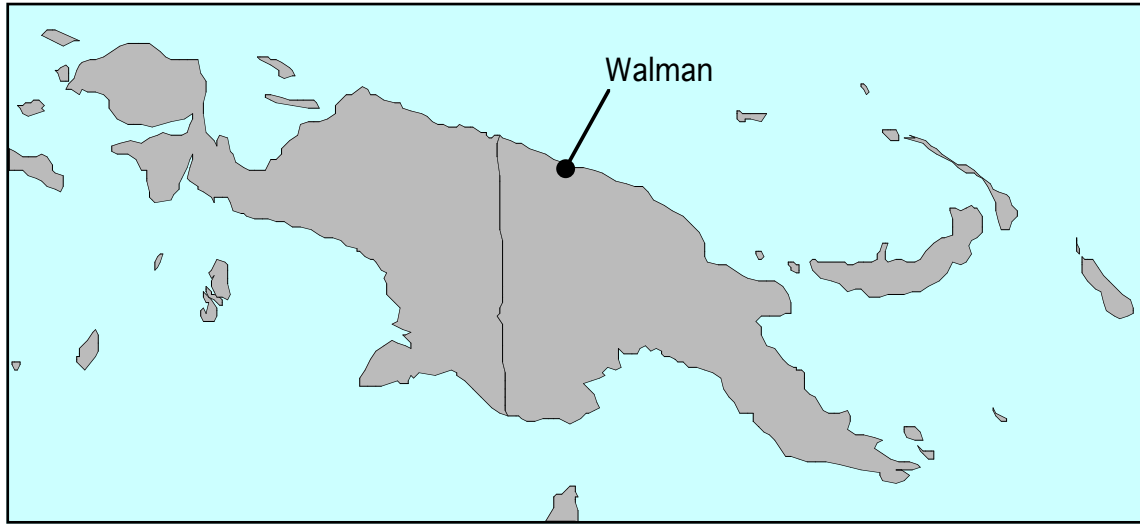# Gender in Walman

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Country: Papua New Guinea
Family: Torricelli
Genus: Wapei-Palai (Subgenus: West Palai)

I. Introduction

(1)　Kum　**m**-ete-**y**　　　　　　wuel　chomchom.
　　　1SG　**1SG.SUBJ**-see-**3PL.OBJ**　pig　　many
　　　'I saw many pigs.'

(2)　Ru　　**w**-lro-**n**　　　　　　　　runon.
　　　3SG.F　**3SG.F:SUBJ**-like-**3SG.M:OBJ**　3SG.M
　　　'She likes him.'

(3)　Rim　y-a<**n**>pu　　　　ampatu　　　　　mon　nngkal.
　　　3PL　3PL-kill<**3SG.M**>　ground.wallaby　NEG　small
　　　'They killed a big wallaby.'

(4)　Ri　y-**p**-ako　　　kum　m-an　　　apar.
　　　3PL　3PL-**1OBJ**-put　1SG　1SG-be.at　bed
　　　'They put me on the bed.'

(5)　Ngolu　　　pa<**n**>ten　**n**-o　　　　lapo-**n**.
　　　cassowary　that<**M**>　**3SG.M**-be　big-**M**
　　　'That cassowary is large.'

(6)   Mon   chi   n-a<ø>ko   wul   **pa<ø>ten.**
NEG   2SG   2SG-eat<3SG.F>   water   **that<F>**
'You shouldn't drink that water.'

(7)   Kamte-n   **alpa-n**   n-epin   n-ara.
person-M   **one-M**   3SG.M-go.ahead   3SG.M-come
'One man came ahead of the others'

(8)   Runon   n-o   **chapa.**
3SG.M   3SG.M-be   **fat**
'He is fat.'

(9)   a.   Pelen   **n-**aykiri.
        dog   **3SG.M-**bark
        'The male dog barked.'

    b.   Pelen   **w-**aykiri.
        dog   **3SG.F-**bark
        'The female dog barked.'

    c.   Pelen   **y-**aykiri.
        dog   **3PL-**bark
        'The dogs barked.'

    d.   Pelen   **l-**aykiri.
        dog   **3DIMIN-**bark
        'The puppy barked.'

