

The extension of person name markers to noun class markers

Bernhard Wälchli

Stockholm University

bernhard@ling.su.se

Structure of this talk

=Why I am interested in this topic?

=Sources of **person name markers [PNM]**

=How to find languages with **person name markers**?

=**Pronominal articles**

=The extension of **person name markers**

=From **person name markers** to **non-canonical gender systems**

Gender tends to travel down the **animacy/individuation hierarchy** and person names are an important transitional stage on the hierarchy.

(1) Extended animacy hierarchy (Croft 2003: 130; Dixon 1979; Silverstein 1976):
1st/2nd person pronouns > 3rd person pronoun > **person names** > human common nouns > nonhuman animate common nouns > inanimate common nouns

“Gender is a grammatical category type with a semantic core of animacy and/or sex reflecting classes of referents, which have a propensity to turn into classes of noun lexemes. It is overtly marked on noun-associated forms. It typically exhibits cumulative exponence with number, case, and/or person. Gender is organized in the form of systems”

REFERENT-BASED GENDER: Dahl’s (2000) “referential gender”. Classes of referents distinguished on noun-associated forms.

LEXICAL GENDER: Classes of noun lexemes distinguished on noun-associated forms

Wälchli, Bernhard & Di Garbo, Francesca. 2019 forthc. The dynamics of gender complexity. In Di Garbo, Francesca & Olsson, Bruno & Wälchli, Bernhard (eds.), *Grammatical gender and linguistic complexity*. Berlin: Language Science Press.

When extracting **anaphoric gender markers** automatically from parallel texts, person name markers are a common type of “error”, which suggests that **person name markers are closely associated with anaphoric gender** in function.

(2) Kiribati (Austronesian, Micronesian; Matth. 15:27): grammatical anaphor

Ao e taku neierei ...

and 3SG say **that[DIST].woman**

‘But she said: "...” ’

(3) Kiribati: female person name marker

Nei Maria; Nei Eritabeta ‘Mary; Elizabeth’

Wälchli, Bernhard. 2019 forthc. The feminine anaphoric gender gram, incipient gender marking, maturity, and extracting anaphoric gender markers from parallel texts. In Di Garbo, Francesca & Olsson, Bruno & Wälchli, Bernhard (eds.), *Grammatical gender and linguistic complexity*. Berlin: Language Science Press.

In several languages with **non-canonical gender systems** restricted to NP-markers, person names play an important role.

(4) Nalca (Nuclear Trans New Guinea, Mek; Binzell, n.d.; Wälchli 2018: 71)

me a-ra gelelinga soob-vka bo-ba-lam-ek.
 child(CV) **DP-TOP** unnoticed enclose.in.netbag-CVB carry-go-HAB/IPFV-PST.3PL
Nauba me ne-ra al-biyok ba-lam-ok. Mek me ne-ra
 big child(CV) **CV-TOP** 3SG-alone go-IPFV-PST.3SG small child(CV) **CV-TOP**

‘They carried the boy away secretly in a netbag. A big boy went by himself. A small boy [they carried in a netbag].’

Maria ge-ra, Yusuf be-ra ‘Mary, Joseph’; *be- M, ge- F, ne- CV, e- DN, a- DP*

(5) Mopan Maya (Mayan; Contini-Morava & Danziger 2018: 138)

a ch'o'oj=o [ART rat=ECHO] ‘rat’, *aj noxi' ch'o'oj=o* [**GM.M** big rat=ECHO],
aj tz'i' ch'o'oj=o [**GM.M** small rat=ECHO] *ix Maria, aj Joseje* ‘Mary, Joseph’

Wälchli, Bernhard. 2018. The rise of gender in Nalca (Mek, Tanah Papua): the drift towards the canonical gender attractor, 68–99.

Contini-Morava, Ellen & Eve Danziger. 2018. Non-canonical gender in Mopan Maya. In: Fedden, Sebastian & Audring, Jenny & Corbett, Greville (eds.), *Non-canonical gender systems*, 129–146. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sources of **person name markers** (1): common nouns

Person name markers can develop from nouns as in Iraya (Austronesian) **laki** *Howan*/**bayi** *Mariya* ‘John/Mary’ (**lalaki**/**babayi** ‘man/woman’)

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].

