Gender and declension in Karaboro (Senufo)

Klaudia Dombrowsky-Hahn

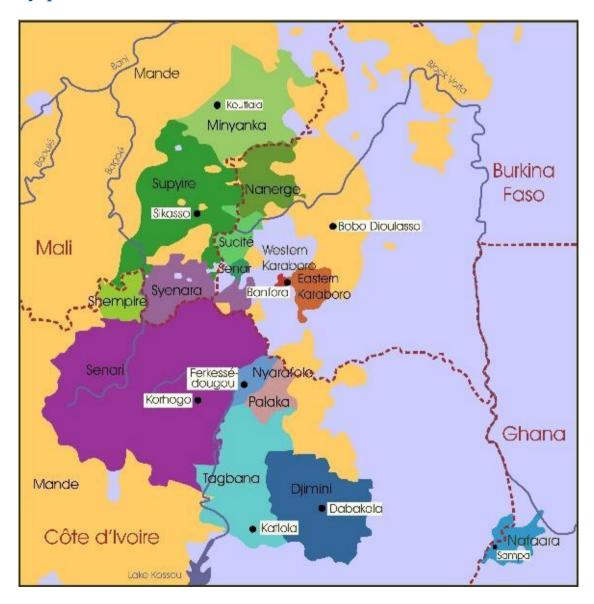
Bayreuth University & Goethe University Frankfurt / Main

This is an outcome of the research project "Sprache der Karaboro" (Mi 289/15-1 and Mi 289/15-2) financed by the German Research Foundation DFG, hosted at the University of Bayreuth from 2006 to 2012. Many thanks to the project director Prof. Gudrun Miehe

Workshop "Gender in Gur languages"
Humboldt University Berlin
27-28 June 2019



The Senufo languages, Karaboro within Senufo and the choice of Syer as variety presented here



The agreement system in Syer: noun phrase and pronouns illustrated with relative clauses

```
[[yí ŋwnễ-y ʃĩn yíí]_O wù na ŋgbɔ̃]_{RC}, DEF4 stories-Y two4 REL4 she HEST tell 'The two stories that she told yesterday
```

[$m\varepsilon$ laa \emptyset tò $l\dot{\varepsilon}$ [yi ni] $_{OBL}$] $_{MC}$? your interior PRF fall Q PR4 at do you remember them (lit.: has your interior fallen on them)? (Secoke 0963 35:39,91)

[ki klùgò hyíí kì]_S si ná ù $ngb\tilde{s}$]_{RC} ù tìgì, DEF3 owl:GV REL3 PR3 DP HOD him pinch he.PRF descend 'The owl that has pinched him (so that) he fell down, (lit.: descended),

```
[[kihìgè]<sub>S</sub> fn\varepsilon sí u krè-n]<sub>MC</sub>

EMPH3 also DP him chase-IPFV

is now chasing him.' (Frog Syer 072 03:29,8)

Agreement triggers

are bold
```

The agreement system in Syer noun phrase - definite article

pw̃	u	pw̃
dog:U	DEF1	dog:U
'dog'	'the do	g'
măàb	pί	măàb
sheep: B	DEF2	sheep: B
'sheep; pl.'		'the sheep, pl.'
wugel	li	wuge-l
hole:L	DEF5	hole-L
'hole'	'the hol	e'
jè-r	ti	jè-r
send-R	DEF7	send-R

'the commission'

'commission'

In Karaboro (Kar & Syer) the definite is marked with an article preceding the full noun.

Nouns bear suffixes, which are however not always clearly separable from the stem

noun phrase - discourse demonstrative (EMPH) as determiner

wugò co

1EMPH woman: U 'this woman'

yigè nἔη 4EMPH cow:Y 'these cows'

tigè brê
7EMPH play:RV
'this play, game'

pigè snɔ̃
8EMPH oil:MV
'this oil'

The short EMPH form: reconstructed Proto-Senufo "anaphoric" set of pronouns *Ce (Carlson 2012) still found in this form in Tyebari as "particules de rappel" (Laughren 1974) + (in Syer) suffix -gV.