(10)   a.   Kum   m-etere-**n**   pelen.
        1SG   1SG.SUBJ-see-**3SG.MASC.OBJ**   dog
        'I saw a male dog.'

    b.   Kum   m-etere-**ø**   pelen.
        1SG   1SG.SUBJ-see-**3SG.FEM:OBJ**   dog
        'I saw a female dog.'

    c.   Kum   m-etere-**y**   pelen.
        1SG   1SG.SUBJ-see-**3PL.OBJ**   dog
        'I saw some dogs.'

    d.   Kum   m-etere-**l**   pelen.
        1SG   1SG.SUBJ-see-**3DIMIN.OBJ**   dog
        'I saw a puppy.'

(11) Words other than verbs that inflect for gender, number and diminutive

	fem.sg	*masc.sg*	*plural*	*diminutive*	*meaning*
Adjectives	nyopu-ø	nyopu-n	nyopu-y	nyopu-l	'good'
	woyue-ø	woyue-n	woyue-y	woyue-l	'bad'
	lapo-ø	lapo-n	lapo-y	lapo-l	'large'
	ro<ø>rani	ro<n>rani	ro<y>rani	ro<l>rani	'long, tall'
	kolue-ø	kolue-n	kolue-y	kolue-l	'short'
Demonstratives	pa<ø>ten	pa<n>ten	pa<y>ten ~ pa<y>te-y	pa<l>ten	'that'
	ya<ø>pa	ya<n>pa	ya<y>pa~yapa	ya<l>pa	'that'
Numerals	ngo-ø	ngo-n	ngo-ny	ngo-l	'one'
	alpa-ø	alpa-n	alpa-y ~ alpa-ny	alpa-l	'one, alone, only'
Pronouns	ru	runon	ri ~ rim	rul	'he, she, etc.'
Nouns	kamte	kamten	kamtey	kamtel	'person'

II. Principles Governing Gender

(12) a. All nouns denoting inanimate objects are feminine
   b. Nouns denoting a few quasi-animate natural phenomena are masculine
   c. All nouns denoting humans and some higher animals are either masculine or feminine, depending on the sex of the referent
   d. Nouns denoting other animals have relatively arbitrary gender

(13) Types of nouns denoting animals according to gender:
   a. nouns denoting animals which can be either gender depending on the sex of the referent, no default (e.g. *pelen* 'dog')
   b. nouns denoting animals which can be either gender depending on the sex of the referent, but where default is masculine (e.g. *ngolu* 'cassowary')
   c. nouns denoting animals which can be either gender depending on the sex of the referent, but where default is feminine (e.g. *nyap* 'tree wallaby')
   d. nouns denoting animals which can be either gender, but where the choice does not depend on the sex of the referent; it is simply that both genders are correct (e.g. *pnyoko* 'caterpillar')
   e. nouns denoting animals which are always masculine
   f. nouns denoting animals which are always feminine

(14) **Ngolu**   **n-**ikie-ø   meten.
     cassowary   **3SG.M-**put-3SG.F   egg
     'A cassowary has lain an egg.'

(15) ... y-e**<ø>**tiki   **ngolu.**
        3PL-cook.over.fire**<3SG.F>**   **cassowary**
     '[She is still with her brothers] cooking a cassowary.' (Becker 29)

(16) a. **Pnyoko**   pa   **w**-o   lapo-**ø**.
          caterpillar that **3SG.F**-be   big-**F**
          'That caterpillar is big.'

      b. **Pnyoko**   pa   **n**-o   lapo-**n**.
          caterpillar that **3SG.M**-be   big-**M**
          'That caterpillar is big.'

