Gender, classifiers, alienability, animacy: Concurrent categorisation systems in the Bird's Head

Katherine Walker
Universiteit van Amsterdam/Universität zu Köln
Contents

• Introduction
  – Languages, data, domain: numeral constructions

• Gender & classification systems
  – Intermediate systems
  – Co-occurrence of system types

• Other systems
  – Alienability & animacy
  – Co-occurrence of 3 system types: Sougb (EBH)
  – Co-occurrence of 4 system types: Moskona (EBH)

• Summary
Papuan languages of the Bird’s Head & Bomberai Peninsula

(Holton & Klamer 2017: 571)
Data

Grammar
Grammar sketch
Corpus
(partially annotated)
Other
(phonology/survey)

= 19 languages

(Holton & Klamer 2017: 571)
Comparison at construction level

Multidimensional typology approach
(Bickel 2007; Seifart 2009)

‘[...] modern typology has moved away from typologizing entire languages and instead takes individual structural patterns (constructions [...] as comparanda.’ (Bickel 2007: 245)
Numeral constructions

• Nominal classification systems often subdivided according to morphosyntactactic locus
  – Classifiers in numeral constructions are widely attested

MPUR (isolate)

\[
\begin{align*}
jan & \quad bik & \quad denur \\
house & \quad CL & \quad three
\end{align*}
\]

‘three houses’

(Odé 2002: 83)
Numeral constructions

• Nominal classification systems often subdivided according to morphosyntactic locus
  – Classifiers in numeral constructions are widely attested

MPUR (isolate)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jan} & \quad \text{bik} & \quad \text{denur} & \quad \text{jan} & \quad \text{bik} & \quad \text{denur} \\
\text{house} & \quad \text{CL} & \quad \text{three} & \quad \text{house} & \quad \text{roof} & \quad \text{three} \\
\text{‘three houses’} & & \text{‘three roofs’} & & \text{(Fieldnotes)}
\end{align*}
\]

(\text{Odé 2002: 83})
## Nominal classification: Classifier & gender systems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Properties</th>
<th>Classifier systems</th>
<th>Gender systems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Form</td>
<td>Not affixed to noun Independent form</td>
<td>Can be marked on noun Bound form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obligatoriness</td>
<td>Use might be register dependent</td>
<td>Obligatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realisation</td>
<td>Marked once</td>
<td>In agreement patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction with other grammatical categories</td>
<td>Independent constituent</td>
<td>Fused (with e.g., definiteness, number, case)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class assignment</td>
<td>Flexible</td>
<td>Fixed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(After Grinevald 2000 & Dixon 1986)
Nominal classification: Classifier & gender systems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class terms:</th>
<th>Classifier systems</th>
<th>Gender systems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e.g. berry in strawberry, gooseberry...</td>
<td>Not affixed to noun</td>
<td>Can be marked on noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure terms:</td>
<td>Independent form</td>
<td>Bound form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. cup of tea, head of lettuce...</td>
<td>Use might be register dependent</td>
<td>Obligatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marked once</td>
<td>In agreement patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Independent constituent</td>
<td>Fused (with e.g., definiteness, number, case)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flexible</td>
<td>Fixed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Katherine Walker - APLL 2020
Gender systems

PURAGI (SBH) (de Vries 2004: 142)

a. rabín-i moqónad-a
d. raw-o moqónad-o

man-SM one-SM

woman-SF one-SF

Katherine Walker - APLL 2020
# Gender systems

**PURAGI (SBH)** (de Vries 2004: 142)

a. *rabín-i moqónad-a*  
b. *raw-o moqónad-o*

- man-\textit{SM} one-\textit{SM}  
- woman-\textit{SF} one-\textit{SF}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Properties</th>
<th>Gender systems</th>
<th>Puragi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Form</td>
<td>Can be marked on noun</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bound form</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obligatoriness</td>
<td>Obligatory</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realisation</td>
<td>In agreement patterns</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction with other grammatical</td>
<td>Fused (with e.g., definiteness, number, case)</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>categories</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class assignment</td>
<td>Fixed</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gender systems
Classifier systems

IHA (WB)

on-ma tohitohi mo qpan-qpo tewét
1sg-poss loincloth med cl-one exist

‘I still have one loincloth there’

[Giant&redCAWAT_man 140] (Narfafan & Tuturop 2009–2016)
# Classifier systems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Properties</th>
<th>Classifier systems</th>
<th>Iha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Form</td>
<td>Not affixed to noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Independent form</td>
<td>+ (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obligatoriness</td>
<td>Use might be register dependent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realisation</td>
<td>Marked once</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction with other</td>
<td>Independent constituent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grammatical categories</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class assignment</td>
<td>Flexible</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. adopwɛrɛ́ rik  
   tree tw̃  `two trees’  
   [Space_Game_3_Ida_and_Antonius 023]

b. adopwɛrɛ́ we̱re-rik  
   tree CL-tw̃  `two trees’  
   [Space_Game_3_Ida_and_Antonius 124]

c. paghɛr-wɛ́rɛ́ mur-qpo  
   mango-tree CL-one  
   `one mango-tree branch’  
   [Frog_story 241]
Classifier systems

