

Simple gender and how simple gender got more complex in Nalca (Mek, Tanah Papua)

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0. Simple gender markers

- Simple forms of grammatical gender, so simple that they are frequently overlooked when gender is treated.
- Often grammaticalized (de-categorialized) from light nouns such as ‘man’, ‘woman’, ‘people’, or ‘thing’. But simple gender markers are the more successful the more opaque they are.
- Not necessarily a gender system (morphosyntactic feature with several feature values).
- Decategorialized markers often in a paradigmatic relationship with nouns.
- Often exhibiting some simple form of agreement.
- Non-mature, emergent, diachronically unstable. A possible source for more complex, more canonical gender, but certainly not its only possible source.
- Family resemblance. Often more than one kind of simple gender in a language.
- Simple gender can become more complex if different forms of simple gender are accumulated.

~~[child-woman] ‘girl’, [child-man] ‘boy’ are not instances of simple gender~~

Person name markers: Iraya (Austronesian, Philippine) *laki Howan* ‘John’ (*lalaki* ‘man’), *bayi Mariya* ‘Mary’ (*babayi* ‘woman’).

Intermediate referential devices: Golin (Trans-New Guinea, Chimbu) *abalíni* ‘she’ < *abál inín* [woman REFLEXIVE], *yalíni* ‘he’ < *yál inín* [man REFLEXIVE] (Bunn 1974: 55).

“Half-headed” relative clauses: *Zo nu* and *pa* mean ‘mother’ and ‘father’ when possessed (*ka/na/a nu* [1SG/2SG/3SG mother]), but without possessor they are used as decategorialized counterparts of *numei* ‘woman’ and *mi* ‘man’ as “half-heads” of relative clauses.

(1) *Zo* (Sino-Tibetan, Northern Kuki-Chin; 40025016): half-headed relative clause

Talent nga a ngah pa
talent five 3SG receiveM
‘he that received the five talents’

1. Person name markers

- (i) There is common marker for both male and female names; e.g., the Tagalog (Austronesian; Philippine) phrase marker *si Juan* ‘TOP.PN J.’ vs. *ang lalaki* ‘TOP man’, *ni Juan* ‘N.TOP.PN J.’ vs. *nang lalaki* ‘N.TOP man’, *kay Juan* ‘OBL.PN J.’ vs. *sa lalaki* ‘OBL man’.
- (ii) There are different markers for male and female names, and the language does not have grammatical gender otherwise. Such markers can often be shown to derive from ‘man/woman’ or ‘father/mother’, e.g. Iraya *laki Howan* (*lalaki* ‘man’), *bayi Mariya* (*babayi* ‘woman’).
- (iii) There are different markers for male and female names, and the language distinguishes gender. Such markers often derive from personal pronouns, as in Northern Swedish *n Per*, *å Åsa*.

Iraya *laki* M and *bayi* F are in the same paradigmatic slot as the nouns *hadi* ‘king’ in *hadi Dabid* and *anghil* ‘angel’ in *anghil Gabril*, while at the same time being extended beyond the meaning of ‘man’ and ‘woman’, e.g. in *laki Satanas*.

Person name markers are akin to titles such as *Lord*, *Sir* or *Lady* especially if they cover the more honorific part of the person name spectrum such as Huave (isolate; Mexico) *teat* (= ‘father, vocative’) and *müim* (= ‘mother, vocative’). In the Huave N.T. there is always *Teat Jesús* even for the child Jesus and *Teat Dios* ‘God’.

However, person name markers can also leave out the most honorific segment of names as Q’eqchi’ (Mayan, K’ichean) *laj Juan* and *lix Mariya* (< *li ixk* ‘DEF woman’), which are not used in *li Jesús* [DEF J.] as they do not occur with *li Dios* [DEF God]. In many languages, person names lack markers in vocative function (except when associated with honorific names, as in Huave).

If there is only one term it is usually only the female term (Kiribati [Austronesian, Oceanic] *Nei Maria*, Tobelo [North Halmahera] *o ngo Maria* ‘ART F Mary’). In Nuer (Nilotic; Crazzolaro 1933: 34) person names can be derived with *nya-* F (*nyàál* ‘girl, woman’) and *ga(r)-* M (*gát* ‘son’), but this is much less common for male names. If only one term derives from ‘man/woman’ or only one term is etymologically transparent, it is usually the female one (e.g. Uab Meto [Austronesian, Timor-Babar] *bi Maria*, *bife* ‘woman’, *Nai Yohanes*, *atoni* ‘man’).