III. Gender among animals with grammatical gender

(17) Mammals

Masculine

akar   bush rat (default masculine)
ampatu   ground wallaby
mouluel   ground wallaby (same as *ampatu*)
slaoi   rat, mouse (default masculine)
smaro   large type of bandicoot, not found on coast, only found inland

Feminine

elpie   flying fox (a type of large bat)
nyap   tree wallaby, light grey (default feminine)
yeliem cha small type of bandicoot, the size of a rat
yupyup   a small bat

(18) Birds

Masculine

alan   parrot (red and green)
aron   eagle that is large and grey and white and that is found in the jungle
mmpul   hawk with reddish brown body and white head
ngolu   cassowary (default masculine)
semier   type of bush fowl
tarkau   osprey
tualiau   type of bush fowl, looks like hen, brown, small, the size of a chicken
wamol   hornbill
wawiel   crow
yiwos   very small hawk, brown, lives at coast, eats chicks

Feminine

kmaynum   blue bird about the size of a chicken, has no decoration
le   bird of paradise
pinie   tiny bird, blue with white around neck
polmonu   guria pigeon
rampanyau willy wagtail
solponyou swallow
yup   white cockatoo

(19) Fish (and aquatic mammals)

Masculine

chaukol   fish that is silver with large scales, up to 15 inches long, in freshwater or sea
kna   a fish that is about six inches, lives in rivers, black and white
wuey   shark

Feminine

ayar   silver-coloured fish
aynramien   long fish
keyre   grey fish, about 6 to 7 inches long, lives in ponds in bush
lemisi   sea fish, black and white, about six inches long, with strong fins at the side
               of its mouth
maos   river fish, about two to three inches long
ngochukuel   freshwater fish, black, sometimes brown, up to 7 inches long
pariem   marlin
pirichukuel   type of freshwater fish, can grow very big, about arm length
wuem   fish (general term)
alpariak   dolphin
yuel   seal

(20) Snakes

Masculine

ani konu   snake, light brown-orange-red, about a metre long, very dangerous
nayko iyoy   snake, small, lives along coast, not dangerous, eats crabs
layat   type of python, very big and long, pretty patterned skin, lives in trees,
              not really dangerous

Feminine

kilekile   death adder, about a foot long, black with white dots, very dangerous
mekey   ground python, brown with white belly, not poisonous, can be very big
nyieu   very big and long, light blue and shiny, lives in bush, not dangerous to people
            but swallows small animals

(21) Other reptiles, amphibians, non-insect-like invertebrates

Masculine

nacherin   gecko (house)
nyelekel   type of snail that is found on sago and that is large and brown

Feminine

iyoy   crab
keleperie   goanna, lizard (black, white dots)
klilieu   small brown lizard that lives outside
kolpotu   green or brown lizard that lives in coconut trees in bush

sampanyar	brown or green lizard, up to about a foot long
kratu	a type of turtle which is large
makopul	a type of turtle which is small
mesiu	frog
mumur ~ mmur	crayfish
ngala	crab
nyelekel	type of snail that is found in water and that is small and black
tepley	brown lizard living in bush close to village
weng	green lizard with fins on top
wlieu	frog, toad

(22) Insects and the like (spiders, lice, leeches, worms, centipedes, millipedes)

Masculine

achakol	housefly
kayikiel	fruitfly
kaimung	firefly
kol	stag beetle
melkil	bee, wasp
mile	leech
paral tkay	flying ant
ppiak	butterfly
ppu	small grasshopper-like creature, green or brown
slmako	bluebottle fly
srnyako	beetle which comes around in evening, makes loud sound, lives in jungle, about one inch long, green with a bit of yellow and black
tmpinie	worm (general term)

Feminine

inrer	very small mosquito (hard to see, smaller than sandfly) that bites people in evening, especially in marshy areas of bush
krunu	centipede
nymuchuto	spider
nymulol	louse
paral	ant
pirinyue	cockroach
posur	termite, white ant (does not live in houses, builds mounds)
puseksek	a type of grasshopper that is large, brown or green, and can fly, and which make a noise like "seksek"
waykelie	millipede (not dangerous, can be as long as 6 inches, moves like a train)
woru	mosquito

IV. Other uses of masculine gender

(24) Masculine nouns denoting quasi-animate natural phenomena

        nganu   sun, day
        snar   moon
        onyul   earthquake
        knum   riptide, whirlpool
        olokol   mountain (very occasionally, usually pluralia tantum
                  noun)
        anako   sky (but only in *anako nol* 'it thunders')

(25)   Snar   **n-**reliel.
       moon   **3SG.M**-shine
       'The moon is shining.'

