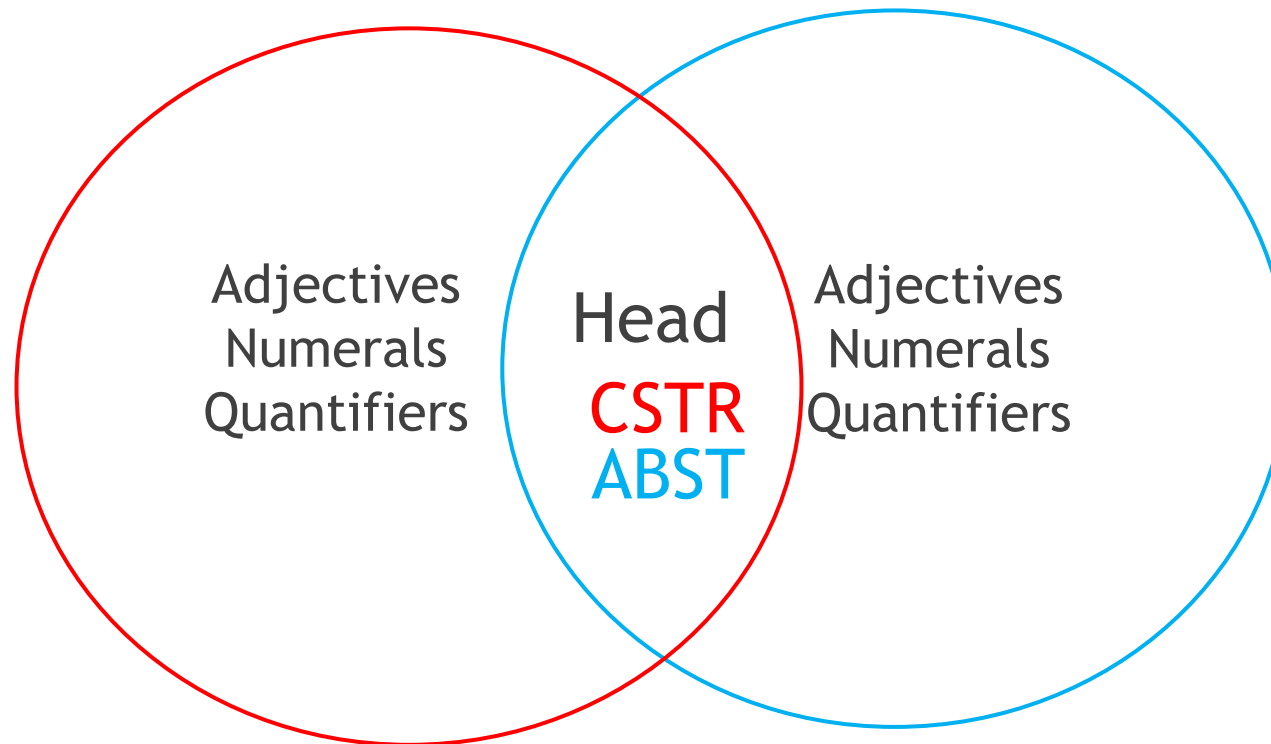
Possessors  
RC  
Adjectives  
Numerals  
Quantifiers  
Int. Pronouns  
Verbs