Person name markers tend to be immediately adjacent to their controllers, or it is at least not easy to find contexts where they are not immediately adjacent because person names tend to lack attributes. Exceptions are sometimes special dual or plural markers with coordination as Iraya *kobayi Mariya da- Marta* [DU:F Mary and Martha] and *manlaki Abraham, Isaak, da- Hakob* [PL:M Abraham, Isaak and Jacob].

Person name markers are sometimes considered to be noun classifiers even though highly non-canonical ones (Tzul 1997: 103 for Q’eqchi’).

(2) Southern Nambikuara (Nambiquaran; 40001015)

Ma³ri²-a³ka³lx-ai²na² sa²kxai³lu² wěñ³-su² Je³su²-jah³lo²-su² a³li³-lah¹-ta¹hxai²hě¹-la².

Mary-CL.F-DEM TOP child-INDEF Jesus-CL.M-INDEF give.birth-REM.PST-PFV

‘Mary (who has been mentioned before) gave birth to a child Jesus (who is not mentioned in the immediately preceding text)’

2. Intermediate referential devices

Third person pronouns (*he/she*) and full NPs have very similar properties in anaphoric function (Hintikka & Kulas 1985: 98):

(3) *The teacher addressed the children. He/The man was stern.*

(4) *A couple was sitting on a bench. He/The man stood up and she/the woman followed his/the man’s example.*

(5) *If Steward buys a car or a motorcycle, he will take good care of it/the vehicle.*

(6) **If Steward buys a car and a motorcycle, he will take good care of it/the vehicle.*

Pronominal indexes (free and bound pronouns) and zero anaphora are used for reference when referents are highly accessible (activated and salient; see Siewierska 2004: 174 and Kibrik 2011), full NPs (simple nouns, proper names, complex NPs) are used when activation is low.

LOW ACTIVATION	<----->		HIGH ACTIVATION
Noun/name or NP	Index -- Zero		
Noun/name or NP		Index -- Zero	
Noun/name or NP	Interm. ref. device	Index -- Zero	

(7) Turkish (Turkic; 40015024-27)

İsa, «...» *diy-e cevap ver-di.* *Kadın ise yaklaş-ıp, «...» di-yerek [...].*
 Jesus say-CVB answer give-PST.3SG woman however approach-CVB say-CVB

İsa on-a, «...» dedi. Kadın, «...» dedi. «...»

Jesus 3SG-DAT say-PST3 woman say-PST.3SG

‘But he answered and said, “...” But **she** came [...] saying, “...”. And he answered and said, “...”. So **she** said, “...”’

(8) Turkish (41001041-41001045)

41 [...] *el-in-i uzat-ıp adam-a [A] dokun-du, «...» de-di.*
 hand-POSS.3-ACC extend-CVB man-DAT touch-PST.3SG say-PST.3SG

42 *Adam [B] hemen o an-da ciüzam-dan kurtul-up tertemiz oldu.*
 man[NOM] immediately that moment-LOC leper-ABL be.saved-CVB very.clean be-PST.3SG

45 [...] *adam [C] çık-ıp git-ti, [...]*
 man exit-CVB go-PST.3SG

‘40 There came to him a leper, begging him, kneeling down to him, and saying to him, "If you want to, you can make me clean." 41 Being moved with compassion, he stretched forth his hand, and touched **him** [A], and said to him, "I want to. Be made clean." 42 When he had said this, immediately the leprosy departed from him, and **he** [B] was made clean. 43 He strictly charged him, and immediately sent him out, 44 and said to him, "See you say nothing to anybody, but go show yourself to the priest, and offer for your cleansing the things which Moses commanded, for a testimony to them." 45 But **he** [C] went out [...].’

‘The only truly universal opposition is that between full and reduced referential devices’ (Kibrik 2011: 42).

