〔論　文〕

A Cross-linguistic Study of Mass-Count Distinctions

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this article is to examine the mass-count distinction in different languages to see how the distinction in English differs from that of other languages and to explore how the differences develop. Thirteen different languages of ten language families are examined to investigate how typical count nouns, mass nouns, and mass-count flexible nouns in English behave in other languages. A native speaker of each language was asked to translate English sentences with listed nouns into their languages: e.g. I have advice. / *I have an advice. / *I have one advice. / *I have two advices. / *I have advices (See Table 1 for the case of 'dog'). Twenty English nouns are examined, which include two typical concrete count nouns ('dog', 'car'), one typical concrete mass noun ('water'), two mass-count flexible concrete nouns ('cake', 'rope'), and fifteen mass nouns that are often cited in ESL grammar books as mass-count confusing nouns to L2 learners ('furniture', 'evidence', 'information', 'advice', 'research', 'work', 'equipment', 'news', 'homework', 'education', 'fun', 'music', 'money', 'knowledge', 'violence'). The mass-count distinctions of these English nouns are based on six learners' dictionaries (listed in the bibliography).

This survey shows that the typical count nouns in English behave like count nouns in all the other languages and the typical mass noun in English behave like mass nouns in eleven languages out of thirteen. The mass-count distinction of the mass-count confusing nouns vary from noun to noun: eleven languages treat 'furniture' as a count noun while all the languages treat 'violence' as a mass noun.

2. Definition of Count and Mass Nouns in a Cross-linguistic Study

Count nouns and mass nouns (aka non-count or uncountable nouns) are traditionally defined as follows: Semantically, count nouns denote entities that can be individuated and counted (e.g. 'book', 'car', etc), while mass nouns denote an undifferentiated mass or notion that cannot be counted (e.g. 'water', 'love', etc.). Morpho-syntactically, count nouns cannot stand alone in the singular, while mass nouns can. Count nouns can be pluralized and modified with cardinal numbers, while mass nouns cannot. Count and mass nouns show some other syntactic differences in their acceptance of quantifiers and determiners. For example, 'many', 'several', 'a few', 'every', and numerals are selected only by count nouns, while 'much' and 'little' by mass nouns. Some quantifiers and determiners (e.g. 'a lot of', 'this', 'the', 'all', 'some') can be used with either kind of noun.

The above definition of count and mass nouns is far from flawless. Semantically, some mass nouns (e.g. 'furniture', 'jewelry', 'clothing', 'equipment', 'mail', 'silverware', etc.) denote individuals, not an undifferentiated mass (Barner & Snedeker 2006). These object-mass nouns allow for a comparison by number. Unlike mass nouns like 'water' and 'sugar', they support comparisons based on number, not on

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amount or size. The sentence, 'Jerry has more furniture than Tom', for instance, means that 'Jerry has more pieces of furniture than Tom'(Bale & Barner, under review).

Morpho-syntactically, many languages (e.g. English, Serbian, Bemba, Finnish, etc.) indicate plurality by means of changing the morphological form of the noun or by means of a morpheme that occurs somewhere else in the noun phrase (e.g. Hawaiian). In English, the sinuglar-plural distinction is grammaticalized and most nouns inflect for number with the inflectional plural suffix '–s', as in 'dog-s'. In the same way, "Hund" in German has the plural form 'Hund-e', Spanish 'perro' has 'perro-s', etc. as shown in Table 2. These mass-count languages, which show a singular vs. plural contrast include English, Dutch, Spanish, Serbian, German, Greek, French, Italian, Finnish.

Many other languages, especially classifier languages such as Chinese and Japanese, do not show a singular vs. plural contrast. Nouns in classifier languages do not inflect according to number. Among the languages investigated, Chinese, Japanese, and Malay keep the same form whether a noun refers to a single entity or more than one. Some languages, such as Turkish, often do not indicate plurality morpho-syntactically although they have singular and plural forms for nouns. Some other languages (not among the 14 languages investigated in this survey) restrict plurality to some classes of nouns, such as animate nouns, human nouns, a subset of human nouns, etc. (Dryer. 'Coding of Nominal Plurality' in Haspelmath 2005: Chapter 33).

