Khoekhoe pronominal morphosyntax:

gender on Root-attached little *n*

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What is the internal structure of (pro)nominals?

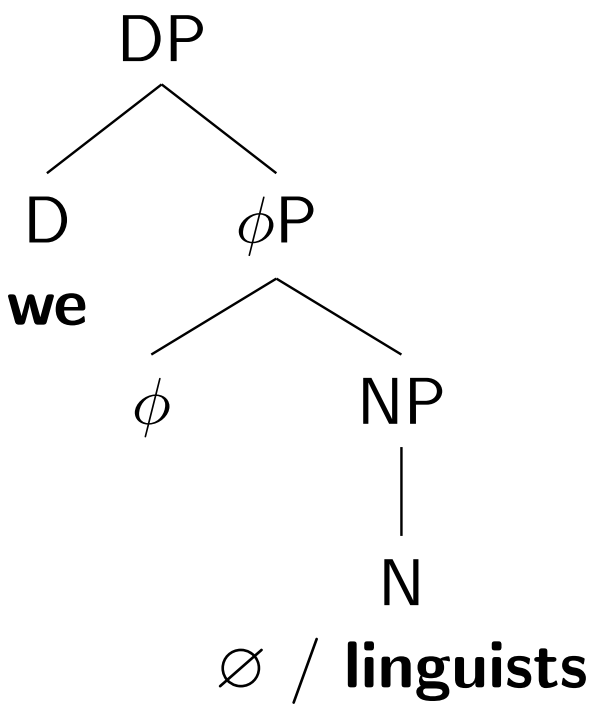
Today, I want to show you that Khoekhoe (Nama-Damara, Central Khoisan) **pronouns** and **argument nominals** have the same DP-internal structure.

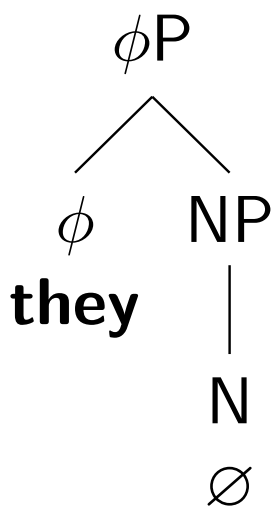
Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002 proposed that pronouns come in three maximal syntactic sizes

(1) a. Pro-DP
argument only

b. Pro-phiP
argument or predicate

c. Pro-NP
predicate only





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- Exponence of any gender licenses nouns, and nominalizing morphology imposes gender

Roadmap: the internal structure of Khoekhoe (pro)nominals

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  - ⇒ Articulated phiP layers with separate terminal nodes for PARTICIPANT ≫ NUMBER ≫ GENDER
- Exponence of any gender licenses nouns, and nominalizing morphology imposes gender
  - ⇒ Gender features on *n*ominalizers, not a lexical characteristic of the Root

Proposed internal structure for Khoekhoe (pro)nominals

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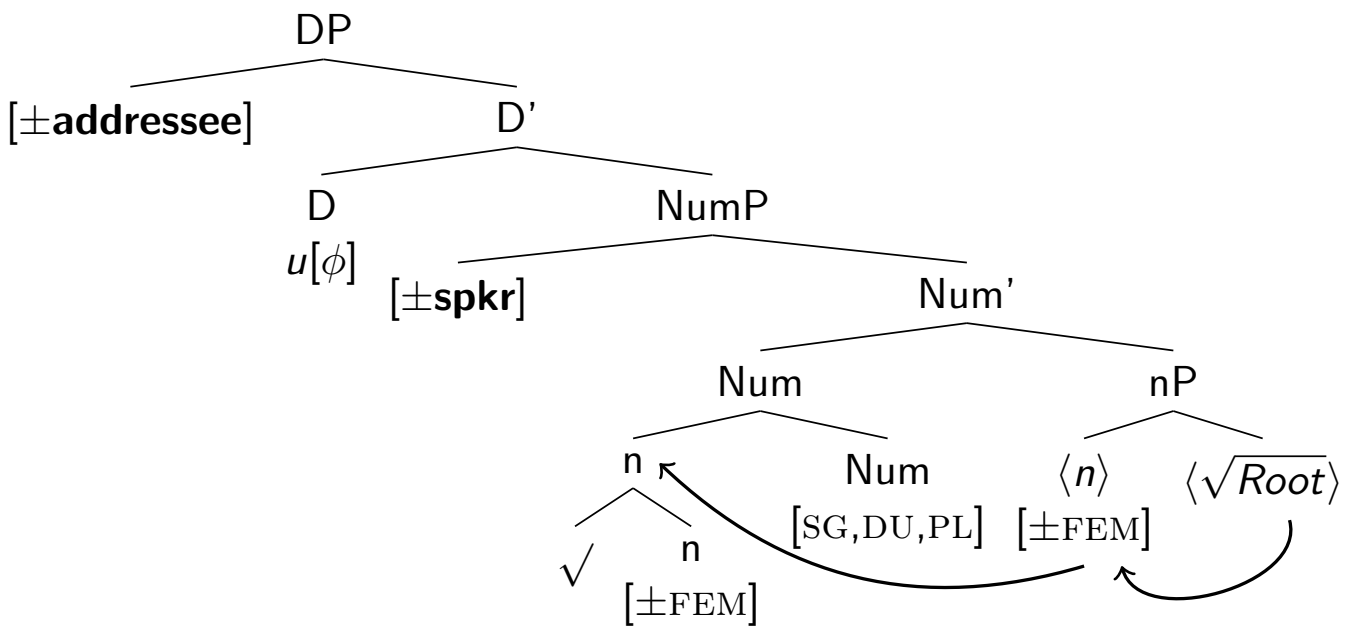