(9) Yale (Mek, Trans-New Guinea phylum; Heeschen 1992: 29)

Nimi ane dinge, bone dinge dane, el-di kwaneng
 man DEM property, this.man property DEM:PL 3SG-GEN sweet.potato

wa-m-la-ba, na do-do de-n.
 be-PRF-PRS.3SG-SIMUL 1SG take-CVB eat-PRS.1SG

‘I have taken and eaten this man’s sweet potatoes’

Table 1: Mek languages with intermediate referential device in the masculine

	3SG	Intermediate form	NP	N
Una	<i>er</i>	<i>anyi bi-</i> ‘this man’	<i>a ner bi-</i> ‘this woman’	<i>ner</i> ‘woman’ <i>ninyi</i> ‘man’
Eipo	<i>el</i>	<i>anye bi-</i> ‘this man’	<i>a-kil a-</i> ‘this woman’ <i>a-ninye a-</i> ‘this man’	<i>kil</i> ‘woman’ <i>ninye</i> ‘man’
Nalca	<i>al</i>	<i>ban be-n(y)e-, be-</i> ‘this man’	<i>ban gel ge-n(y)e-</i> ‘this woman’	<i>gel</i> ‘woman’ <i>nimi</i> ‘man’
Yale	<i>el</i>	<i>bone(ko)</i> ‘this man’ <i>mene(ko)</i> ‘this child’	<i>kel ene/ane(ko)</i> ‘this woman’ <i>nimi ane(ko)</i> ‘this man’ <i>me ane(ko)</i> ‘this child’	<i>kel</i> ‘woman’ <i>nimi</i> ‘man’ <i>me</i> ‘child’

(10) Tlacoyalco Popoloca (Otomanguean; Stark 2011: 4)

Naa janna'a jian anseen jan ixin rinao jan kain xe'en jan.
 one mother fine heart mother[ANA]because loves mother[ANA]all children mother[ANA]
 ‘A mother has a good heart because she loves all her children.’ (Stark 2011: 4)

Anaphoric noun formation is productive even in loanwords (*guitaarra*, short pronoun *guitarra*).

Texmelucan Zapotec (Otomanguean; Speck 1972):

masculine (*yu, -y*), feminine (*fĩñ, ñi, -ñ*), respect (*mi, -m*), animal (*ma, bañ*) and neuter (*ñi, -ñ*)

(11) Texmelucan Zapotec (Speck 1972: 32)

Benu sac fiñ feñ nu gusht ni yu feñ ze' lugaar ze' nu cyiñ yu,
 if not.be 3F young CMP please PP 3M young that place that CMP POT:live 3M
yu ze' neñ yu nu zu tub ñi ca zi'1 na tub ranch nu zet,
 3M that hear 3M CMP POT:stand one 3F where only be one ranch CMP far
ze' a' yu' lo nap yu-ñ, orze'uz yu gzuu nez yu i'ñ yu,
 but NEG PROG.be.in face good 3M-3F then father 3M POT:CA:stand trail 3M child 3M
yu feñ ze' nu cha-y cha gwii-y fiñ mñaaz ze'
 3M young that CMP pot:go-3M POT:GO POT:see-3M 3F woman that
ben a gyet lagy yu-ñ.
 if Q pot:descend liver 3M-3F

'If there are no young women who appeal to the young man at the place where he lives, but if he hears that there is one at some ranch or another that is far away, but if he doesn't know her well, his father will send his child, the young man, to go see if he likes her or not.'

(12) Jacaltepec (Mayan, Q'anjob'alan; 40014008)

Y-al-ni is-mi' ix t-et tato
 E3-say-DETRANS POSS.3-mother CL.woman/F 3-to COMPL
ch-is-k'an ix is-wi' naj Juan;
 INCOMPL-E3-ask CL.woman/F POSS.3-head CL.man/M John
 'Her mother said that she should ask for John's head.'

(13) Jacaltepec (42007015) ("noun classifier deletion under identity of reference", Craig 1977: 159)

y-a-ni-co Comam naj t-et is-mi'.
 E3-give-DETRANS-DIR CL.male.deity CL.man/M 3-to POSS.3-mother
 'and he gave him_j to his_j mother'

In Japanese *kanojo* 'she/that woman' – established as late as only in the Meiji period (1868-1912) (Ishiyama 2008) – *kano* is an obsolete distal demonstrative and *jo* is Sino-Japanese 'woman'.