In a cross-linguistic study, the only way to examine if a noun is treated as count or mass is to check if it accepts numerals. The morpho-syntactic definition of the mass-count distinction of the English language does not apply directly to classifier languages with no mass-count distinction and other languages like Turkish where numerals greater than one obligatorily combine with bare nouns, and languages like Western Armenian where such numerals optionally combine with either bare nouns or plural nouns (Bale, et al. 2010). In Turkish, for example, the singular form is generally used when the plural form would be used in English as in the case of 'İki kōpeğim var'(English equivalent would be 'I have two dog'), although Turkish has singular and plural forms of nouns. With this difficulty in a cross-linguistic study of mass-count distinction, the judgment of the distinction is based on whether or not the noun can be used with cardinal numbers directly or indirectly.

Count nouns in mass-count languages (e.g. English, Dutch, Finnish, Germany, Greek, Italian, Serbian, Spanish) demonstrate a singular vs. plural contrast and they can occur directly with numerals (e.g. 'two dogs' in English, 'deux chiens' in French, 'kaksi koiraa' in Finnish, 'dio skilus' in Greek, etc.). Mass nouns in mass-count languages also accept numerals with measure words like 'piece of' and 'grain of' or with unit words like 'bottle of' and 'glass of'. Some similarity is found between classifier languages and mass-count languages here. The English noun 'furniture', for instance, behaves grammatically as a mass noun and does not inflect for number. Referents of 'furniture', however, can be counted with a measure word 'piece of' as in 'two pieces of furniture' referring to, say, one table and one chair. In the same way, 'water' in English, which is a prototypical mass noun, can be counted with a measure word as in 'two glasses of water'. With measure words and unit words, mass nouns in English can combine with numerals. Should they be judged as count nouns or mass nouns in a cross-linguistic study? Are they mass-count flexible nouns like 'rope' or object-mass nouns like 'furniture'?

Measure words and unit words in English behave like classifiers. The question is how classifiers and measure/unit words can be distinguished in terms of mass-count distinction. There are two types of classifier: sortal and mensural numeral classifiers. Most languages have mensural classifiers (Haspelmath et al. 2005: Ch. 55), such as 'two glasses of water' in English, but it does not mean that nouns are treated as countable. With 'two glasses of water', it is the number of glasses (or mensural classifier) that is

counted but not 'water', while the number of the referent of a noun is counted with a sortal classifier. For example, with a Japanese noun phrase, 'ni (two) satsu-no (sortal classifier) hon (book)', which would be translated as 'two books' in English, what is counted is the number of books, but not the sortal classifier 'satsu'. Measure/unit words in English are akin to mensural classifiers, not like sortal classifier: what is counted with a mensural classifer or a measure word is the number of a measuring apparatus or unit like glasses and pieces. On the other hand, sortal classifiers are used to count the number of the referent of a noun, not the container or the unit of measurement. Thus, a noun in a classifier language is judged as a count noun if it accepts the construction with a sortal numeral classifier and a cardinal number. A noun in a mass-count language is judged as countable if it accepts the direct construction with cardinal numbers whether or not the noun inflects for number. Otherwise, a noun is counted as mass (or uncountable).

3. Zero Article, Indefinite Article, and Numeral 'One'

Matthew S. Dryer ('Indefinite Articles' in Haspelmath, et al. 2005: Ch. 38) defines the indefinite article as a morpheme that "accompanies a noun and signals that the noun phrase is pragmatically indefinite in the sense that it denotes something not known to the hearer, like the English word *a* in *a dog*", and he includes the use of the numeral for 'one' as an indefinite article in his analysis of 473 languages.

Many languages do not distinguish between 'I have a dog' and 'I have one dog'. Among the 14 languages in Table 3, only English makes a clear distinction between the indefinite article and the numeral 'one'. Two factors make the distinction vague: 1) Many languages do not distinguish the indefinite article and the numeral 'one'. Dryer (Ch. 38 in Haspelmath, et al. 2005) finds 90 languages (out of 473) use 'one' as the indefinite article (e.g. Spanish, German, Turkish, Greek, French, Italian), while 91 languages has the indefinite article distinct from 'one' (e.g. English, Dutch). 2) Many languages have no functional equivalents of the English article system. Dryer finds 188 languages (out of 473) have neither the definite nor indefinite article (e.g. Serbian, Bemba, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, Finnish). The absence of the article system means that a noun (in the singular form for those languages that make the singular-plural distinction) can stand alone, unless it is specifically required to mention the number of the referent being ONE.