Sources of **person name markers** (2): pronouns

From personal pronouns as in Northern Swedish and Norwegian dialects **n'***Alfred/a'***Lilli** (Åselemålet, from **han Alfred/*hon Lilly* “he Alfred/she Lilly”; Olsson 2006).

Manggarai (Austronesian, Flores)

hi *Petrus*, **hi** *Maria*; third person pronoun **hia**

"Voor eigennamen echter fungeert het persoonlijk voornaamwoord als persoonsaanwijzer. In het enkelvoud wordt **hia** meestal tot **hi** verkort [...] Doch treft men ook hier dikwijls de volledige vorm van het pers. voornaamwoord aan." (Burger 1946: 33)

(6) Eipo (Trans New Guinea, Mek; Heeschen 1990: 60):

El *Yale-nye* *bi-rye*

3SG/PNM1 east/origin-PNM2/AGN.MALE PRN3/UNIQUE-ERG

‘Yalenyé (a mythical ancestor)’

Sources of **person name markers** (3): reanalysis, system emergence

Qaqet (formerly called “Baining”, isolate, New Britain; Rascher 1904; 37, 47)

	Subject	Oblique
common noun	<i>a</i>	<i>ama</i>
person name	∅	<i>ma</i>

➤ N.T. 1996

common noun	<i>aa</i>	<i>ama</i>
person name	<i>ma</i>	

Swiss German (Alemannic): Family name marker with last name:

s *Vogts* ‘the Vogt family’, but **di** *liebe Vogts* ‘the nice Vogt family’ (adjacency)

Originally an elliptic genitive singular article (Fischer 1960: 316)

Die Vergänglichkeit (Johann Peter Hebel, Alemannische Gedichte. 1803):

Wo d’Chilche stoht, wo ’s Vogts und ’s Here Hus,

goht mit der Zit der Pflueg

‘where the church is, where the mayor’s and the master’s house,
there the plow will go after a certain time’

=How to find languages with **person name markers**?

Person name markers are often very instable diachronically (sometimes only attested in dialects: e.g., Swedish, Catalan, rapid diachronic change: e.g., Qaqet), therefore genealogically stratified sampling is not particularly useful.

Best method: Check as many language varieties as possible in texts with many person names, this is best done automatically

Bible translations (New Testament) in ~1200 languages (~1500 texts) have been searched automatically. Search algorithm:

1. Find most occurrences of person names, female and male separately.
2. Extract sets B and F of all words occurring before and after proper names
3. Words with high frequency in B and F are likely to be person name markers
-> leaves ~150 doculects from 15 families as good candidates (103 Austronesian)

Palikúr (plu, Arawakan)

40014006 Apim ini ig **amekene Erodís** keh gipetra adahan ku samah ig amadga wayk.

Ayge abet ini fet eg **amakano Erodiyas** gukamkayh himano eg kayno eg pahapo gidahankis gawnasanpu. Eg keh ig **amekene Erodís** batek ginaktin mpiynepepye.

40001016 Igme **amekene Jakó** gikamkayh **amekene José**. Igme **amekene José** ig **kiyapuno** Mahi gugihgi. Egme **Kiyapwiye Jesus** ginag. Igme **Kiyapwiye Jesus** iggi Cristo ig Uhokri gikanyan adahan ukumaduketniwiy.

Disadvantages of the procedure

- =Less than a fifth of the world's languages have been screened.
- =Univerbated (affixed) PNM are easily missed (-> preposed PNM bias)
- =Procedure needs manual introspection, since many PNM are rare or have multiple functions, and some languages with demonstrative-based articles have extended definite articles to person names

Bavarian German 40014006 Bei n Heretn seinn Geburtstag aber gatantzt de Tochter von **dyr Herydia** yn de Göst öbbs vür. **Dyr Heret** war so dyrbrottn dyrvon,

- =PNM in dialects/non-standard varieties are missed (e.g., Swedish, Catalan)
- =PNM occurring only with autochthonous names are missed (Some languages use PNM only or predominantly with autochthonous names, some languages use PNM only or predominantly with foreign names).
- =Family name markers are missed.