The suffixation follows the regular vowel harmony with an unspecified target.

noun phrase - discourse demonstrative (EMPH) as determiner

```
wuwùgò cɔ
1EMPH woman:U
'this woman'
```

yiyìgè nĕn 4EMPH cow:Y 'these cows'

titìgè brê
7EMPH play:RV
'this play, game'

pipìgè snɔ̂
8EMPH oil:MV
'this oil'

The long version of the discourse demonstrative results from the combination of the definite article and the short discourse demonstrative.

noun phrase - exophoric demonstrative (DEM)

c

ywò~ ηwà
woman:
U DEM1

'this woman'

*t*ũn nnè work:LV DEM5 'this work'

pliy nyè day:Y DEM4 'these days'

pŏr ndè mud:RV DEM7 'this mud'

The exophoric demonstrative has the shape NCè (C + voiced), for some agreement classes the vowel is alternatively ò, à.

noun phrase - Indefinite determiner (IND) 'certain, another ...'

cεèb cέ-<u>plàà</u>

woman: B woman-IND2

'women' 'certain women'

laa la-<mark>gâ</mark>

sun-A sun-IND3

'sun, time, era' 'a certain/another era'

ກຄືwùgɔ ກຄືwɔ̀-<mark>gà</mark>

rainy.season:GV rainy.season-IND3

'rainy season' 'another rainy season'

fàl fà-<mark>lâ</mark>

net-LV net-IND5

'net' 'a part of the net'

When used as determiners, indefinite morphemes are most often suffixed to the noun root; they replace the usual ('neutral') noun suffix.

noun phrase - Indefinite determiner (IND) 'certain, another ...'

However, the indefinite determiner is not always suffixed to the root: occasionally, it follows the full noun as a free form, either

- a) as an alternative to the suffixed form,
 - or
- b) as unique possibility
- a) co $c\varepsilon$ - $w\hat{a}\sim co$ $w\hat{a}$ woman:U woman-IND1 woman:U IND1 'woman' 'a certain woman' 'a certain woman'
- b) wɔ-de wɔde lâ *wɔ-lâ knife-DE IND5 knife-ind5 'knife' 'a certain knife' 'a certain knife'
 - pl. wɔ-jεὲ knife-ɹεε

noun phrase – interrogative 'which' (INT) as determiner

gbìgaà gb**ã**-kl**č**è interrogative 'which' – form: Cpot:G V L ♥ pot-INT6 yii 'which pots' 'pots' in some agreement classes simplification wleb wlε-pyii (AGR1 * wyii > yii),

mahogany-INT8 mahogany-B spirantization 'mahogany'

'which mahogany' (AGR3 *kyii > hyii)

additional -IV- suffix plígì blî-hyìi (AGR2 plee and AGR6 klee) day:G V day-INT3

'which day, when?' 'day'

the same morphemes nîndě nîn-dyìi are used as relativizers place-INT5 place:DE in relative clauses 'which place, where?' 'place'

noun phrase – interrogative 'which' (INT) as determiner

Like the indefinite determiner, the interrogative occurs as suffix or as free form which follows the full noun

- a) as an alternative to the suffixed form
- b) in more complex noun phrases, where another element intervenes between the noun stem and the INT morpheme
- a) $c\mathfrak{I}$ $c\mathfrak{E}$ -yii \sim $c\mathfrak{I}$ yii woman: U woman-INT1 woman: U INT1 'woman' 'which woman'
- b) yí ŋwnẽ-y ʃin yíí

 DEF4 stories-Y two4 REL4

 'the two stories that'