(26)   Nganu ngo-**n** ru   w-ekele-n   chamul w-ru.
       sun   one-**M** 3SG.F 3SG.F-pull-3SG.M Chamul GEN-3SG.F
       'One day she played a flute to call her Chamul.'

(28)   a. Olokol   **n-**oruel.
           mountain **3SG.M-**explode
           'It thundered.'

       b. Olokol   **y-**oruel
           mountain **3PL-**explode
           'The mountain exploded (i.e. a volcano).'

(29)   Anako **n-**ol   komoru.
       sky   **3SG.M-**break   evening
       'It thundered in the (late) afternoon.'

(30)   *won* 'chest', "heart"

       a. Won mnon   **w-o**   lapo-**ø**.
           chest 3SG.M.GEN **3SG.F-**be big-**F**
           'His chest is large.'

       b. To   ri   konungkol **won** **n-**o   kisiel.
           then 3PL men   **heart** **3SG.M-**be   fast
           'Then the men were angry.' (Becker 15)

       c. Ru   **won**   **n-**iri
           3SG.F **heart** **3SG.M-**stand.up
           'She fell in love with him.'

       d. Runon n-aro-n   **won** **n-**rowlo-y.
           3SG.M 3SG.M-and-3SG.M **heart** **3SG.M-**follow-3PL
           'They were happy.'

       e. Ru   pa   pe   w-an   w-ekele-**n**   **won.**
           3SG.F PTCL still 3SG.F-be.at 3SG.F-pull-**3SG.M** **heart**
           'She's still breathing.'

(31) *puna* 'brain'

    a.   Kum   **puna** **w-**o   cheliel
        1SG   **brain** **3SG.F-**be   hot
        'My brain hurts.'

    b.   Ru   w-ekele-**n**   **puna**   kisiel
        3SG.F 3SG.F-pull-**3SG.M** **brain** loud
        'She was snoring loudly.'

(32) *mon* 'who'

    a.   Chim   ch-altawro-**n**   mon?
        2PL   2PL-look-**3SG.M** who
        'Who are you looking for?'

    b.   *Chim ch-altawro-**ø**   mon?
         2PL   2PL-look-**3SG.F** who
        'Who are you looking for?'

    c.   Chim   ch-altawro-**y**   mon?
        2PL   2PL-look-**3PL**   who
        'Who are you looking for?'

V. Plural forms of nouns

Only a limited number of nouns in Walman have distinct plural forms, the majority of them nouns denoting humans. But about 17 nouns denoting inanimate objects have plural forms.

(33)

chan	chantey	daughter's husband, granddaughter's husband, younger sister's husband, wife's older brother
ngan	ngantey	father
mkan	mkaril ~ mkanril	husband
wlapon	wlapum	man's older brother, son of father's older brother or sister, more distant male cousin where his common sibling is older
chuto	nyiki	woman
klako	knaningkiel	arm
kampotu	kamtikiel	knee
tomuel	tmleykiel	stone
nyopol	nypeykil	tree
laulau	laliau ~ lalieu	feather

VI. Pluralia tantum nouns

We are currently aware of 81 pluralia tantum nouns, far more than the number of masculine nouns we are aware of.

Pluralia tantum nouns are not plural in form; rather they obligatorily trigger plural agreement.

(35) Apar   pa<y>ten **y**-o   rachi.
     bed   that<**PL**> **3PL**-be   strong
     'That bed is strong.'

(36) Chrikiel **y**-o   lapo-**y**.
     net   **3PL**-be   big-**PL**
     'The net is large.'

(37) Tim lapo-**y**   **y**-anan   kon.
     dew   big-**PL**   **3PL**-go.down   night
     'A heavy dew fell last night.'