PNM are closely related to **pronominal articles** (Himmelmann 2001: 838): the extension of personal pronouns (mostly 3rd singular) to nouns. These nearly always also occur with person names

Nama (Khoe-Kwadi) *Davi-**b**/Maria-**s***, Abau (Sepik) *Josep **hiy**kwe, Maria **hok**we*
 Mian (Trans New Guinea) *Debit=**e**/Malia=**o***
 Khasi (Austroasiatic) ***U** Dabid/**Ka** Mari.*

Evidence that pronominal articles travel down the animacy hierarchy comes from restrictions to uniqueness, human nouns or referentiality, and from cases of distinction between articles for living and dead persons, as in Tenharim (Tupian) and various Mixtec languages (Oto-Manguean).

(7) Oksapmin (Trans New Guinea, Ok-Oksapmin; Loughnane 2009: 180): pronominal articles restricted to specific human referents and opposed to the definite article (of demonstrative origin)

<i>robin</i>	ux = <i>nun</i>	<i>bəp</i>	<i>ulxe</i>	<i>ap</i>	jox
Robyn	3SG.F =OBJ	so	3SG.F.REFL.POSS	house	DEF/DEM

o=m-de-pti.

leave=PROX.OBJ-MAKE-IPFV.PL.PRS

‘After that, we left Robyn at the house.’

The extension of **person name markers**

=Kinship terms

=Titles (e.g., Philippines)

=Gods, supernatural beings

=‘who?’ (Oceanic and non-Austronesian contact languages)

=‘man’/‘woman’ (very widespread)

=Certain animals (e.g., Mopan Maya, Nakanai)

=Celestial bodies, natural forces

=Place names (some Oceanic languages)

=Uniqueness

=Metalinguistic use

=Information structure, e.g.: Discourse topics/topics

=Common nouns with demonstrative pronouns

=Actor nominals

=Loanwords (Nakanai)

but rather rarely

=Vocative use of person names

The extension of **person name markers**: kinship terms

Often restricted to name-like use of kinship terms

(8) Jämtland Swedish, Litsmål (Olsson 2006)

*A Momma stähllt una kattfate, så **n** Alfred int hann si e.*

‘Grandma hid the cat pet bowl, så that Alfred wouldn’t spot it.’

(9) Mansaka (msk, Austronesian, Mindanao)

*Pagtaoda **si** ama mo aw **si** ina mo*

‘Honor your father and your mother,’ (40015004)

*Yang ina **ni** Boos **si** Rahab*

‘The mother of Boaz was Rahab’ (40001005)

“When the speaker refers to his own relatives or to the hearer’s relatives, the same markers are used before a kinship term as with a personal name (**si**, **ni**, or **kang**). A speaker discussing a third person’s relatives uses an impersonal substantive relational marker (**yang**, **nang**, or **sang**)” (Svelmoe & Svelmoe 1974: 55).

The extension of **person name markers**: celestial bodies

Huave (isolate) *nüt* ‘day’, *teat nüt* [**father/PNM** day/sun] ‘sun’
müm caaw ‘moon’, but not in N.T.

Bolinao (Austronesian; Central Luzon)

‘moon’ mostly *si bulan* (but also *a bulan*), and ‘month’ *a bulan*

‘sun’ mostly *si awro* (but also *a awro*), and ‘day’ *a awro*, but

sitaw si awron minom ako ‘that day when I drink it new’

(10) Huastec (Potosino dialect, Mayan; Edmonson 1988: 583-584)

[*tam leh ʔo:ra*] [\emptyset ϕ' akla θ ***ʔa*** *k'i:ča:*] *ʔu tehwaʔme:l*

[when very hour] [ABS.3 seated **PNM sun** ABS.3 becomes.visible

‘When it is noon, and the sun is stopped, he appears.’

as opposed to *ʔan k'alk'al* ‘sun(rays), drying/heating sun’ (N.T. *an c'ac'al*)

ʔa “respect specifier”, used with person names, gods and a few heavenly bodies as

opposed to *ʔan* definite article with all other nouns (Edmonson (1988: 490)

N.T.: *a q'uicha* ‘sun; day’ (224x); *an q'uicha* ‘day’ (41x),

an q'uicha sábado (4x) always with an ‘Sabbath’

Some varieties of Catalan have the person name markers masculine *en* (< *don* < Latin *dominus*) and feminine *na* (< *dona* < Latin *domina*; (Caro Reina 2014).