 ŋwnẽ-yíí

 stories-REL4

 'which stories / the stories that'

noun phrase small numbers

Small numbers 1,2,3,4 and 7 show agreement with the trigger

				00
ndye <mark>nùn</mark>	ketyigi	nùŋ	cilɛ	nùn
person:ø one1	tree:G V	one2	calabash:LV	one6
'one person'	'one tre	ee'	'one calabash'	•
ndyeèb <mark>∫ɔ̃b</mark>	kɛtyiy	∫i̇́jn	cìlɛ̃ŋ	ſyã
person: B two2	tree-Y	two4	calabash:GVLV	two6
'two persons'	'two tre	ees'	'two calabash	es'
ndyeèb <mark>tràb</mark>	kɛtyiy	tààr	cìlɛ̃ŋ	taàr
person: B three2	tree-y	three4	calabash:GVLV	three6
'three persons'	'three t	rees'	'three calabas	hes'
ndyeèb <mark>kləʃɔ̃b</mark>	kɛtyiy	kləsin	cìlɛ̃ŋ	klɔʃyã
person: B seven2	tree-y	seven4	calabash:GVLV	seven6
'seven persons'	'seven 1	trees'	'seven calabas	shes'

The agreement system in Syer noun phrase – quantifier $-j\varepsilon$ - 'only, sole, unique, -self'

-jɛ- 'only, unique, -self' needs one of the two following supports: either the uniform prefix $w\hat{o}$ - or the discourse demonstrative of the respective agreement class

```
co wò-jo ~ co wùgò-jo
woman: U wò-only: U woman: U EMPH1-only: U
'the only woman'

cεὲb wò-jὲb ~ cεὲb pìgè-jὲb
woman: B wò-only: B
'the only women'

jòŋhìga wò-jigε ~ jòŋhìga hìgè-jigε
hyena: G V wò-only: G V
'the only hyenas'
```

Many pronouns are the same morphemes as those presented here as determiners in a noun phrase.

There is a strong association between certain agreement classes and semantic categories

AGR1 / AGR2 humans

AGR3 / AGR4 artefacts

AGR5 speech, events, problems, issues

AGR7 masses, substances

AGR8 pourables

Pronouns – anaphoric and discourse demonstratives

- a) anaphoric pronoun
- b) short discourse demonstrative

```
    ù ligè pàr máà hɔ̄...
    PR1:PRF 5EMPH speak CONS.IT(go) finish
    'She finished saying this...' (Madu 0499 18:38)
```

c) long discourse demonstrative

```
[There is a thing in the water, we call it "turtle". It catches people.]

kihìgè gá pàà nè mɛ páá lè.

3EMPH UNEX(go) VEN arrive CONS VEN(come) stop

'It (such a thing) suddenly came near (the girl) and stopped there.' (Madu 0426 16:18,9)
```

The agreement system in Syer Pronouns – indefinite pronouns

[Storyteller: "Hyena killed the speaking bird, but when its voice repeated the warning, he assembled the feathers and burned them." A listener asks:]

kà sĩ klỏ lè?

IND3 NEG remain Q

'Nothing remained?'

(Misc 0006, reformulated from Secoke 0320 12:43,10)

Pronouns – possessum pronouns

- Form: root ŋwɔ̃- alternatively wɔ̃- + suffix.
- Order in genitive constructions: genitive possessum
- Expression of something like 'X's one' or 'the one of X'.
- The controller or trigger of the agreement is the possessum noun which has been previously mentioned or to which reference is made and which is evident from the context / from the speaker's encyclopedic knowledge.
- The possessum pronoun replaces in such a genitive construction the trigger

```
mε ŋwɔ̃n
your POS7
'yours' (ref.: 'to')
```

<u>pi tũn</u> fne, ki sî mè nì <u>wô ngɔl</u> ni nicèn. their work: G V L V DISC PR6 NEG COP with our POS6 with same 'Their works and ours are not the same.' (Secoke 0640 25:29,77)

Copulas – simple identifier morphemes

Form: NV or NCV, vowel [+high], nasal component goes back to a copula *ni, known from many Niger-Congo languages;

Function: identification or categorization of a noun phrase

```
co w\tilde{u} nugò w\tilde{u} woman: U IDEN1 I.EMPH IDEN1 'It's a woman.' 'It's me.'
```

jòŋhìga ŋì ~ ŋkĩ hyena:GV IDEN3 'This is a hyena'.

gban nì
pot:LV IDEN5
'This is a pot'