Classifiers

Katherine Walker - APLL 2020
## Intermediate systems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>System</th>
<th>Score</th>
<th>affix</th>
<th>obligatory</th>
<th>&gt;1 targets</th>
<th>fused cats.</th>
<th>fixed class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kemberano (SBH), Maibrat (isolate)…</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puragi (SBH)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moskona (EBH)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meyah (EBH)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tehit (WBH)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iha (WB)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abun (isolate), Moi (WBH), Mbaham (WB)…</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Intermediate systems: Moskona (EBH)

...**ergog**  **y-ebah**  **jig**  **mod**  **erg-es.**...  
they.  **DU**  DU-live  **LOC**  house  **CL:1**-one

‘...they lived in one house’  
(Gravelle 2010: 267)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Properties</th>
<th>Classifier systems</th>
<th>Gender systems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Form</td>
<td><strong>Not affixed to noun</strong></td>
<td>Can be affixed to noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Independent form</td>
<td><strong>Bound form</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obligatoriness</td>
<td>Use might be register dependent</td>
<td>Obligatory (<strong>with 1-3</strong>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realisation</td>
<td>Marked once</td>
<td>In agreement patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction with other grammatical categories</td>
<td>Independent constituent</td>
<td>Fused (with e.g., definiteness, number, case)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class assignment</td>
<td>Flexible</td>
<td>Fixed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Katherine Walker - APLL 2020
Intermediate systems
Intermediate, gender
Intermediate, classifiers
Gender, classifiers

Katherine Walker - APLL 2020
Gender, classifiers (+ alienability)

MAIBRAT (isolate)

\begin{align*}
\text{fane} & \quad m\text{-}\text{ana} & \quad \text{tu.} & \quad m\text{-}\text{nan} & \quad \text{na} & \quad m\text{-}\text{ape} \\
\text{pig} & \quad 3\text{U}\text{-head} & \quad \text{three} & \quad 3\text{U}\text{-enough} & \quad \text{and.then} & \quad 3\text{U}\text{-give.birth} \\
\text{rae} & \quad \text{tu} & \quad \text{to-tís} & \quad y\text{-}\text{ana} & \quad s\text{-}\text{ait} & \quad \text{ku} & \quad \text{sme} \\
\text{person} & \quad \text{real} & \quad \text{loc.behind} & \quad 3\text{M}\text{-head} & \quad \text{one-3M} & \quad \text{child} & \quad \text{male} \\
\end{align*}

‘Three pigs and then, lastly, she gave birth to a human, one (man), a boy.’

(Dol 1996: 145)
Other systems: Alienability

alienable/inalienable distinction is a “subtype of nonagreeing classification” (Nichols 1992: 134-135)

ABUN (isolate)

Inalienable: juxtaposition                   alienable: linker

ji    syim                                      Andar bi im
1sg arm/hand                                   Andar LK mother
‘my arm/hand’                                  ‘Andar’s mother’

(Berry & Berry 1999)
Alienability

Alienability system

No alienability system

Katherine Walker - APLL 2020
Other systems: Animacy

1. As a system-internal category
2. Macroclass in classification system
3. Macroclass in other system: plurality split
Other systems: Animacy

1. As a **system-internal category** (flat hierarchy):

IHA (WB)

* Tonti  
  * du-rik  

person  
  * CL.anim-two  

‘two people’

[Space_Game_3_Ida_&_Antonius 032]
Other systems: Animacy

2. Macroclass in classification system

MPUR (isolate): human macroclass in gender system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>Human</th>
<th>non-human</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>Derek-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>a-onsra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Derek-3SM likes(it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Derek is happy.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n-nkwan</td>
<td>sukwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.SM</td>
<td>3.SM-likes(it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 SF</td>
<td>cook</td>
<td>sago. porridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>She cooks sago porridge.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_Kaman bwar na Sasua bwa ... _
pumpkin say to Sasua QUOT
The pumpkin said to Sasua, he said . . .