Dutch makes the distinction between the indefinite article and the numeral for 'one', not morphologically but phonetically: the numeral 'een' is pronounced with a full vowel [en] and spelled 'één', while the indefinite article is pronounced with a reduced vowel [ən] and spelled 'een'. For instance, 'I have a dog' would be translated in written form as 'Ik heb een hond' and 'I have one dog' as 'Ik heb één hond'. German also makes a phonetic distinction: in spoken German, 'ein(en)' would be stressed when used in the sense of 'one'. Spanish, German, Turkish, Greek, French, and Italian use the indefinite article for 'one' (Dryer in Haspelmath, et al. 2005: Ch. 38).

Finnish, Serbian, and Bemba have no articles, and do not distinguish between '*I have dog' and 'I have a dog', both of which would be translated as 'Minulla on koira' in Finnish, '(Ja) imam psa' in Serbian, and 'Nalikwata imbwa' in Bemba. This applies to classifier languages like Chinese, Japanese and Malay with no functional equivalents of the English article system. These languages with no article system allow a singular noun to stand alone. In Malay, for example, nouns do not inflect for a singular-plural distinction. 'Saya ada anjing,' which would be literally '*I have dog' in English, can be translated as either 'I have a dog' or 'I have dogs'. It means that you have a dog (or dogs), not cats or some other animals.

Some languages with the article system (e.g. Spanish, Turkish, Greek) allow a noun to stand alone in the singular. In Spanish, 'Yo tengo perro' with no article (literally *I have dog) means that you have dogs not cats, with an emphasis on the kind of animal not the quantity, whereas 'Yo tengo un perro' specifically means

that you have just one dog. In the same way, 'Yo tengo coche (literally *I have car)' means that you have access to a car, whether yours or not. Singular nouns can stand alone in Greek and Turkish as well. 'Echo ski' in Greek and 'Kōpeg̃im var' in Turkish (literally *I have dog) can be translated as 'I have a dog' in English.

4. Cross-linguistic Analysis of Mass-Count Distinctions

Table 3 provides an overview of how mass-count distinctions vary from one language to another. The form of nouns in the table reflects the form presented in the questionnaire. For example, the noun for 'dog' in Serbian is 'pas' in the nominative singular and 'psi' in the nominative plural, but 'psa', which is the accusative singular, is listed in Table 3, reflecting the sentence structure 'I have (a) dog(s).' In the same way, 'konopcem', which is the instrumental singular form of the noun for 'rope', is listed in the table, reflecting the sentence structure of 'My legs are tied with (a) rope(s)', although the nominative singular is 'konopac' and the nominative plural is 'konopci'. The sentence structure 'I have + NOUN PHRASE' is used in the questionnaire for all the nouns except for 'rope', presented in the sentence 'My legs are tied with NP', 'research' in 'I am doing NP', and 'violence' in 'There was NP'.

English is in the column on the extreme left, and the other thirteen languages are arranged horizontally in the order that the language on the left (next to English) has the smallest number of nouns that are judged as countable and that on the extreme right has the largest. Nouns with both count and mass senses, abbreviated C/U, are counted as countable, and the number of languages that treat each noun as C (countable), including C/U, is shown in the column at the far right edge. Vertically, the two nouns in the top two rows ('dog', 'car') are typical count nouns in English, next two nouns with dual class membership ('rope', 'cake'), the fifth ('water'), a typical mass noun, and the rest are arranged in the order that the topmost noun ('furniture') has a count sense in the largest number of languages and the noun at the bottom ('violence') has a mass sense in the largest number of languages. The bottom line shows the number of nouns that each language treats as C, including C/U.