(38) Kum   m-aro-ø   kaintuen m-a-**y**   wi   alpa-**ny.**
     1SG   1SG-take-3SG.F   stick   1SG-use-**3PL**   hand   one-**PL**
     'I grabbed the stick with one hand.'

(39) Kipin   k-ao-**y**   nyi   ngo-**ny**
     1PL   1PL-shoot-**3PL**   fire   one-**PL**
     'We lit a fire.'

(40) Almat   **y**-o   motuel.
     fog   **3PL**-be   thick
     'The fog is thick.'

(41) Ways in which pluralia tantum noun behaves like a gender
    a. Apart from nouns that can occur with both masculine and feminine, every noun in Walman must be masculine, feminine, or pluralia tantum noun.
    b. There are an unusually large number of pluralia tantum nouns in Walman, more than the number of masculine nouns (by our current count, approximately 80 pluralia tantum nouns and 40 masculine nouns).
    c. There are irregular plural forms of the two words for 'one', *ngo* and *alpa,* namely *ngony* and *alpany.*

(42)

	Sg	Pl
Fem	fem	plur
Masc	masc	plur
PlurTant	plur	plur

VII. Diminutive

(47) Nyanam nngkal pa **l**-an **l**-oruen.
child small that **3DIMIN**-be.at **3DIMIN**-cry
'The small child was crying.' (Becker 4)

(48) Yey chi n-ka<**l**>ay wuel nka ngo-**l** pa
hey 2SG 2SG-look.at<**3DIMIN**> pig baby one-**DIMIN** there

    l-rai chapul.
    3DIMIN-stand ground

'Hey, look at the little pig standing there!' (Becker 41)

(49) Pelen **l**-aykiri.
dog **3DIMIN**-bark
'The puppy is barking.' (not 'The small (adult) dog is barking')

(50) Pelen pa<**l**>ten **l**-o lapo-**l**.
dog that<DIMIN> 3DIMIN-be large-DIMIN
'That puppy is large.'

(51) **Rul** **l**-ay!
3DIMIN **3DIMIN**-swim
'She's swimming!'

(52) Pa tu **l**-unau
that PERF **3DIMIN**-go.landward
The poor fellow's just left (for the garden).'

(53) Kum m-etere-**l** pirinyue.
1SG 1SG-see-**3DIMIN** cockroach
'I saw a small cockroach.'

(54) Tantan **l**-an wochu.
sand **3DIMIN**-be.at bucket
'There is a small quantify of sand in the bucket.'

(55) kum m-etere-**l** ei
1SG 1SG-see-**3DIMIN** lime
'I saw a little container of lime.'

(56) Pelen **w**-aykiri.
dog **3SG.F**-bark
'The dog (female) is barking.' *or* 'The puppy (female) is barking.'

VIII. Agreement mismatches with diminutives

(58) Pelen pa<ø>ten / *pa<**n**>ten / *pa<**y**>ten **w**-ata   kum.
dog   that<**F**>   / that<**M**>   / that<**PL**>   **3SG.F**-bite.NON3OBJ 1SG
'That dog bit me.'

(59) Pelen pa<**n**>ten / *pa<**ø**>ten / *pa<**y**>ten **n**-ata   kum.
dog   that<**M**>   / that<**F**>   / that<**PL**>   **3SG.M**-bite.NON3OBJ 1SG
'That (male) dog bit me.'

(60) Pelen pa<**y**>ten / *pa<**ø**>ten / *pa<**n**>ten **y**-ata   kum.
dog   that<**PL**>   / that<**F**>   / that<**M**>   **3PL**-bite.NON3OBJ 1SG
'Those dogs bit me.'

(61) a. Wuel woyue-**l**   **w**-arul.
pig   bad-**DIMIN**   **3SG.F**-run.away
'The naughty little female pig ran away.'

    b. Wuel woyue-**l**   **n**-arul.
pig   bad-**DIMIN**   **3SG.M**-run.away
'The naughty little male pig ran away.'

(62) a. Wuel woyue-**ø** **l**-arul.
pig   bad-**F**   **3DIMIN**-run.away
'The naughty little female pig ran away.'

    b. Wuel woyue-**n**   **l**-arul.
pig   bad-**M**   **3DIMIN**-run.away
'The naughty little male pig ran away.'