Head  
**ABST**

Adjectives  
Numerals  
Quantifiers

## P5: Word order at the NP level (H-M or M-H)

### ► Interaction of ABST and CSTR forms: Kibiri

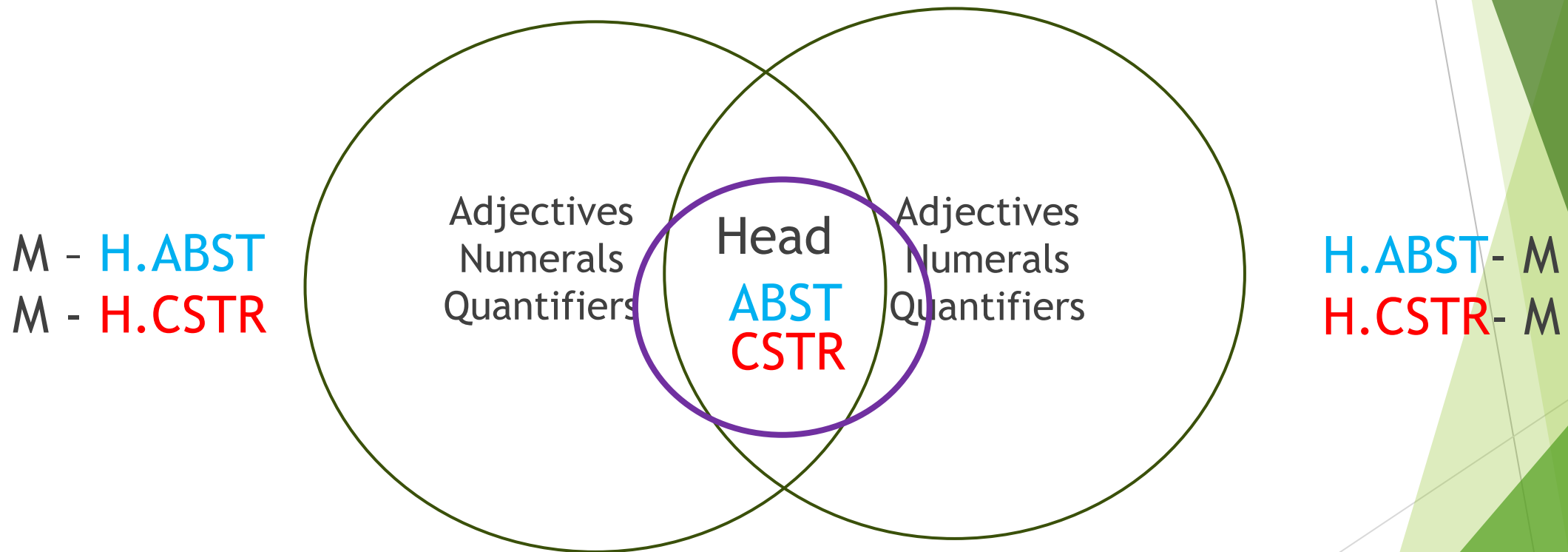


Similar to Sheko, Hellenthal (2010) and to Karbi, Konnerth (2014)



# P5: Word order at the NP level (H-M or M-H)

## ► Interaction of ABST and CSTR forms: Kibiri



Any order is possible, but the frequencies differ

## P5: Word order at the NP level (H-M or M-H)

### ► Interaction of ABST and CSTR forms: Kibiri

(44) oparo            **mapi-ro**  
beautiful        **house-CSTR**  
'Beautiful house'

(47) oparo            **mapi**  
beautiful        **house.ABST**

(45) wawa            **ere**  
one                **woman.CSTR**  
'One woman'

(48) wawa            **ori**  
one                **banana.ABST**  
'One banana'

(46) keu    wai=ba    **ma~mapi-ro**  
many NEG=DECL **PL~house-CSTR**  
'Not many houses'

(49) ?

+ frequent

+/- frequent

## P5: Word order at the NP level (H-M or M-H)

### ► Interaction of ABST and CSTR forms

(50) **mapi-ro** etauri  
**house-CSTR** small  
'Beautiful house'

(53) **mapi** ivari  
**house.ABST** big  
'Big house'

(51) **mapi-ro** buai  
**house-CSTR** two  
'Two houses'

(54) **kumi** wawa bai-a  
**bird.ABST** one fly.s.SG-3PRS  
'One bird flies'

(52) ? keu

(55) epui-da=nei **ori** aua  
blue.ABST-DEF.SG=LOC **star.ABST** all  
'All the stars are on the black (strip)'

- frequent

+ frequent

## P5: Word order at the NP level (H-M or M-H)

- ▶ Frequency in the corpus
- ▶ Preference for CSTR to be head-final and ABST to be head-initial

M - H.ABST +/-

H.ABST - M +++

M - H.CSTR +++

H.CSTR - M --

Any order is possible, but the frequencies differ

# CSTR inflectional classes

## ► Sub-class 1: Suffixation classes

CLASS I: -ro (15)		
ABST	CSTR	Gloss
i	i-ro	'Sago, food'
ou	ou-ro	'Pain'
imai	imai-ro	'Snake'
viati	viati-ro	'Younger brother/sister'

CLASS II: -a (65)		
ABST	CSTR	Gloss
oi	oi-a	'Tase, flavour'
nei	nei-a	'Louse'
kotobiri	kotobiri-a	'Frog'
keipari	keipari-a	'Rat'

# CSTR inflectional classes

## ► Sub-class 2: Final segmental alternation classes

CLASS III: u → a (2)		
ABST	CSTR	Gloss
daru	dara	‘Word, language’
paru	para	‘Blood’