'Dog' and 'car', which are typical count nouns in English, behave as count nouns in all thirteen languages, and no language allows a mass sense for either noun. 'Rope', a mass-count flexible noun in English, has a count sense in 12 languages and has both mass and count senses in 6 languages. Serbian alone does not allow a count sense. 'Cake', also mass-count flexible, has both senses in 7 languages, and all languages, except for Dutch, allow a count sense. Dutch has two words for 'cake': 'cake' is used in the singular form with or without an indefinite article or a numeral 'one', while 'cake-jes' with a diminutive suffix is used with a numeral greater than one. 'Water' is a mass noun in all 13 languages including three languages (Turkish, Greek, French) that allow a count sense when denoting a unit (e.g. a bottle, a glass).

As for typical count and mass nouns, all thirteen languages share more or less the same mass-count distinction. As for mass-count flexible nouns, about half the languages share the distinction with English: 6 languages for 'rope' and 7 for 'cake'. The mass-count distinction of English mass nouns that L2 learners find confusing varies from language to language. 'Furniture' and 'evidence' are countable in 11 languages; 'information', 'advice', 'research', and 'work' in 10 languages; 'equipment' in 9 languages; 'news' and 'homework' in 8 languages. On the other hand, 'education', 'fun', 'music', 'money', 'knowledge', and 'violence' behave like mass nouns in most languages. 'Education' and 'knowledge' do not allow the countable sense in 10 languages, and 'music' and 'money' in 11 languages. 'Violence' is uncountable in all thirteen languages. ('Fun' does not have an equivalent word in as many as five languages and its mass-count distinction is not considered here.)

The closest language to English in terms of the mass-count distinction is Spanish, and the most remote is

Finnish. The mass-count distinction does not seem to have any relation to language families or geographical areas. Table 3 shows that the distinction is language specific and cross-linguistically arbitrary, except that ontologically typical objects (as opposed to substance) are treated as count nouns across languages.

5. Mass-Count Construal and Linguistic Convention

The Greek informant left a comment on the difficulty of mastering mass-count distinctions of English nouns: "Occasionally I did encounter difficulties and committed transfer errors with nouns such as *advice* (*He gave me a very good advice), *bread* (*I bought a bread), *water* (*I will ask the waiter for a water), etc. Mostly it was hard to remember to add expressions for parts and portions such as *a piece of, a loaf of, a glass of*, etc., because in Greek such nouns are countable and such expressions are not necessary." On the other hand, English native speakers seem to have an image of these nouns being uncountable. One native English speaker says: "[Water is] not divisible except in artificial measures." Another says: "[Advice] is like information, and it is in the same class with beauty, love, freedom, etc., those words which represent ideas that can't be quantified." Still another says: "These nouns ('advice', 'education', 'fun', 'information', 'knowledge', 'music', 'news', 'research', 'violence', and 'work') seem more like clouds; they are just entities that can't be broken up into separate parts."

Speakers of one language find a particular noun (e.g. 'water', 'advice', 'information') indivisible and therefore uncountable, while speakers of another language find the same noun divisible and therefore countable. How do the speakers of a particular language develop the mass-count distinction peculiar to the language? Does the conceptualization of mass-count distinction come from ontology (i.e. language-independent cognitive disposition) or from linguistic convention (i.e. mass-count syntax of each language)?

Table 3 shows that the nouns for 'dog' and 'car' are treated as count nouns in all the languages, and no language allows a mass sense for them. This suggests that 'dog' and 'car' may force a countable image across languages. Yoshida and Smith (2003) argue that speakers of both Japanese (a classifier language) and English (a mass-count language) are strongly biased to conceive of a moving, talking, arguing person as animate and to conceive of splashing water as a substance. Gentner & Boroditsky (2001:230) and Yoshida & Smith (2003:33) propose a similar diagram of individuation continuum, both of which list semantic entities arranged in the order from the easiest to individuate on the left to the most difficult on the right, starting with humans, animals, vehicles, etc., ending with amorphous entities (e.g. water). Their argument support the date in Table 3 in that animals and vehicles are very likely to be conceptualized as a countable entity and 'water' as uncountable.

The noun for 'water', a typical mass noun in English, referring to an unindividuated substance, however, is not unanimously treated as a mass noun among 13 languages: three languages (Turkish, French, Greek) has a count sense as well. An answer may be found in the Number Asymmetry Hypothesis (Barner & Snedeker 2006), which argues that "mass syntax does not force an unindividuated construal, and that instead only count syntax specifies a rigid interpretation for nouns."