The agreement system in Syer Copulas – deictic identifier morphemes

- Form: *NCV* , *V* corresponds to -*e* or -*a*;
- resembles exophoric demonstratives
- Function: it adds the location of the identified noun as being near the speaker or at least perceivable for him/her. Speakers use it in order to attract the listeners' attention to the entity.

```
u plo ŋwo ...
her husband: U DEIC.IDEN1
'Here is her husband ...' (Secoke 0182 07:55,70)
u !ye é! ∫yὲ-gὰ ŋge!
he say INTERJ baobab-IND3 DEIC.IDEN3
'He said: "Hey, what a wonderful baobab (lit.: here is a baobab)!" (Secoke 0130a 06:01,49)
```

Suffixes and characteristic consonants

Gender in Senufo languages is generally an overt one, being marked on the noun itself. But some agreement elements of nominal origin show the usual **noun suffixes**, too.

- *-jε* 'only'
- (numerals)
- possessum pronoun based on the morpheme $\eta w\tilde{o}$ $\sim w\tilde{o}$ going back to the noun 'thing, artefact' $\eta w\tilde{o}$ 'thing, object'

All other elements display the initial consonant characteristic of the respective agreement class (+ traces of a –*lV*- morpheme in the agreement classes 2 and 6)

- anaphoric pronouns and reflexive pronouns built on them: uni, pini
- discourse demonstratives
- indefinite pronouns and determiners
- demonstratives
- identifiers

The agreement system of Syer Agreement targets

AGR	NU	ANAPH	DEF	INDEF	F	МРН	INTER	POSS
1	S,TR	(w)u	(w)u	-wâ	wugò	wuwùgò	-yii	ŋwõ
2	P,TR	pi	pi	-plàà	pigè	pipìgè	-plɛè	ŋwゔm̀
5	S, TR	li	li	-lâ	ligè	lilìgè	-dyii	ŋwnɔ̃
6	TR,P	ki	ki	-klăà	higè	kihìgè	-kleè	ŋgɔ̃l
3	S, TR	ki	ki	-gâ, kâ	higè	kihìgè	-hyii	ŋwゔŋ
4	P,TR	yi	yi	-yâ	yigè	yiyìgè	-yii	ŋwゔŋ
7	TR,P	ti	ti	-râ, tâ	tigè	titìgè	-tyii	ŋwゔn
8	S,TR	pi	pi	-bâ, pâ	pigè	pipìgè	-pyii	ŋwɔ̃m

8 agreement classes, AGR 1-8; five more agreement classes with a reduced set of targets can be added for diminutives

The agreement system of Syer Agreement targets

AGR	REFL	DEM	SIMPLE	DEIC.IDENT	-jε- 'only'
			IDENT		
1	unì	ӈ҃ѡò	wũ	ŋwa, ŋwe, ŋwo	wòjɔ
2	pinì~binì	ńhnὲ	hnε	nhnε	wòjèb
5	linì	ńnè	nì	nna ~ nne	wòjɛl
6	ginì	ńhnὲ	hnε	nhnε	wòjigÈ
3	ginì	ŋ́gè	\mathfrak{g} kĩ \sim \mathfrak{h}	ŋga ~ ŋge	wòjigɛ
4	yinì	ńуè	ŋì	луа ∼ луе	wòjɛy
7	tinì	ńdè, ńnè	ntĩ	nda	wòjɛr
8	pinì	́mbè	mpĩ	mba ~ mbe	wòjɛb

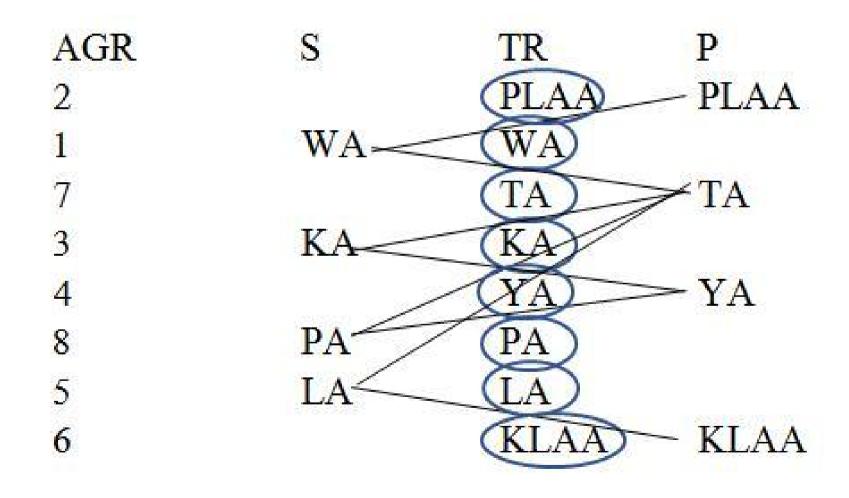
The agreement system in Syer The representation of the agreement classes