Kannada (S Dravidian): honorific pronouns *āke* 'that woman, she', *īke* 'this woman' < *ā* 'that', *ī* 'this' and *akka* 'elder sister'. Similar forms are found in Telugu (Andronov 2003: 171).

(14) Golin (Chimbu; Trans-New Guinea; Lee 2005: 35)

abal i takal no-m
 woman TOP what eat-3
 'What did she eat?'

Table 2: Languages with special feminine anaphoric forms

	Index (3SG general)	Special form	NP / "that woman"	"woman"
Japanese	zero anaphor	<i>kanojo</i>	<i>sono onna</i>	<i>onna</i>
Kannada	<i>avaḷu</i> (F), <i>V-aḷu</i> (F)	<i>āke</i> (honorif.)	<i>ā strīyu</i>	<i>strīyu</i>
Zo	<i>amah</i>	<i>tuānu</i>	<i>tua numei</i>	<i>numei</i>
Kiribati	<i>ngaia, e</i>	<i>neierei</i>	<i>te aiine aarei</i>	<i>aiine</i>
Golin	<i>V-m, V-ngw</i>	<i>abalini</i>	<i>abal i</i>	<i>abal</i>
Chuave	<i>V-m, V-ngu</i>	<i>oparomi</i>	<i>opai, oparomi</i>	<i>opai</i>
S. Nambiquara	<i>te²na², zero, V-la¹</i>	<i>ta¹ka³lx(ai²n)a²</i>	<i>txu¹h(a³ka³lx)ai²na²</i>	<i>txu¹ha²</i>
Cuiba		<i>barapowa</i>	<i>barapo petsiriwa</i>	<i>petsiriwa</i>
Guayabero		<i>-ow, hapow</i>	<i>ampow pawis</i>	<i>pawis</i>
Huitoto Murui	<i>ie</i>	<i>naiñaiño</i>	<i>naie riño</i>	<i>riño</i>
Huitoto Minica	<i>ie</i>	<i>afengo</i>	<i>afe ringo</i>	<i>ringo</i>
Bora	<i>(i-)</i>	<i>diñlle, -lle</i>	<i>áalle</i>	<i>walle</i>

3. Half-headed relative clauses

Relative clauses (e.g., *the man that left the house*) are traditionally viewed as modifiers of nouns and the focus of typological research has been on how relative clauses relate to their noun heads (“A relative clause then consists necessarily of a head and a restricting clause”, Comrie 1989: 143). While much research has been devoted to the order of head and relative clause, to the role of the head in the relative clause, and to the accessibility of the head in the relative clause, less attention has been paid to what happens outside the restricting clause in relative clause constructions. Headless relative clauses (*what I bought at the store*) are often excluded in typological studies of relative clauses.

In many languages relative clauses make part of constructions where they are headed by light nouns, such as ‘thing’, ‘person’, ‘man’ and ‘woman’, and sometimes the light element outside the relative clause is not a noun any more or intermediate between a noun and an affix. Such “half-headed” relative clauses are often related in function to headless relative clauses.

(15) Zo (40025016): half-headed relative clause

Talent nga a ngah pa
talent five 3SG receiveM
‘he that received the five talents’

(16) Zo (42001042): half-headed relative clause

numei-te lakah thuhpa ngah nu na hi=a
woman-PL among blessing receive F 2SG COP
‘Blessed are you among women’

Ngan'gityemerri (Daly River; Reid 1990) noun class generics (15 in total),

(i) only bound (e.g., *wa-* male (17), *wur-* female),

(ii) bound and freeform classifiers (e.g., *a-/gagu* animal, *mi-/miyi* plant food, *yerr-/yawurr* tree/thing, (18)),

(iii) only freeform classifiers (six classes).

(17) Ngan'gityemerri (Reid 1990: 317)

...wa-[wunu-pefi Melbourne ngadde-nime-tye]
M-there-thither Melbourne 1DU.EXCL.go.IPFV-TRIAL-PST
‘that one who the three of us went to Melbourne with, that man who went there to Melbourne with us two.’