One English native informant says: "I am honestly not sure whether native English speakers conceive of money, etc. as non-countable because we have been told that these nouns are non-countable. She also says: These nouns ('homework', 'evidence') could be either. For instance, 'I think about homework all the time when I'm at home' is like *advice* or *education*, but 'I have so much homework tonight' might make me think of the specific pieces of homework I have. This comment means that some mass nouns like 'homework' do not always force a mass construal and that they allow a count construal as well, referring to individual pieces of the referent. The grammatical convention, however, does not allow the count usage.

Conceptualization and linguistic convention do not always coincide, and the linguistic convention seems to be more powerful when they do not coincide.

The referent of 'lightening', for example, can be counted and the noun accepts such expressions as 'a flash of lightning' and 'several flashes of lightning'. Allan (1980: 554) says: "I find nothing to prevent the ungrammatical NP's **a lightning* and **these lightnings* from being interpreted as 'flashes of lightning', and their ill-formedness seems arbitrary." In the same way, the referent of 'advice' can be counted as in 'I gave him two pieces of advice.' It is nothing but the grammatical convention that prevents such mass nouns like 'water', 'equipment', 'furniture', etc. from being used as count nouns, even when they are conceptualized as countable entities.

The English language does not allow 'furniture' and 'evidence' to be used as a count noun while 11 languages among 13 allow the count usage. Ten languages allow the nouns for 'information', 'advice', 'research', and 'work' to be used as count nouns. Nine languages allow the count usage for 'equipment', and eight languages for 'news' and 'homework'. Only two nouns, 'knowledge' and 'violence', are treated as mass nouns in all thirteen languages. There might be something that prevents these nouns from acquiring the count sense across languages. However, it could be argued that there is nothing that would prevent the ungrammatical NP's **a violence* and **these violences* from being interpreted as 'acts of violence', following the line of argument of Allan (1980: 554). The following examples show that both 'violence' and 'knowledge' can be pluralized although they may not accept numerals (bolds are mine):

> As a resident of Cape Town, Searle reacts strongly and passionately to this issue. Creating and manufacturing images of violence in order to get at a truth which is not seen, Searle endeavors to create visual evidence of past injustices and present **violences** against women. (Miller, Kim. 2005. 'Trauma, Testimony, and Truth'. In *African Arts*. Autumn 2005, Vol. 38 Issue 3, p40-94.)

> The stereotypical definition of "illiteracy" has been the simple inability to read and write. But how many Americans are there who lack, as a Government study put it rather harshly last week, "those skills and **knowledges** which are requisite to adult competence"? ('The Nation: How Many Incompetents?' *Time*. 1975/11/10.)

In the same way, 'education' can be pluralized as in 'We know that women are on the whole having their children much later. And particularly women who've got good **educations** and good qualifications… (BNC)".

As the Number Asymmetry Hypothesis argues, mass syntax does not force an unindividuated construal, which makes it easy for mass nouns to gain a count sense and usage. The noun phrase 'e-mail' in the sense of 'message(s) sent by the electronic mail system', for instance, used to have only a mass sense until around the mid 1990s, as in 'Check your email every day' (Kodera 2009), presumably inheriting its mass sense from 'mail', referring to letters and packages collectively. In the current usage, it has acquired a count sense, as in 'Send me an email', presumably reflecting the way we treat an individual email as a message or a letter. The same noun (or noun phrase) may develop a diachronic change in conceptualization and linguistic convention.

6. Concluding Remarks: ontology, conceptualization, and linguistic convention

The same physical entity may allow a different construal depending on the linguistic culture where the noun is used. 'Mashed potato' and 'scrambled egg', both of which refer to an unindividuated substance,

accepts both the singular and plural form in the UK whereas the singular form is preferred in the US (Kodera 2009). In the same way, 'bathroom scale', which is a discrete object forming a single unit, is more likely to be used in the plural in the UK, presumably reflecting the scale's original bipartite structure, while the singular form is preferred in the US, presumably reflecting the current form of its structure (Kodera 2009).