AGR	NU	ANAPH	DEF	INDEF	E	МРН	INTER	POSS
1	S,TR	(w)u	(w)u	-wâ	wugò	wuwùgò	-yii	ŋwõ
4	P	yi	yi	-yâ	yigè	yiyìgè	-yii	ŋwゔŋ
2	P	pi	pi	-plāà	pigè	pipìgè	-pleè	ŋwõm̀
8	S,TR	pi	pi	-pâ	pigè	pipìgè	-pyii	ŋwɔ̃m
5	S, TR	li	li	-lâ	ligè	lilìgè	-dyii	ŋwnõ
6	TR,P	ki	ki	-klăà	higè	kihìgè	-kleè	ŋgɔ̃l
3	S, TR	ki	ki	-gâ, kâ	higè	kihìgè	-hyii	ŋwゔŋ
7	TR,P	ti	ti	-tâ, tâ	tigè	titìgè	-tyii	ŋwゔn

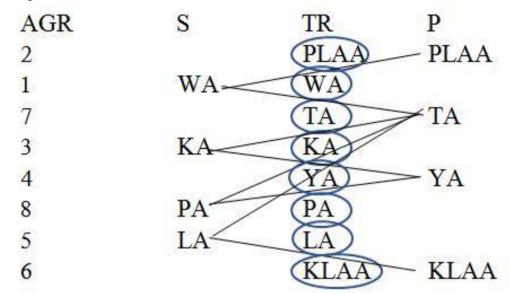
- representation of the agreement classes by the marker set of **indefinite pronouns and determiners**, because it involves the maximal class differentiation

The gender system of Syer

Gender = "classes of nouns in abstract lexicon"



The gender system of Syer



- 8 paired genders
- all agreement classes occur with transnumeral nouns, this means that all the others are not dedicated to a single number value.
- the following singular agreement classes 1WA, 3KA, 8PA, 5LA, and the plural agreement classes 2PLAA, 4YA, and 6KLAA host also transnumeral nouns
- derivational use: the single gender 7TA (collectives, masses) is used as secondary plural; gender 3KA / 4 YA as augmentative

Noun form classes that represent the counterpart of agreement classes at morphophonological level are suffix classes. They occur on

- > agreement controlers:
- simple nouns (bearing one nominal root only)
- compounds, including noun + adjective compounds
- > and on agreement targets
- headless adjectives

```
wɔ̃-tyɔ̃-ŋ
NOM-long-GV
'a long one AGR3'
```

- the possessum pronoun
- -jε- 'only'
- (the lower numerals)

There are 14 different noun form classes

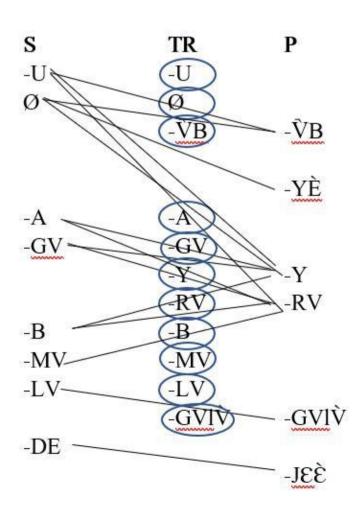
NF	Form	NU	Examples	AGR
-U	-u	S,TR	cɔ 'woman' (cε-)	1
			nsrò 'honey'	1TR
	-w		$l\tilde{\nu}$ '(a woman's) brother' ($l\tilde{\epsilon}$ -)	1
Ø	-	S,TR	Sècoke 'woman's name', Adama 'Adam'	1
			ndye 'person'	1
			tògòplə 'sumbala'	1TR
			dyinã 'world'	1TR
			ηὲ 'mouth'	3
			nè 'grass'	3TR
			ກgbຈັ 'funeral, death', hlìy 'shame'	8TR
-LV	-1V	S,TR	cìlì 'seed, kernel'	5
	-nV		cìnè 'egg'	5
			kεninε 'truth'	5TR
	-1		hòl 'stool' 5	
	-n		kémãn 'upper arm', kãn 'stick'	5
			myı̃n 'voice'(myı̃-)	5TR