In Balearic Catalan, these markers can be expanded to names of animals (*en Pluto* for a male dog), and to folk names of clouds and celestial bodies: *en Catalí* ‘Venus at dawn’ (Caro Reina 2014: 195–197).

(11) Alemannic German (Johann Peter Hebel 1803)

Woher so früeih, wo ane scho,

***Her** Morgestern, enanderno*

i diner glitzrige Himmelstracht,

i diner guldige Lockepracht...

‘Where are you going to so early, Mr. Morning Star, in your glittering sky garment, in your golden curly splendor’

The extension of **person name markers**: metalinguistic use

Sulka: PNM **e-** vs. noun number indicator NNI **a-** SG, **o-** PL

(12) Sulka (sua, Isolate; Tharp 1996: 79)

ya-mnor *mang* *a-re* *to* *e-nhar*
2SG.PRS-know PREP.OBJ SG.NNI-word SG.FAR.DEICTIC PNM-leg
'Do you know the word "leg"?'

(13) Sulka (sua, Isolate; Tharp 1996: 169)

to *a-mhel* *to* *ka-munik*
SG.FAR.DEICTIC SG.NNI-man SG.FAR.DEICTIC POSS.3SG-name
e-mkong *ta-kol* *ka-kom* *to* *k-ngoe*
PN-Mkong 3SG.PRS-get POSS.3SG-knife SG.FAR.DEICTIC INF-go
'So a man whose name was Mkong takes his knife then goes.'

The extension of **person name markers**: information structure

(14) Bolinao (Austronesian; Central Luzon; Rhoda Carolino 1978: 7) **si** for ‘stone’, ‘crab’ when protagonists in a story (**discourse topic?**)

...*pigaw da-salan na yay anak*

so.that will-hit he him child

na nin bate pigaw mati yayna.

his NTOP stone so.that die he.already

Bale si bate naigket ya sa abaya na.

but **PNM/TOP** stone hit it to shoulder his

‘...his father took a big stone and then dropped it into the hole so that he would hit his son with the stone in order to kill him. But the stone hit his shoulder’

41006024 ... Ket, “**Si ulo na ni Juan a Mammawtismo,**” wanan ina na.

And she said, **The head of John the Baptizer.**’

41006025 Ket tampor nin sinmubli' ya a balasang kona **ni** Herodes ket wana,

“Rabay kon ibi ma kongko sawanin ana nin mismo nin naikwa sa plato **a ulo na ni Juan a Mammawtismo.**”

‘And she came in straightway with haste unto the king, and asked, saying, I will that thou forthwith give me on a platter the head of John the Baptist.’

The extension of **person name markers**: information structure

“In Komo, a male person’s name always occurs with the proclitic **à=** and female names occur with the proclitic **ba**, though the latter clitic is less productive and only restricted to this domain”

à=*sádìk* ‘Asadik/Sadik’ **ba=***wálap* ‘Bawalap’

The **à=** and **gò=** [PL] clitics, “occur on referents that are in some way *presupposed*”

(15) Komo (Otero 2014)

à=ó *fĩ* *hà-ó-n*
ID=rain *fĩ* come-AD2-3N

‘The rain came.’ (Y2A_013)

“The previous mention of this particular ‘rain’ was fifteen clauses prior”

ó *ba* *yàbèní* *bín* *bís’-í-n* *sà*
rain POSS that.time 3N.POSS be.strong.SG-AD1-3N very

‘The rain then was very hard.’ Lit. ‘That time’s rain was very hard.’