Wierzbicka (1996: 388) asked a number of children and teenagers in Australia why they thought the bathroom scale was called 'scales' rather than 'scale'. To her surprise, they all came up with the same answer: it is because of all the little numbers they see in the device. The mismatch between syntax and perception has led American people to take the solution to change its syntax from 'scales' to 'scale' to reflect a semantically proper construal of the device as an individuated object. British people opted halfway for a semantic shift to retain the original morphosyntax, from seeing the device as a bipartite structure to construing it as a multiple structure.

Different construals develop from the same physical entity as time passes even in the same language. It is no wonder that different languages develop different construals of the same referent of a noun. In the same way, different nouns can be used to denote the same entity. Referring to an opinion someone gives you about what you should do might be called 'advice', which is a mass noun in English, or 'tip' or 'suggestion', both of which are a count noun. What is referred to with the mass noun 'equipment' can also be called with count nouns like 'tool', 'appliance', 'instrument', or 'utensil'. L2 learners feel lost facing these enigmatic mass-count distinctions of English nouns.

Wierzbicka (1996: 391) says: "One cannot predict the grammatical behavior of a word on the basis of even the most careful examination of the denotata. It is the *meaning* which is predictive, not the *denotation*. One cannot discover the meaning of a noun by examining its denotation because meaning involves conceptualization, and the same physical objects may lend themselves to many different conceptualizations." Ontologically mass entities may be referred to with count nouns as in the case of a Greek noun for 'water'. Conceptually countable entities may be referred to with mass nouns as in the case of 'furniture', 'lightning', 'equipment', 'homework', etc. in English. Abstract nouns cause bigger problems in mass-count distinction. 'Advice', 'evidence', 'violence', etc. could be interpreted as either countable or uncountable depending on how they are conceptualized, but linguistic convention forces English speakers to treat them as mass nouns.

There must be some kind of structure that enables L2 learner to have even a vague understanding of what is behind the mass-count distinction of English nouns. What makes a particular loan word a count or a mass noun in English? What makes 'kimono' countable in English for instance? Ms. Yuko Goto Butler (Associate Professor at Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania), when visiting her mother in Japan with her American husband, heard him say, "Would you like to do a kuki-kokan?" with an indefinite article added to 'kuki-kokan', a Japanese word for ventilation or air exchange. Her husband heard his mother-in-law use the word the day before, and tried it the next day. 'Kuki-kokan' is a word completely new to her husband, and it is neither a count nor mass noun in Japanese. Still her husband treats it as a count noun. What is it that forces a count construal of the noun?

Johnson (1987: 202) says: "Words do not simply refer to objective states of affairs independent of human beings. People use words to refer to objects, and they must employ intentionalistic structures of meaning to do this. How we carve up our world will depend both on what is "out there" independent of us, and equally on the referential scheme we bring to bear, given our purposes, interests, and goals." We need to have a good understanding of the referential scheme of the mass-count distinction of English nouns, the concept of which is alien to Japanese speakers.

Table 1

ENGLISH	*I have dog.	I have a dog.	I have one dog.	I have two dogs.	I have dogs.
DUTCH	N/A	Ik heb een hond.	Ik heb één hond.	Ik heb twee honden.	Ik heb honden.
SPANISH	Yo tengo perro.	(Same as 'one dog')	Yo tengo un perro.	Yo tengo dos perros.	(MISSING)
SERBIAN	(Ja) imam psa.	N/A (No articles)	(Ja) imam jednog psa.	(Ja) imam dva psa.	(MISSING)
BEMBA	Nalikwata imbwa.	N/A (No articles)	Nalikwata imbwa imo.	Nalikwata imbwa shibili.	Nalikwata imbwa.
GERMAN	N/A	(Same as 'one dog')	Ich habe einen Hund.	Ich habe zwei Hunde	Ich habe Hunde
TURKISH	Kōpeğim var.	(Same as 'one dog')	Bir köpeğim var.	İki kōpeğim var.	(MISSING)
CHINESE	Wo you gou.	N/A (No articles)	Wo you yi-zhi gou.	Wo you liang-zhi gou.	(MISSING)
JAPANESE	(Watashi-wa) Inu-wo Katte-imasu.	N/A (No articles)	(Watashi-wa) inu-wo ippiki katte-imasu.	(Watashi-wa) inu-wo Nihiki katte-imasu.	(Watashi-wa) inu-woi katte-imasu.
GREEK	Echo skilo.	(Same as 'one dog')	Echo ena skilo.	Echo dio skilus.	(MISSING)
FRENCH	N/A	(Same as 'one dog')	J'ai un chien.	J'ai deux chiens.	J'ai des chiens.
MALAY	Saya ada anjing.	N/A (No articles)	Saya ada seekor anjing.	Saya ada dua ekor anjing.	(MISSING)
ITALIAN	N/A	(Same as 'one dog')	Io ho un cane.	Io ho due cani.	(MISSING)
FINNISH	Minulla on koira.	N/A (No articles)	Minulla on yksi koira.	Minulla on kaksi koiraa.	Minulla on koiria.