-∇B	-(∇)b	TR,P	ŋköòb 'chickens'	2P
			'klɛ̃ɛ̀b 'Eastern Karaboro people'	2TR
	-` m		nããm 'men'	2
			tế ền ềểm 'inhabitants of Ténguéréla'	2
	- ∇, VѶ		tîcìreè 'children'	2
-YÈ	-yè	P	bèbeyè 'deaf-mutes' (< J. bóbo)	2
- DE	-de	S	yεde 'eye', wɔde 'knife'	5
	-ne		$k\tilde{\epsilon}de \sim k\tilde{\epsilon}ne$ 'route, road'	5
-GVlŶ	-gVŶ	TR,P	fìgaà 'nets'	6
	-g∇̈		pyìgè 'bowls'	6
	-g∇l		nìgèl 'horns'	6
	- - ŋ̀		ηkũὴ 'navels'	6
	-∇ŋ		kếhòòŋ 'applause'	6TR
	-∇		hliì 'lianas'	
	- (∇)1		tyɛ̃l 'ponds',	6
			ʃɔ̂l 'millet'	6TR
	`(:)		j̃εὲl 'year'	6
-JEE	-jɛɛ̀, jɛ̀	P	wɔjεὲ ~ wɔĵɛ 'knives'	6

-GV	-gV	S	lyigε 'Borassus palm'	3
			tîtùgu 'potash', cùgò 'clay'	3TR
	-ŋ		ntãŋ 'shoe', nĩŋ 'root'	3
			kɛ̃mpĩŋ 'sorghum'	3TR
-A	-a	S,TR	fla 'place' (flε-)	3
			laa 'sun'	3TR
-Y	-y	TR,P	lyεy 'Borassus palms'	4
	- <u>n</u>		nîn 'roots'	4
			kẽwrĕn 'crossroads'	4 TR
-TV	-rV	TR,P	suru 'porridge',	7TR
	-r		<i>lyɛr</i> 'Borassus palms'	7P
			sur 'millet', ſyɛ̃r 'Syer language'	7TR
	-n		nîn 'roots'	7P
			nīkīn 'wood', ntūn 'iron'	7TR
-B	-b	S,TR	wleb 'mahogany'	
			tyìb 'medicine'	
	-m		ʃi̞nããm 'tamarind'	
-MV	-m		mùgòm 'salt'	8TR
	-nV		snɔ̃ 'oil, butter'	

The declension classes of Syer

Declension classes are the morphophonological counterpart of genders, they are represented by the pairing of singular and plural noun form class exponents.



- 15 types of singular-plural pairings
- 11 noun form classes occur also with transnumeral nouns
- only 1 singular NF class (-DE) and 2 plural NF classes (-YÈ, -JEE) are not used for transnumeral nouns