(Y2A_014)

The extension of **person name markers**: actor/person nominals

(16) Bolinao (smk; 42003011)

“**Si** main nin rwa ray aysing, ibi nayay saya konan kasa, tan

PNM EX NTOP two ? clothing

si main nin kanen, byan nasara anamaet a kasa.”

PNM EX NTOP food...

“The one who has two tunics must share with the one who does not have one, and the one who has food must do likewise.”

(17) Bolinao (smk; 43011039)

...Bale' andi' yay busat nan **si** natin **si** Lazaro, **si** Marta, a wana,

‘Martha, the sister of the one who had died, said to him...’

The extension of **person name markers**: actor nominals

Mopán Maya has masculine and feminine person name markers extended to nouns, and one of their major functions is to form **analytic agentive nouns**:

ix p'o' [GM.F wash] ‘washerwoman’ (“Ms wash”),
aj jook' [GM.M fish] ‘fisherman’ (“Mr fish”) (Contini-Morava & Danziger 2018: 140). Gender markers can be used to suggest unexpected agentivity of inanimate objects as in ().

(18) Mopán Maya (Mayan, Yucatecan; Contini-Morava & Danziger 2018: 141)

<i>Ox-tuul-oo'</i>		<i>aj</i>	<u><i>kuch-b'äk'</i></u>
three-NUM.CLF.ANIM-3UNDERGOER.PL		<u>GM.M</u>	<u>carry-meat</u>
<i>a</i>	<u><i>xoolte'</i></u>	<i>leek-oo'</i>	<i>a b'e'</i>
<u>ART</u>	<u>walking stick</u>	3.EMPH-3UNDERGOER.PL	ART DEM.4

‘Those aforementioned walking sticks became three (living) meat-carriermen.’

The extension of person name markers: actor/person nominals

“The pro-forms for ‘man’, *-jah¹la²*, and ‘woman’, *-ta¹ka³lxa²*, will be used instead of any proper names that have already been mentioned. Variants of these forms are part of the list of noun classifiers...” (Kroeker 2001: 36)

nouns: *in³txa²* ‘man’ *txu¹ha²* ‘woman’

(19) **Southern Nambikuara** (Nambiquaran; Kroeker 2001: 36)

Jo³au²-ah³l-a² *wxa³-Ø-na²hẽ³-la²*. *Ã²-nxe³-jah¹l-a²*

John-**man**-DEF come-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF Again-PRV-**man**-DEF

‘John came. He ...’

(20) **Southern Nambikuara** (Nambiquaran; Kroeker 2001: 18)

Jo³au²-ah³lo²-su²-ha²kxai³ *yo³na²* *wxã³-jah¹lo²-su²-ha²kxai³*

John-**man**-INDEF-ADD behind come-**man**-INDEF-ADD

nũ³-ka³yãu¹-jah¹lo²-su²-ha²kxai³ *yxo²ha³kxa¹*

arm-crooked-**man**-INDEF-ADD all

txa²-nũ³ka³txi³-s-ain¹-na³-la².

POS1-group-INDEF-3PL-T/E.IO.PRS-PF

‘**John**, and **the one coming later**, and **the one with the crooked arm** are all from my group.’

(21) Gwama (Koman; Kievit & Robertson 2012: 57)

u- “singulative” **SGV**: the marker is used for ‘God’; for humans (including proper nouns); for animals; and sometimes for inanimate objects.

daz-a *s’íg-mà-s’íg-í*
grind-1PL.EXCL.SBJ.PFV knead-1PL.EXCL.SBJ.PFV-RED-REL
atε páf-mì *ú-yádé*
then cover-1PL.EXCL.SBJ.PFV **SGV**-dough
‘When we have ground and kneaded, then we cover the dough.’

í-yásà *kwaba* *t’ó-t’ó* *kò* *ù-s’í-tè*
DAT-place several.people take-RED put **SGV**-die-the
‘Several people take the one who died and put him in that place.’