(18) Ngan'gityemerri (Reid 1990: 317)

mityity wagarri pey-endi widdibengu
white.woman two in.place-SAME 3PL.stand.DU
yerr-[tyagani-merrendi gentyerrmigi-baty knife]
TREE/THING-what-lest 2PL.HANDS.IRR-hold knife
‘There are two white women (security guards) standing there (with) a thing (metal detector) lest you have something like a knife.’

In Miraña (Boran; Seifart 2005) class markers are suffixed to relative clauses, both headed and headless. Seifart (2005) and Grinevald & Seifart (2004) argue that gender in Miraña has developed from so called repeaters, nouns in classifier constructions which classify themselves and these can also be suffixes of relative clauses:

(19) Miraña (Boran; Seifart 2005: 81): repeaters
[báhkʉ] [o:-ke u áhkʉ-báhkʉ]
 bone 1SG-ACC 2SG.SUB give-bone[REPEATER]
 ‘the bone that you gave to me’

Repeaters do not only repeat themselves but also all the nouns they classify (usually subordinate terms that they entail). Thus, e.g., the Miraña noun *bájhke* ‘root’ can repeat *úhí-ko-bájhke* ‘banana-CL(SHAFT)-root = a root of a banana plant’.

(20) Miraña (Seifart 2005: 133)
 [o í:te-ha] ái:βé-ʔi
 1SG-see-CL(COVER) burn-PRED
 ‘[The one (house, cover, etc.) I saw] burned down’

Generalized noun-modifying clause constructions (GNMCCs; Comrie et al. 2013): “a noun phrase consisting of a head noun and a dependent (modifying) clause, with no explicit indication of the relation between the head noun and the modifying clause.” (also Matsumoto 1997; Comrie 2010).

(21) Japanese (Comrie et al. 2013)
 [gakusei ga hon o kat-ta] koto o sira-nakat-ta
 student NOM book ACC buy-PST thing ACC know-NEG-PST
 ‘I didn’t know that the student bought the book’

The construction in English that comes closest to GNMCCs are compounds with sentential modifiers such as *a dog-doesn’t-return-the-other-dogs’-phone-calls world* (Haiman 1994: 13).

Identifying half-headed relative clauses in parallel texts is much more difficult than with the other types of simple gender. But parallel texts are useful for recognizing that light nouns are common cross-linguistically as equivalents for headless relative clauses in European languages:

English	and the one who seeks finds (42011010)
Middle English	and he that sekith , fyndith
Basque	eta bilhatzen duenac erideiten du :
Avar	балагъарасда батула ,
Erzya Mordvin	вешницясь – муи
Buryat	бэдэрhэн [хүн] олодог
Japanese	sagasu mono ha mii dashi ,
Maltese	min ifittex , isib;
Wolof	kuy seet , dinga gis
Ewe	[ame] siwo dia nu la kpɔnɛ eye woavɔ
Bari	nye lo ga’yu lo ryöryö ,
Saramaccan	di [sëmbë] di ta suku nëën , nöö hën o feni .
Zo	a zongte in a mu uh hi;
Vietnamese	ai tìm thì gặp
Indonesian	[orang] yang mencari akan mendapat ,
Tobelo	de nago'ona yomadononu 'asa yomadamake ,
Nalca	elemēja [nimi] nidya' ara , eiriwanamak
West Greenlandic	ujarlorsorlu nanisisarpoq ,
Jacaltec	ha' mac chisayni chi'ilcha yu .
Texmelucan Zapotec	nunu cyu zi'l [mbecy] nu ryub gyad yuñ .
Paraguayan Guaraní	ohekáva katu ojuhu ,
Huitoto Minica	jenódi mie jaca baite;

4. How simple gender got more complex in Nalca (Mek, Trans-New Guinea phylum)

Most Trans New Guinea languages (except Ok languages) lack gender. Mek languages distantly related to other TNG languages (if at all). Major data source for Nalca: New Testament.

<- West, most innovative -----most conservative----- East ->

Yale (Kosarek)	Nalca	Eipo	Una
Heeschen (1992)	Rule et al. (1972), Binzell (n.d.), Svärd (2013), N.T.	Heeschen (1990, 1998, 1983); Eibl-Eibesfeldt et al. (1989)	Louwerse (1988), Kroneman (2004, p.c.), N.T.