Types of singular-plural pairings

S	P	example pairing	gloss
-U	- ∇ B	dyɔ̀ / dyɛ̃ɛ̀b	'boy', 'son'
-U	-Y	sôplɔ̆ / sôplɛ̆y	'boar'
-U	-RV	sôplɔ̆ / sôplɛ̆r	'boar'
Ø	- VB	pîî / pĭìb (´ pĭìb)	hare
Ø	-YÈ	ǹsòo / ǹsòoyè	'cat' (< J. sògòlon)
Ø	-Y	μ̃ε / μ̃εy	'mouth'
		ŋhiga / ŋhigay	'dry season'
-LV	-GVlV	cìlì / cìgiì	'seed, kernel'
-LV	- ` L	tyɛl / tyɛ̃l	'pond'
-DE	-JE E	kẽde / kẽjεὲ	'route, road'
-A	-Y	ŋwnã / ŋwnɛ̃y	'story' (ŋwnɛ̃- as in ŋwnɛ̃-yíí 'the stories that')
-A	-RV	ŋwnã / ŋwnɛ̃r	'story'
-GV	-Y	kêtyigi / kêtyiy	'tree'
-GV	-RV	kêtyigi / kêtyir	'tree'
-B	-Y	hlib / hliy	'mahogany'
-MV	-RV	nrìm / nìrìn	'sp. tree mostly found in humid places'

Noun form classes for transnumeral nouns

NF	example	AGR + num
Ø	tògòplə 'sumbala', dyinã 'world'	1TR
	ñe 'grass'	3TR
	ŋgbɔ̃ 'funeral, death', hlìy 'shame'	8TR
-U	nsro 'honey'	1TR
-LV	kεninε 'truth', myĩn 'voice'(myĩ-)	5TR
-GVlV	kἔhòòŋ 'applause'	6TR
-A	laa 'sun'	3TR
-Y	kẽwrĕn 'crossroads'	4 TR
-TV	suru 'porridge', ſyɛ̃r 'Syer language', nĩkɔ̃n 'wood'	7TR
-GV	tîtùgu 'potash', cùgò 'clay', kễmpĩŋ 'sorghum'	3TR
-MV	mùgòm 'salt'	8TR
	รกวิ 'oil'	
-B	tyìb 'medicine'	8TR
- ∇ B	tếềɲষ্টểm 'inhabitants of Ténguéréla', ´klষ্টểb 'Eastern Karaboro'	2TR

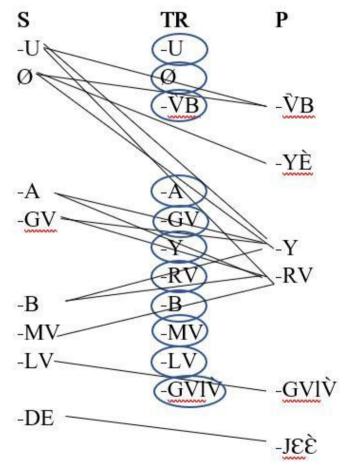
The gender system and the declension system of Syer

The <u>gender system</u> with <u>8 paired and 8 single genders</u> is much simpler than the <u>declension system</u> showing 15 different paired <u>declensions</u> and 11 single-

class patterns.

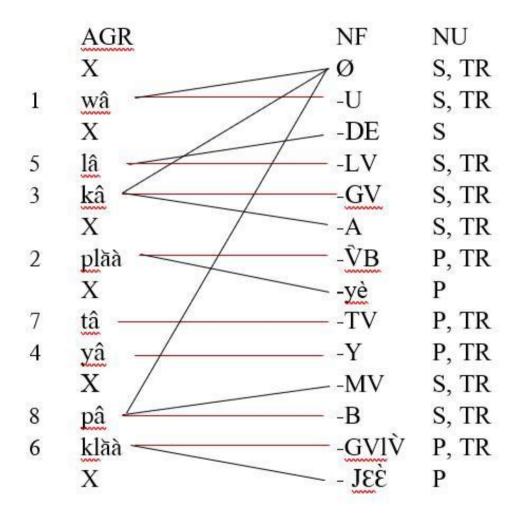
AGR	S	TR	P
2		PLAA	— PLAA
1	WA <	WA	
7		TA	 ✓ TA
3	KA-	(KA)	
4		YA	>> YA
8	PA	PA	
5	LA	LA	
6		KLAA	KLAA

Gender system of Syer



Declension system of Syer

The mapping of agreement and noun form classes in Syer



The differences between the gender system and the declension system are due to mismatches between agreement and noun form classes.