From person name markers to non-canonical gender systems

=Massive expansion of person name markers to other uses

=Category of uniqueness

Una, Eipo

=Markers cumulate with grammatical relation and/or topic:

Una, Eipo, Nalca; Owa, Tagalog; Uduk

=Place name markers parallel to person name markers

Owa

=Referent-based gender turns into lexical gender:

Una vs. Nalca; Owa/Kahua, Nakanai; Komo/Gwama vs. Uduk

=Two or three classes are expanded to more classes:

Nalca; Owa, Kahua

=Opacity of markers

=Interaction with classifiers: Southern Nambikuara

Relics of person name marker origin:

=High token frequency of marking together with proper names

=Adjacency effects and complex controllers

From PNM to non-canonical gender: Uniqueness

Like definite articles, person name markers express such notions as uniqueness or familiarity. However, person name markers are used with nouns that tend to be *inherently unique*, such as kinship terms, celestial bodies and deities (*prototype marking of uniqueness*), unlike definite articles, which mark uniqueness on nouns that are usually not unique (*anti-prototype marking of uniqueness*).

In Una (Mek), *bi-* **uniqueness** is mainly used with person names and kinship terms older than ego, but also with highly individuated non-kinship human nouns and sometimes even animals and things.

In the Una New Testament, *bi-* occurs, for instance, with *ner* ‘woman’ where it means ‘queen’, with *Mi* ‘child, son’ only when it is the ‘Son of God’ (capitalization in orthography has a function similar to the uniqueness marker), and with *Uram* ‘voice, word’ only when it is ‘God’s voice’.

Expansion to more classes: Owa (Austronesian, Island of Makira)

	Initial	Medial	<i>mi</i> ‘and’ +	<i>tangaa</i> ‘to’+
Male names expanded	<i>o</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>ko</i>
Female names expanded	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>mika</i>	<i>ka</i>
Kin terms beginning in <i>e</i> -	-	<i>ke</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ke</i>
Place names	(PREP <i>i</i>)	<i>ki</i>	<i>mi</i> ZERO?	<i>ki</i>
<i>kare</i> ‘child’	<i>i</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>mi</i> ZERO?	<i>ki</i>
Common nouns	<i>a</i>	<i>ka</i> / <i>na</i> (N.TOP)	<i>mina</i>	<i>ka</i> / <i>na</i>

Personal pronouns have some features of beginning integration into *i*-class,
 numerals have some features of beginning integration into *e*-class
 (sources: Mellow 2013; N.T.)

Adjacency effects and complex controllers

Names often consist of several words > complex controllers

Proper names are often phrases rather than single words

(23) Swedish (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2009)

[Emil i Lönneberga]+bus; e-n [Drottning Silvia]+brytning
Emil in Lönneberga+mischief.PL; a-COM Queen Silvia+accent
'Emil-in-Lönneberga mischief; a Queen Silvia accent'

Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria. 2009. Proper-name nominal compounds in Swedish between syntax and lexicon. *Rivista di Linguistica* 21.1, 119-148.

Neuter restaurant names in German (Plank 2015)

(24) German (Indo-European, Germanic; tripadvisor.de [2018])

Das Oma Plüsch liegt direkt an der Donau.
DEF.NOM.SG.N grandma(F) Plüsch lie.PRS.3SG directly at DEF.GEN.SG.F Danube(F)
'Oma Plüsch is located directly at the border of the River Danube.'

Plank, Frans. 2015. Genus im Gastgewerbe. Mit einem Nachtrag: Der/das Zwiebfisch und die Tiefe der Jahre. Manuscript.

(25) Tagalog (N.T., Acts 1:11): person name marker NP-internally following demonstrative

Ito-ng *si* *Jesus na um-akyat*
DEM:PROX-LNK **PNM:TOP** Jesus LNK ACT.PFV-ascend
sa *langit...*
COMMON:OBL sky

‘This Jesus who was taken up from you into heaven...’

=Non-canonical gender systems with NP-markers
Typical properties (family resemblance)

	Nalca	Owa	Mopan M.	Uduk
adjacency	X	X	X	X
actor/person nominals are controllers	X		X	X
complex controllers	X		X	X
sandhi gender	X	X		
non-noun controllers	X	X	X	X
lexical gender	X	X	X	X
switch due to NP syntax	X		(X)	
NP marker is single agreement target	X	X	X	X

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