(22) Nalca (41006028): gender-case words enabling case and demonstrative marking on nouns
ono' gelma e-ne-dya dob-oka al-ja' genong ge-k eleg-ok.
 then girl[DN] DN-DEM-ERG take-CVB 3SG-GEN mother[F] F-DAT give[PFV]-PST.3SG
 '...and the girl gave it to her mother.'

Six agreement classes: Masculine *be-*, feminine *ge-*, neuter *ne-*, default noun *e-*, non-noun *a-*,
 (collective plural and coordination *da-*).

Originally an opposition between two agreement classes: *a-* non-unique and *bi-* unique restricted to
 a small number of postpositions and the topic marker

(23) Una (41006028): case marker hosts
a nebnyi a-ryi er kwin Herodias bi-si karerb-inmou
 this girl N_UNIQ-ERG 3SG mother Herodias UNIQ-ACC give-PST.3SG
 '...and the girl gave it to her mother Herodias.'

Simple gender ingredients for the Nalca gender system:

- Three layers of person name markers:
 - (i) the common person name marker *bi-*, extended to a uniqueness marker,
 - (ii) the masculine derivational suffix *-nyV*, and
 - (iii) the feminine person name marker *ge* from *gel* 'woman';
- The intermediate referential device for masculine *a-nyV* [DEM-MAN] 'this man'; and
- Half-headed relative clauses which are sentential nominalizations (GNMCCs) with the suffixes
-nya MAN, *-nya* THING₁ AND *-a'* THING₂.

Table 3: Person noun marking in Nalca and Una

Nalca	<i>be-</i> masculine (sg.)	<i>ge-</i> feminine (sg.)
	<i>Petrus bera</i> TOP	<i>Maria gera</i> TOP
	<i>Petrus bedya</i> ERG/GEN	<i>Maria gedya</i> ERG/GEN
	<i>Petrus bek</i> DAT/ACC	<i>Maria gek</i> DAT/ACC
Una	<i>bi-</i> uniqueness, top animacy noun, individualizer	
	<i>Petrus bira</i> TOP	<i>Maria bira</i> TOP
	<i>Petrus biryi</i> ERG	<i>Maria biryi</i> ERG
	<i>Petrus bisi</i> ACC	<i>Maria bisi</i> ACC

(24) Eipo (Heeschen 1998: 161): unique *bi-* as individualizer

Lim motokwe arye baybuk-uk gum, ninye arye, yo-nang bi-rye ob-uk gum
 Lim mountain AGT/ABL freeze-PST.3SG not man AGT hot-people UNIQ-AGT kill-PST.3SG not
 ‘Either he froze to death by the Lim mountain (which is a very high mountain) or a man, some hot-headed people, killed him.’

Table 4: Unique *bi-* and non-unique *a-* in Una and the animacy hierarchy

personal pronouns	<u>person names</u>	kinship terms older than ego	kinship terms younger than ego	humans	animates	things
	<u>masculine nominalizations</u> <u>masculine demonstrative</u>					
∅	<---SINGULAR----- <i>bi-</i> <i>a-</i> ----->					
∅	<---PLURAL----- <i>a-</i> ----->					

Forms suffixed with *-nyi* underlined

Many Eipo place names take the *-nye* (masculine singular) and *-nang* (masculine plural) to form ethnic names (Heeschen 1998: 206) and many proper names and mythical names are derived from place names by *-nye*. Gender in person names is often overtly expressed. Eibl-Eibesfeldt et al. (1989: 191) note that in traditional Eipo culture new-born girls all without exception first are named *Dei-to* or *Dei-ner* (*dei-* ‘give.birth.to’, *-to* and *-ner* are the feminine suffixes for person names in the two different main dialects of Eipo; Una *ner* is ‘woman’) and boys *Dei-nang* ‘give.birth-people’.

Heeschen (1998: 284, n. 279) notes for Eipo: “During elicitation sessions the informants usually translated Indonesian *orang* ‘man’ by *anye* ‘this here, this one here’”.

(25) Eipo (Heeschen 1998: 261): [this woman] vs. [this-MAN]

A-kil a-ra, boblan fak-dongob-uka ab-uk-ye,
 DEM-woman N_UNIQ-TOP entrance split-INCHOA-CVB make[PFV]-PST.3SG.-CONNEC
a-nye bi-de dob-taleb-uk-ab-uk-ye, aik deib-m-uk.
 DEM-MAN UNIQ-TOP take-grasp-CVB-make-PST.3SG-CONNEC hut put-DUR-PST.3SG
 ‘This woman, she had opened the entrance, and as to this one, she had seized him, and was putting him into the hut.’