Six examples from texts illustrating agreement mismatches:

(63) Diminutive: pronoun *rul*
Masculine: four subject prefixes

    Lasi   **rul**   wonulo   nngkal **n**-nulue-n,
    immediately **3DIMIN**   younger.brother small   **3SG.M**-be.afraid.of-3SG.M

    n-a<**y**>ukul   kulkul   **n**-anan   **n**-an   rpia.
    3SG.M-lift<3PL> fireplace **3SG.M**-go.down **3SG.M**-be.at under

    'Then the younger brother got a fright and pulled up the fireplace and slipped
        down underneath.' (Becker 39a)

(64) Diminutive: pronoun *rul*
Masculine: one subject prefix, one object suffix

    To   **rul**   na   pa   **n**-ekiel   runon mon n-ete-**n**   ...
    then **3DIMIN**   son that **3SG.M**-go.landward 3SG.M NEG 3SG.M-see-**3SG.M**
     'Then his little son followed him without being seen (literally 'he didn't see him')
        ...' (Becker 13)

(65) Diminutive: five subject prefixes
Feminine: pronoun *ru* (twice)

To	**ru**	ngal	solponyou	**l**-ka	**l**-iliel
then	**3SG.F**	bird	swallow	**3DIMIN**-fly	**3DIMIN**-go.seaward

l-arau	ngkeir	**l**-an	yal	kolo,	to	**ru**
3DIMIN-go.up	perch	**3DIMIN**-be.at	breadfruit	branch	then	**3SG.F**

ngu	**l**-apa	w-anan	runon	kamte-n	apum.
excrement	**3DIMIN**-defecate	3SG.F-go.down	3SG.M	person-M	body

'Then a little swallow flew and landed on a branch of the breadfruit tree, and dropped some scat on top of his body.' (Becker 19)

(66) Diminutive: pronoun *rul*
Masculine: suffix on noun *kamten*

Akou	**rul**	kamte-**n**	nngkal	n-an.
finish	**3DIMIN**	person-**M**	small	3SG.M-be.at

'But the little boy really was there.' (Becker 40)

(67) Diminutive: numeral *alpal* 'one'
Masculine: two subject prefixes, one on verb in relative clause, one on main verb

Akou	nyanam	nngkal-lngkal	alpa-**l**	**n**-ama	Riak	pa
finish	child	small-small	one-**DIMIN**	**3SG.M**-like	Riak	DEM

n-a<y>ukul	kulkul	n-anan	chur	...
3SG.M-lift<3PL>	fireplace	3SG.M-go.down	down	

'But one little lad, about Riak's age (*literally* 'like Riak') pulled up the floorboards near the fireplace, slid quickly down ...' (Becker 2)

(68) Diminutive: object suffix on *krlel* 'throw to'
Feminine: subject prefix on *wako* 'eat'

...	n-anan	m-ch-a	k-ocho-ø	chok	w-an	wulo
	2SG-go.down	1SG-2OBJ-and	1PL-skewer-3SG.F	stab	3SG.F-be.at	fig

m-ch-a	k-rle-**l**		w-anan	cha
1SG-2OBJ-and	1PL-throw.IMPER.APPLIC-**3DIMIN**		3SG.F-go.down	so.that

ru	**w**-a<ø>ko.
3SG.F	**3SG.F**-eat<3SG.F>

'... when you come back we'll stick them in a fig that we can throw it down to her so that she eats it.' (Becker 41)

IX. Is diminutive a gender in Walman? - Metatheoretical preliminaries

How do we explain similarities among languages?