(Odé 2000, 2002)
Other systems: Animacy

2. Macroclass in classification system

MPUR (isolate): human macroclass in gender system

- **Human**
  - A-jap
  - beraw
  - do-musim
  - 3SM-live with
  - 3DU-woman
  - ‘He lived together with the two women.’
  - (Odé 2000: 59)

- **non-human**
  - mpan
  - ur-dokir
  - sleeping.mat
  - cl.woven.item-two
  - ‘two sleeping mats’
  - (Odé 2002: 84)
Other systems: Animacy


→ Other system= based on properties other than:

- Humanness
- Animacy
- Sex
- Shape
- Form
- Consistency
- Orientation in space
- Functional properties of entities

(Aikhenvald 2004: 105)
Other systems: Animacy

3. Plurality splits

SOUGB (EBH)

- Nouns
  - Human
    - Singular
    - Plural
  - Non-human
    - General number
Other systems: Animacy

3. Plurality splits
SOUGB (EBH)

- **nouns**
  - human
    - Kinship terms & nouns referring to social relations
    - human nouns & quantifiers
      - *Yahudi mer-en mougt-ir.*
        - **Jew** 3PL-POS head-PL
        - The leaders of the Jews. (John 7:45)
        - (Reesink 2002: 229)
      - *sud*
        - ‘person’
      - *se lu-sud mer-oufu*
        - at PL-person 3PL-between
        - in the midst of people
  - non-human
    - general number (unmarked)

Katherine Walker - APLL 2020
Plurality split
Gender, plurality split

Plurality split does not co-occur with gender
Classifiers, plurality split

Classifiers

Plurality split

Katherine Walker - APLL 2020
Classifiers, plurality split (+alienability)

SOUGB (EBH) a. \( \text{Dan d-eya ba (mer-ug) hogu.} \)
I LS-see bird 3P-CL.anim four
‘I see four birds’
(Reesink 2002b: 246)

b. \( \text{Le-giji mer-ug hogu l-ousa Tuan Lunow.} \)
PL-male 3P-CL.anim four 3P-help Mister Lunow
‘Four men helped Mister Lunow.’
(Reesink 2002: 224)
Classifiers, plurality split (+alienability)

SOUGB (EBH) 

a. *Dan d-eya ba (mer-ug) hogu.* 
   I lS-see bird 3P-CL.anim four 
   ‘I see four birds’ 
   (Reesink 2002b: 246)

b. *Le-gijji mer-ug hogu l-ousa Tuan Lunow.* 
   PL-male 3P-CL.anim four 3P-help Mister Lunow 
   ‘Four men helped Mister Lunow.’ 
   (Reesink 2002: 224)

Animacy split at different points on the hierarchy
Classifiers, plurality split (+alienability)

SOUGB (EBH)

    I lS-see bird *3P-CL.anim* four
    ‘I see four birds’
    (Reesink 2002b: 246)

b. *Le-giji mer-ug* hogu l-ousa Tuan Lunow.
    PL-male *3P-CL.anim* four *3P-help* Mister Lunow
    ‘Four men helped Mister Lunow.’
    (Reesink 2002: 224)
Classifiers, intermediate, plurality split
Classifiers, intermediate, plurality split

MOSKONA (EBH)

a. **Eri-orna**
   3PL-man
   ‘two men’

b. **mod**  
   **efega**
   house
   CL1.body
   ‘three houses’

   (Gravelle 2010: 177, 281)
Classifiers, intermediate, plurality split

Unclear if there is a co-occurrence constraint

Plurality split
Classifier
Intermediate
Alienability

MOSKONA (EBH)

\textit{i-ejeujen(a)}-ir \quad \textit{i-erg-ak} \quad \textit{erá} \quad \textit{i-en-ah} \quad \textit{jera} \quad \textit{o fa s/he}

\text{3P-yg.woman-P} \quad \text{3P-Cl2:1-two} \quad \text{THM} \quad \text{3P-DUR-lie} \quad \text{with}

‘two young women were lying with him.’
(Gravelle 2010: 252)

No gender: Animacy is not a macroclass
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>No. of systems</th>
<th>Alienability</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Intermediate</th>
<th>Classifiers</th>
<th>Plurality split</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EBH</td>
<td>Mansim</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBH</td>
<td>Yahadian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>Mbahám</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>Iha</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>Kalamang</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WBH</td>
<td>Kalabra</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBH</td>
<td>Inanwatan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBH</td>
<td>Puragi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBH</td>
<td>Kemberano</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBH</td>
<td>Kokoda</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolate</td>
<td>Abun</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBH</td>
<td>Sougb</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBH</td>
<td>Hatam</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolate</td>
<td>Maibrat</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolate</td>
<td>Mpur</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WBH</td>
<td>Moi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WBH</td>
<td>Tehit</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBH</td>
<td>Moskona</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBH</td>
<td>Meyah</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary

Based on current (often sparse) data:

• Abundance of nominal classification in the Bird’s Head
  • Gender & classifiers, but also alienability & plurality split

• Across languages, gender systems do not co-occur with:
  • Intermediate classifier systems (on the way to gender system?)
  • Animacy-based plurality split

• Within languages, systems can co-occur
  • Sometimes with co-occurrence constraints

• Alienability is widespread, but what about differential inalienability marking?
Thank you!


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>ISO 639-3</th>
<th>Source of data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>West Bird’s Head (WBH)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>East Bird’s Head (EBH)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### South Bird’s Head (SBH)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### Bird’s Head isolates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### West Bomberai (WB)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>