N/A: Not applicable

Table 2

LANGUAGE FAMILY	Germanic	Germanic	Italic	Slavic	Bantu	Germanic	Turkic	Sino-Tibetan	Japonic	Greek	Italic	Austro-nesian	Italic	Finno-Ugric
LANGUAGE	English	Dutch	Spanish	Serbian	Bemba	German	Turkish	Chinese	Japanese	Greek	French	Malay	Italian	Finnish
Singular	dog	hond	perro	psa	imbwa	Hund	kōpeğim	gou	inu	skilo	chien	anjing	cane	koira
Plural	dog-s	hond-en	perro-s	psa	imbwa	Hund-e	kōpeğim	gou	inu	skil-us	chien-s	anjing	can-i	koira-a koir-ia
Singular	car	auto	coche	automobil	motoka	Auto	arabam	che	jidosha	aftokinito	voiture	kereta	macchina	auto
Plural	car-s	auto-'s	coche-s	automobil-i automobil-a	ba motoka	Auto-s	arabam	che	jidousha	aftokinit-a	voiture-s	kereta	macchin-e	auto-a auto-ja

Table 3

LANGUAGE FAMILY	Germanic		Italic		Slavic		Bantu		Germanic		Germanic		Turkic		Japonic		Italic		Greek		Sino-Tibetan		Austronesian		Italic		Finno-Ugric		13 LANGUAGES
LANGUAGE	English		Spanish		Serbian		Bemba (Zambia)		Dutch		German		Turkish		Japanese		French		Greek		Chinese		Malay		Italian		Finnish		COUNT USE
TYPICAL COUNT NOUNS	dog	C	perro	C	psa	C	imbwa	C	hond	C	Hund	C	köpek	C	inu	C	chien	C	skilo	C	gou	C	anjing	C	cane	C	koira	C	13
	car	C	coche	C	automobil	C	motoka	C	auto	C	Auto	C	araba	C	kuruma jidousha	C	voiture	C	aftokinito	C	che	C	kereta	C	macchina	C	auto	C	13
MASS/COUNT FLEXIBLE	rope	C/U	cuerda	C	konopca	U	Sg: myodo Pl: myando	C	touw	C/U	Stick	C	ip	C	rohpu	C/U	corde	C/U	schini	C	bang-ze	C	tali	C/U	corda	C/U	köydellä	C/U	12
	cake	C/U	pastel	C	tortu, kolac	C/U	keke	C	cake cake-je	Sg. C	Kuchen	C/U	kek	C/U	keiki	C/U	gateau	C/U	turta	C	dan-gp	C	kek	C/U	torta	C	kakku	C/U	13
TYPICAL MASS NOUN	water	U	agua	U	vodu	U	amenshi	U	water	U	Wasser	U	su	U C:bottle	mizu	U	eau Pl: eaux	U (bottle)	nero	U C:botttle	Shui	U	air	U	acqua	U	vettä	U	0 (3)
COUNT/MASS CONFUSING NOUNS for L2 Learners	furniture	U	mueble	C	namestaj	U	Sg: icipe Pl: ifipe	C	meubel	C	Möbel Möbelstück	Pl. C	mobilya	C	kagu	C	meuble	C	epiplo	C	jiaju	U	perabot	C/U	mobilia	C	huonekalu	C	11
	evidence	U	evidencia	U	dokaz	C	Sg: icikomo Pl: ifikomo	C	bewijs	U	Beweise	C/U	delil	C/U	shouko	C/U	preuve	C	apodixi	C	zhengju	C	bukti	C/U	evidenza	C	todiste	C	11
	information	U	información	U	informaciju	C	Sg: icebo Pl: ifyebo	C	informatie	U	Information	C	bilgi	U	jouho	C/U	information	C	pliroforia	C	xinxi	C	maklumat	C/U	informazione	C	tieto	C	10