(69)

```
            Language-external
            explanatory factors


   phenomenon        phenomenon                    phenomenon
   in Language #1    in Language #2    . . . . .    in Language #n
```

(70)

```
            Language-external
            explanatory factors



               Crosslinguistic
                  Category


   phenomenon        phenomenon                    phenomenon
   in Language #1    in Language #2    . . . . .    in Language #n
```
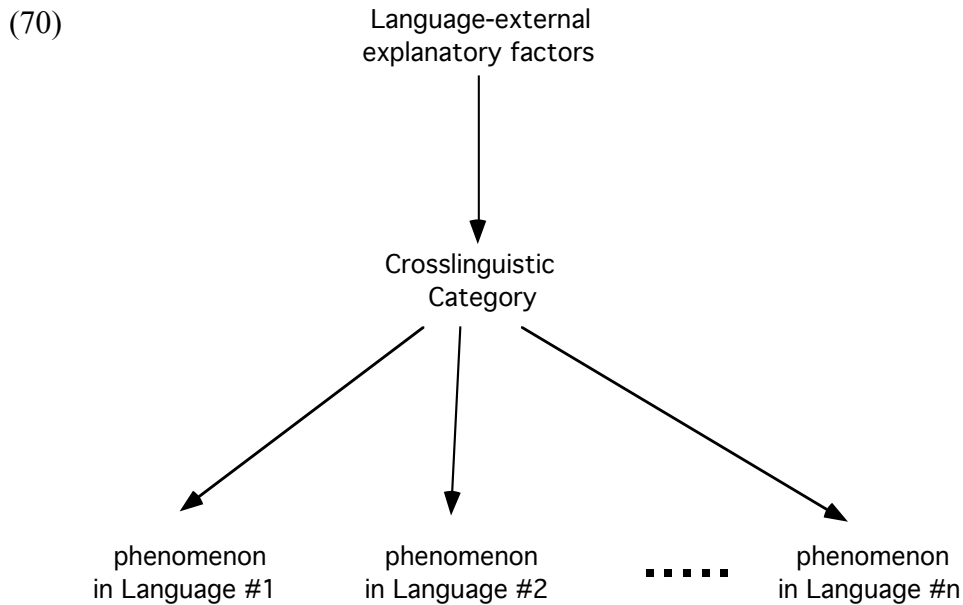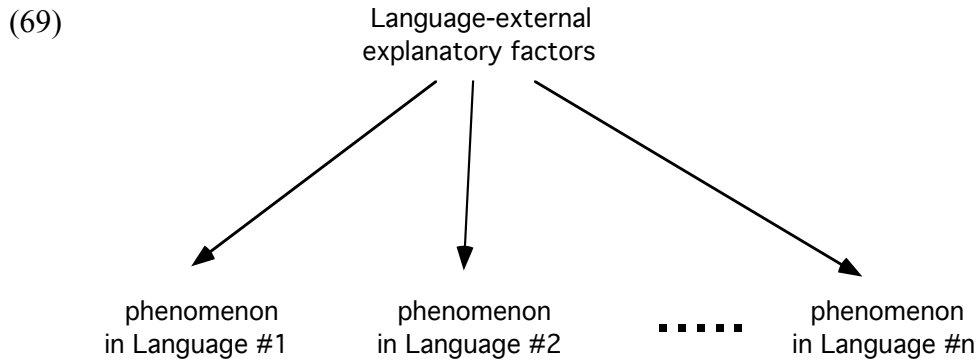
(71) Are crosslinguistic categories emergent phenomena?

(72) Two major problems:
   a. We know that the explanatory factors exert force directly on language change
      for individual languages.
   b. The problem of typological outliers: linguistic phenomena that have atypical
      features.

(73) Do penguins have wings?

(74) Corollaries:
   a. Categories are only language specific
   b. Labels for categories are not part of a linguistic analysis
   c. Facts about other languages have no bearing on how to analyse a particular
      language

(75) Caveat: A particular theoretical framework may provide more precise definitions of terms and within that theoretical framework, it may make sense to ask whether a particular category in a language is an instance of a category within that framework.

(76) If two theoretical approaches answer the question differently, the difference is usually a terminological one, not a substantive one.

X. What does it mean to ask whether diminutive in Walman is a gender?

(77) Under my metatheoretical assumptions, it means "Is diminutive an instance of the same category of what we call masculine and feminine in Walman?"