Mapping of AGR and NF in Syer

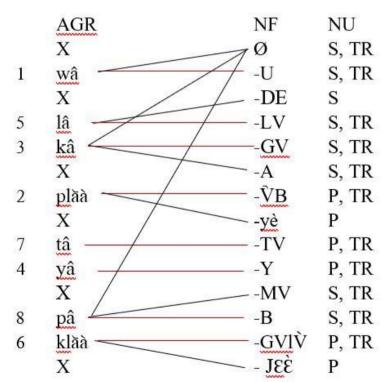
The mismatches between agreement and noun form classes: the problem of conflation of NF and AGR

The mapping of gender and declension shows:

• 8 cases of inherited one-to-one alliterative mapping noun form classes and

agreement classes

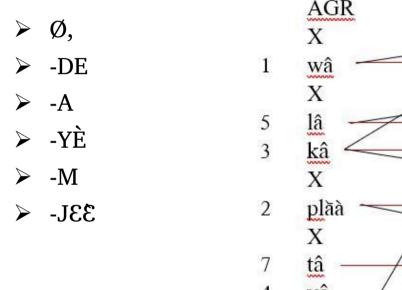
- ➤ AGR WÂ corresponds to NF –U
- ➤ AGR LÂ corresponds to NF –LV
- ➤ AGR KÂ corresponds to NF –GV
- ➤ AGR PLAÀ corresponds to NF –VB
- ➤ AGR TÂ corresponds to NF –TV
- ➤ AGR PÂ corresponds to NF –B
- ➤ AGR YÂ corresponds to NF –Y
- ➤ AGR KLÀÀ corresponds to NF –GVL♡

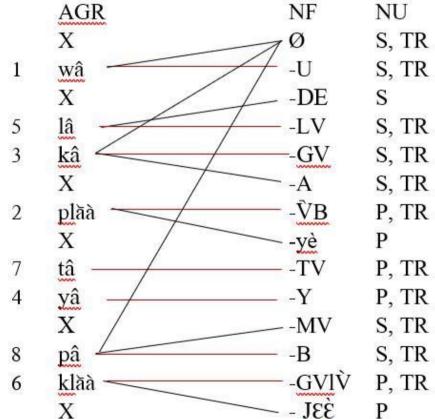


Mapping of AGR and NF in Syer

The mismatches between agreement and noun form classes

• 6 NF classes lack an exact independent counterpart on the side of the agreement classes. These are, more precisely





Mapping of AGR and NF in Syer

The mismatches between AGR and NF classes

There is a NF which are represented in several AGR:

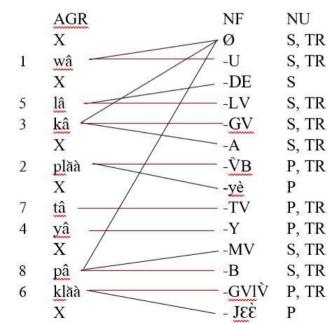
- the Ø NF is represented in three agreement classes,
- > 1 WÂ,
- > 3 KÂ
- ≽ 8 PÂ

There are AGR that go with more than one NF.

The following AGR host, next to the inherited alliterative NF also the

following NF:

- > AGR 1 WÂ hosts the NF Ø
- > AGR 5 LÂ hosts the NF -DE
- > AGR 3 KÂ hosts the NF Ø and -A,
- > AGR 2 PLAÀ hosts the NF -YÈ
- > AGR 6 KLAA hosts the NF -JEE
- > AGR 8 PÂ hosts the NF Ø and -M



Conclusions

- there is no consistent alliterative one-to-one mapping of agreement and noun form classes in Syer, because one noun form class is associated with more than one agreement class and vice-versa
- the agreement-based gender system is simpler than the declension system in size and structure, because one agreement class goes frequently with more than one noun form class
- In the closely related Eastern Karaboro varieties, especially Kar of Tiéfora described by Wichser (1994), or in the Tyebari variety Nyɛnɛrɛ spoken around Kolia (Central Senufo, Rongier 2002), which have reduced their gender systems to 7 instead of 8 paired genders (Kar) or lost a single gender (Nyɛnɛrɛ) we can expect to find more agreement classes going with even more noun form classes than in Syer