	advice	U	consejo	U	savet	C	Pl: ifyebo	U	advies	C/U	Rat Ratschläge	Sg. Pl.	tavsiye	C/U	adobaisu jogen	C/U	conseil	C	simvouli	C	jianyi	C	nasihat	C/U	consiglio	C	neuvo	C	10
	research	U	investigación	C	istrazivanje	C	fwayafwaya	U	onderzoek	C/U	N/A		arastirma	U	kenkyu	C/U	recherche	C/U	erevna	C	yanjiu	C	penyelidikan	C/U	ricerca	C/U	tutkimusta	C	10
	work	U	trabajo	C	posla	U	inchinto	U	werk	U	Arbeit	C/U	is	C	shigoto	C/U	travail	C/U	dulia	C	gongzuo yao-zuo	C	kerja	C/U	lavoro	C	työ	C	10
	equipment	U	equipamiento	C	opremu	U	Sg ichibombelo Pl: ifibombelo	C	materiaal uitrusting	U C	Ausrüstung	C	alet	C/U	dougu	U	équipement	C/U	exoplismo	U	shebei	C	peralatan	C/U	equipaggio	C	väline	C	9
	news	U	noticias	U	vest	C	ilyashi	U	nieuws nieuwtje	U C	Ueuigkeiten	C	haberler	Pl.	nyusu	C/U	nouvelles	Pl.	neo	C	xinwen	C	berita	C/U	notizia	C	uutinen	C	8
	homework	U	deberes	U	domaci zadatak	C	inchito	U	huiswerk	U	Hausarbeit	C	ödev	C/U	shukudai	C/U	travail devoir	C/U C	diavasma	U	zuoye	U	kerja rumah	C/U	lavoro	C	kotiläksy	C	8
	education	U	educación	U	obrazovanje	U	amasambililo	U	onderwijs opleiding	C/U C	Ausbildung	U	egitim	U	kyouiku	U	éducation	U	morfosi	U	N/A		pendidikan	U	educazione istruzione	U	koulutus	C/U	2
	fun	U	diversion	U	N/A		nyangala	U	plzier lol	U U	Spaß	U	N/A		N/A		plaisir	U	N/A		gaoxing-de-shi	C	N/A		divertimento	C	hauskaa	U	2
	music	U	música	U	muziku	U	Sg: ulwimbo Pl: inyimbo	C	muziek	U	Musik	U	müzik	U	ongaku	U	musique	U	musiki	U	N/A		muzik	U	musica	U	musiikkia	U	1
	money	U	dinero	U	novac	U	indalama	U	geld	U	Geld	U	para	U	okane	U	argent	U	lefta	Pl.	qian	U	duit	U	soldi	U	raha	C	1
	knowledge	U	conocimiento	U	znanje	U	amano	U	kennis	U	Wissen	a+U	bilgi	U	chishiki	U	connaissances	Pl.	gnosi	U	zhishi	U	pengetahuan	U	conoscenza	a+U	tieto	U	0
	violence	U	violencia	U	nasilja	U	ukuchenana	U	geweld	U	Gewalt	U	siddet	U	bouryoku	U	violence	U	via	U	baoluan	U	keganasan	U	violenza	U	väkivaltaa	U	0
COUNT USE		4		8		9		9		10		11		11		12		12		12		12		13		14		15	

ABBREVIATIONS

C: Countable, can be used with numerals.
U: Uncountable, cannot be used with numerals.
C/U: Both Countable & Uncountable
N/A: No equivalent word is Available.
Pl: Plural form.
Sg: Singular form, can be used with an indefinite article.
a+N: Indefinite article + Noun

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