(26) Una (41005032) [which-woman] vs. [which-MAN]

“Una-nyi kum una-ner kum a-ryi Ni-si taleb-den-ma-ni-r do?”
 which-MAN NEG which-woman NEG N_UNIQ-ERG 1SG-ACC touch-TAKE-DUR-OBJ.1SG-PRS.3SG Q
 “Who (which man or which woman) is touching me?”

(27) Nalca (44010021): GNMCC with -MAN

...Hem yab o, [ugun-da na ele-nu-lum]-nya be-ra, na-ra al-an...
 brother PL VOC 2PL-TOP 1SG search-FUT-PRS.2PL-NMLZ:MAN M-TOP 1SG-TOP 3SG-DEM
 ‘...Behold, I am he whom you are looking for!’

(28) Nalca (43006026): GNMCC with -THING₁

...[ugun-da na-k ele-nu-lum]-nya ne-ne-ra...
 2PL-TOP 1SG-ABS search-FUT-PRS.2PL-NMLZ:THING₁ N-DEM-TOP
 ‘... you seek me not because...’, literally “the fact that you seek me”

(29) Nalca (41004022): GNMCC with -THING₁

Dokno-lo-la-nya ne-ra eimik e-ra laga da-nam-la. Dara ono'
 hide-IPFV-PRS.3SG-NMLZ NE-TOP later.time DN-TOP open become-FUT-PRS.3SG DS then
gunuw-oka dokno-lo-la-nya ne-neba, nidya' pobo-ngga-nam-la.
 hide-CVB hide-IPFV-PRS.3SG-NMLZ NE-DEM.too all put.to.light-NEG-FUT-PRS.3SG

'For nothing is secret except so that it may be revealed, nor has become hidden except so that it will come to light.'

(30) Una (41004022): GNMCC with *dinyi* 'thing'

Ati, lak-toto kum kur-an-de dinyi ara ninyi aryi kum
 For open-MANNER not be-PRS.CONT-3SG thing TOP man ERG not
bing-nam-ing-nyi dinyi niryra ara lak kib-kwan-de.
 know-HAB-3SG-POT thing all TOP open become-FUT.REM-3SG

'For nothing is secret except so that it may be revealed, nor has become hidden except so that it will come to light.'

(31) Nalca (53002014): Nalca GNMCCs with "God called you"

Im-ik Neyung a-dya ugun-uk youb-s-uk.
 sky-LOC father A-ERG 2PL-ABS call-OBJ.PL-PST.3SG

"God called you" ['for which purpose he called you through our gospel for the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ.']

- [*Imik Neyung a-dya ugun youb-s-uk*] *sum e-* (46007020) "The day when God called you"
- [*Imik Neyung a-dya youb-s-uk*] *nim o* [VOC]! (58003001) "you men who God called!"
- [*Imik Neyung ugun youb-s-uk*]-*nya be-ra* (60001015) "God who called you"
- [*Imik Neyung a-dya ugun-uk youb-s-uk*]-*nya ne-ra* [TOP] (53002014) "The fact that God called you[ABS]"
- [*Imik Neyung a-dya ugun-uk youb-s-uk*]-*a' a-ra* [TOP] (46007017) "As God has called you[ABS]"
- [*Imik Neyung a-dya ugun youb-s-uk*] *nang e-k* (49001018) "you as people whom God called"

Table 5: Nalca GNMCCs and gender

BE-	NE-	A-	GE-	E-
- <i>nya</i> MASC.SG	- <i>nya</i> NEUTER	- <i>a'</i> EVENT, THING	<i>gel</i> 'woman[SG]'	all other nouns
Suffixes			Nouns	

(32) Eipo (Heeschen 1998: 269): one-modifier constraint > repeated head nouns

El kil, a-kil sel-bi-nam-le.
 3SG **woman** this-**woman** dance-go-FUT3SG.

His woman here will go in order to dance.