CLASS IV: i → o (26)		
ABST	CSTR	Gloss
iri	iro	‘Hand, arm’
koropeiri	koropeiro	‘Cassovary’
maupi	maupo	‘Joint, corner’
pepeauri	pepeauro	‘Wind, breath’

# CSTR inflectional classes

## ► Sub-class 2: Final segmental alternation classes

CLASS V: i → e (2)		
ABST	CSTR	Gloss
eri	ere	'Woman'
mori	more	'Flesh, meat'

CLASS VI: i → a (21)		
ABST	CSTR	Gloss
ori	ora	'Leaf'
paumi	pauma	'Feather'
boribi	boriba	'Cuscus'
Bei	Bea	'Tongue'

# CSTR inflectional classes

## ► Sub-class 2: Final segmental alternation classes

CLASS VII: i → ea (2)		
ABST	CSTR	Gloss
ori	orea	'Banana'
mori	morea	'Flesh, meat'

CLASS VIII: ri → a (5)		
ABST	CSTR	Gloss
meri	mea	'Path, road'
kubeiri	kubeia	'Flying fox'
kairi	kaia	'Bow'



# CSTR inflectional classes

## ► Sub-class 2: Final segmental alternation classes

CLASS IX: $V_1V_2 \rightarrow$ - High (6)		
ABST	CSTR	Gloss
kamei	kama	'Body'
bamai	bama	'Chest'
dabui	dabo	'Place'

# CSTR inflectional classes

## ► Sub-class 3: Stem modification classes

CLASS X: (C)ei → (C)ara (2)		
ABST	CSTR	Gloss
ei	ara	'Name'
kei	kara	'Seed'

CLASS XI: u(C)i → uro (6)		
ABST	CSTR	Gloss
kui	kuro	'Hair, fur'
kapui	kapuro	'Leg, foot'
ubi	uburo	'Water'

# CSTR inflectional classes

## ► Sub-class 3: Stem modification classes

CLASS XII: $V_1V_2 \rightarrow Vro$ (2)		
ABST	CSTR	Gloss
oi	oro	'Sickness'
ai	aro	'Child, son'

CLASS XIII: $CV_1V_2 \rightarrow Ca$ (3)		
ABST	CSTR	Gloss
pai	pa	'Face'
nau	na	'Excrement'
wau	wa	'Bee'

# CSTR inflectional classes

## ► Sub-class 4: Residual classes

CLASS XIV: Irregular (14)		
ABST	CSTR	Gloss
evi	everea	'Thorn'
woi	wowo	'Bag, bilum'
imai	imare	'Clan, family'
Bari	Beiro	'Sun, day, sky, time'

CLASS XV: Defective (7)		
ABST	CSTR	Gloss
ara	ara	'Fence'
erema	erema	'Sister'
ukukuro	ukukuro	'Rope'

# Conclusions

- ▶ Typology of ABST/CSTR form of nouns
  - ▶ Higher concentration is found in Africa and the Pacific.
  - ▶ Literature: CSTR +++, ABST ---, NP order +/-
  - ▶ Interaction with features of the head noun itself: Number (Kibiri), Gender (Hausa)
  - ▶ The head noun can or cannot mark features of the modifier (generally the possessor = Shilluk).
  - ▶ POSSR is generally the most frequent modifier that triggers the CSTR form: almost all languages exhibit this.
    - ▶ Variation according to: POSSR Pronominal only (Anejôm), or Pronominal and Nominal (Kibiri, Nahuatl)
  - ▶ CSTR is rarely only used in constructions other than adnominal possession (RC in Eton, Creissels 2017:16; Van de Velde 2017)

# Conclusions

- ▶ Typology of ABST/CSTR form of nouns
  - ▶ Kibiri, Shilluk and Sheko's CSTR covers the most types of modifiers.
  - ▶ Verbs as modifiers triggering CSTR are uncommon: Shilluk, Kibiri.
  - ▶ Kibiri is the only language having lexicalized CSTR-marked nouns as verbs.
  - ▶ Other parts of speech CSTR-marked: Hausa, Shilluk, Kibiri?, Karbi.
  - ▶ Kibiri and Sheko demonstrate that ABST and CSTR can be influenced by word order at the NP level.
    - ▶ ABST and CSTR are in complementary distribution following the NP order.
    - ▶ Frequency of attestations and data-collection methods are relevant factors
    - ▶ More typological research on this matter is relevant

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Thank you!  
Amo dororiba!  
Merci beaucoup !