(78) A number of possible analyses:

Analysis 1

Feature: "gember"	4 values:	masculine singular
		feminine singular
		plural
		diminutive

Analysis 2

Features: gender	2 values	masculine
		feminine
number	2 values	singular
		plural
diminutiveness	2 values	diminutive
		unspecified or nondiminutive

Analysis 3

Features: gender	3 values	masculine
		feminine
		diminutive
number	2 values	singular
		plural

Analysis 4

Features: "gember"	3 values	masculine
		feminine
		plural
diminutiveness	2 values	diminutive
		unspecified or nondiminutive

(79) There are no nouns that are grammatically diminutive, while there are nouns that are grammatically masculine, feminine, and plural.

(80)   a.   Wuel   woyue-**n**   **l**-arul.
             pig   bad-**M**   **3DIMIN**-run.away
             'The naughty little male pig ran away.'

        b.   Wuel   woyue-**l**   **n**-arul.
             pig   bad-**DIMIN** **3SG.M**-run.away
             'The naughty little male pig ran away.'

(81) *wuel woyuen*   gender: masculine
                        number: singular
                        diminutiveness: diminutive

(82) i.e. *wuel woyuen* is both masculine AND diminutive

(83) The morphological realization rules allow words that are masculine and diminutive to be either masculine in form or diminutive in form.

(84)   Chrikiel   pa<**l**>ten   **l**-o   nyopu-**l**.
          net   that<**DIMIN**> **3DIMIN**-be good-**DIMIN**
          'That tiny net is good (useful).'

(85) While masculine and feminine are *grammatically* singular, diminutive is *semantically* singular.

(86) *chrikiel palten* gender: --
                        number: plural
                        diminutiveness: diminutive

(87)   *Pelen **y**-o   woyue-**l**.
        dog   **3PL**-be bad-**DIMIN**
        'The dogs are naughty.'

(88)   a.   Kum m-etere-**y**   ei.
             1SG   1SG-see-**3PL** lime
             'I saw (the) lime.'

        b.   Kum m-etere-**l**   ei.
             1SG   1SG-see-**3DIMIN** lime
             'I saw a little container of lime.'

(89) "First, we do not find masculine and feminine agreement together (Brown & Dryer treat this as a significant difference in the diminutive, but it could simply follow from semantic incompatibility.)" (Corbett 2012: 148)

(90)   Ngolu   pa<**n**>ten **n**-o   lapo-**n**.
          cassowary   that<**M**> **3SG.M**-be big-**M**
          'That cassowary is large.'

(91)   ¿*Ngolu   pa<ø>ten **n**-o   lapo-**n**.[1]
        cassowary that<F> **3SG.M**-be big-**M**
        'That cassowary is large.'

XI. Other languages with similar diminutives

Mehek (Sepik family; Hatfield (in preparation))

(92)   tama=**r**   ka   sukna-ya-**r**.
        person=**M** REALIS sleep-PRES-**3SG.M**
        'The man sleeps.'

(93)   loko samba=**r**   wate-m-**r**.
        rain big=**M**   rain.fall-PAST2-**3SG.M**
        'A big rain fell.'

(94)   nawa=**s**   ene   rusu kuna-ya-**s**
        mother=**FEM** 1SG.OBJ sit   wait-PRES-**3SG.FEM**
        '[My] mother is waiting for me.'

(95)   tama=**m**   iki   ne   fu-ka-**m**   mehek.
        person=**PL** NEG 2SG hit-FUT2-**3PL**   NEG
        'The men will not kill you.'

(96)   nawa afa=**f**   ka   naku dorko   si-r   i-wa-**f**.
        mother father=**DU** REALIS sago scrape.sago wash-NOM go-PAST1-**3DU**
        'The mother and father went to scrape and wash sago.'

(97)   mambu grow=**t**   nurku nawe i-**t**.
        bird.species=**DIMIN** night   only   go-**3SG.DIMIN**
        'The mambu grow bird only comes out at night.'

(98)   Another possible case: Motuna (South Bougainville)

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[1] The symbol '¿' means that we have not yet checked the grammaticality of the example, but that we predict, based on other sorts of examples, that it will be judged ungrammatical.