(33) Nalca (41007025): repeater

...[*gel-a hnon*] [*al-ja gelma bisa' gologo-m-ok gel*] *ge-dya...*
 woman-EMPH one 3SG-GEN daughter ghost tear-PRF-PST.3SG woman F-GEN

'...a woman whose young daughter was possessed by an unclean spirit...'

(34) Nalca (41015040): female person name marker *ge* < *gel* 'woman'

...*hnon-da Salome ge hnon u-lum-ek.*
 one-TOP Salome F one be-IPFV-PST.3PL

'...and one was Salome.'

Yale has the two person name markers *ba* 'male' and *ka* 'female' which especially occur for disambiguation following nicknames, as in *si-olok ba ya-lam-la* [tooth-small M come-DUR-PRS.3SG]

‘Small Tooth (he) comes’, or with unfamiliar new person names *Andreas ba* M vs. *Salome ka* F (V. Heeschen, p.c.; see also *elin ka* [mother friend] ‘mother’, Heeschen 1992: 39).

Table 7: Nalca forms of the gender-demonstrative-case word; not boldface=analogical origin

	NN <i>a-</i>	M <i>be-</i>	PL/[&] <i>da-</i>	DN <i>e-</i>	NT <i>ne-</i>	F <i>ge-</i>
TOP	<i>ara</i>	<i>bera</i>	<i>dara</i>	<i>era</i>	<i>nera</i>	<i>gera</i>
GEN/ERG	<i>adya(')</i>	<i>bedya(')</i>	<i>[dadya(')]</i>	<i>edyya(')</i>	<i>nedya(')</i>	<i>gedya(')</i>
DAT./ACC.	<i>ak</i>	<i>bek</i>	<i>[dak]</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>nek</i>	<i>gek</i>
COM/ABL	<i>ab</i>	<i>beb</i>	-	<i>eb</i>	<i>neb</i>	<i>geb</i>
DEM:TOP	<i>an[a/e]ra</i>	<i>benera</i>	<i>dana/era</i>	<i>enera</i>	<i>nenera</i>	<i>genera</i>
DEM:GEN	<i>anadya</i>	<i>benedya</i>	<i>danadya</i>	<i>enedya</i>	<i>nenedya</i>	<i>genedya</i>
DEM:DAT	<i>anyek</i>	<i>benyek</i>	<i>danyek</i>	<i>enyek</i>	<i>nenyek</i>	<i>genyek</i>
DEM:COM	<i>anyeb</i>	<i>benyeb</i>	<i>danyeb</i>	<i>enyeb</i>	<i>nenyeb</i>	<i>genyeb</i>
Equative	<i>anaso(')</i>	<i>beneso(')</i>	-	<i>eneso(')</i>	<i>neneso(')</i>	<i>geneso(')</i>
DEM	<i>an</i>	<i>ben</i>	-	<i>en</i>	<i>nen</i>	<i>gen</i>
Zero	-	<i>be</i>	-	-	-	<i>ge</i>

Table 8: ‘a woman’ and ‘a man’ in the Nalca N.T.

	N(- <i>a</i>) one	N GENDER one	N GENDER-DEM one
‘a woman’	<i>gel(a) hnon (27x)</i>	<i>gel ge hnon (7x)</i>	
‘a man’		<i>nimi be hnon (33)</i>	<i>nimi ben hnon (181x)</i>
‘a PN(female)’		PN <i>ge hnon (3x)</i>	PN <i>gen hnon (1x)</i>
‘a PN(male)’		PN <i>be hnon (15x)</i>	PN <i>ben hnon (6x)</i>

5. Conclusions

- Gender markers are sometimes simply decategorized light nouns. They are “classifying” because light nouns tend to be hyperonyms of other nouns. They “agree” because they can be repeated or redundantly restate general lexical information of other nouns.
- Light nouns and pronominal indexes are strictly distinguished only by virtue of their word class membership, their functions overlap. Opaque light nouns or opaque light NPs can become gender markers. This development is unidirectional.
- A simple gender marker seldom comes alone, which can create complexity.
- Decategorialization in nouns is often unsystematic which causes anomalies which call for analogical change.
- Removing anomalies is system emergence. Systems are created for the sake of simplicity. Systems often have potential for complexity. If there is potential for complexity, it will be used.

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