Proposed (pro)nominal structure

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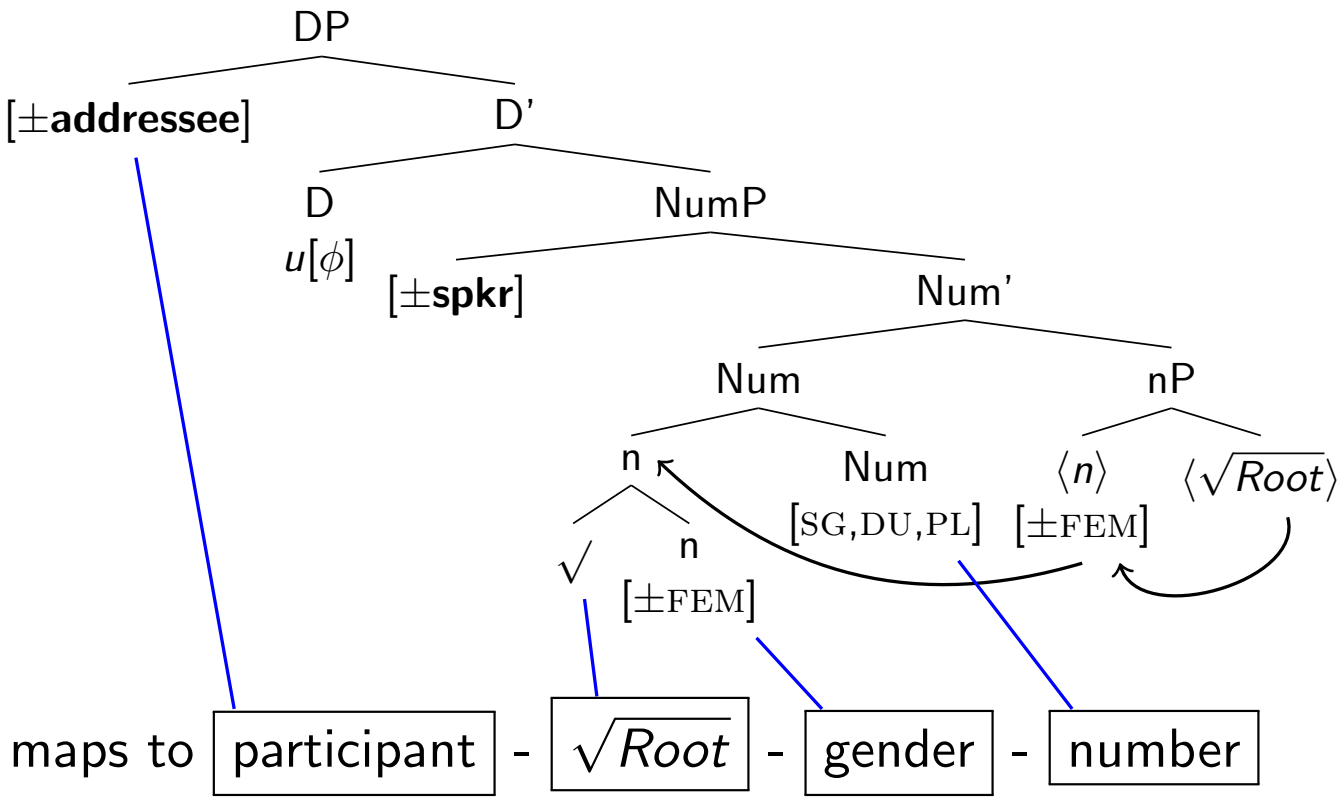

Roadmap

1. Same DP structure: pro/nominal phi-features
   - Phi-feature exponence
   - Roots inside pronominal forms
2. Part ≫ num ≫ gender.
   - Allomorphy
3. Gender on Root-attached nominalizers
   - Root-attached: selection, not lexical entries
   - Category-changing: nominalizing
4. Conclusion

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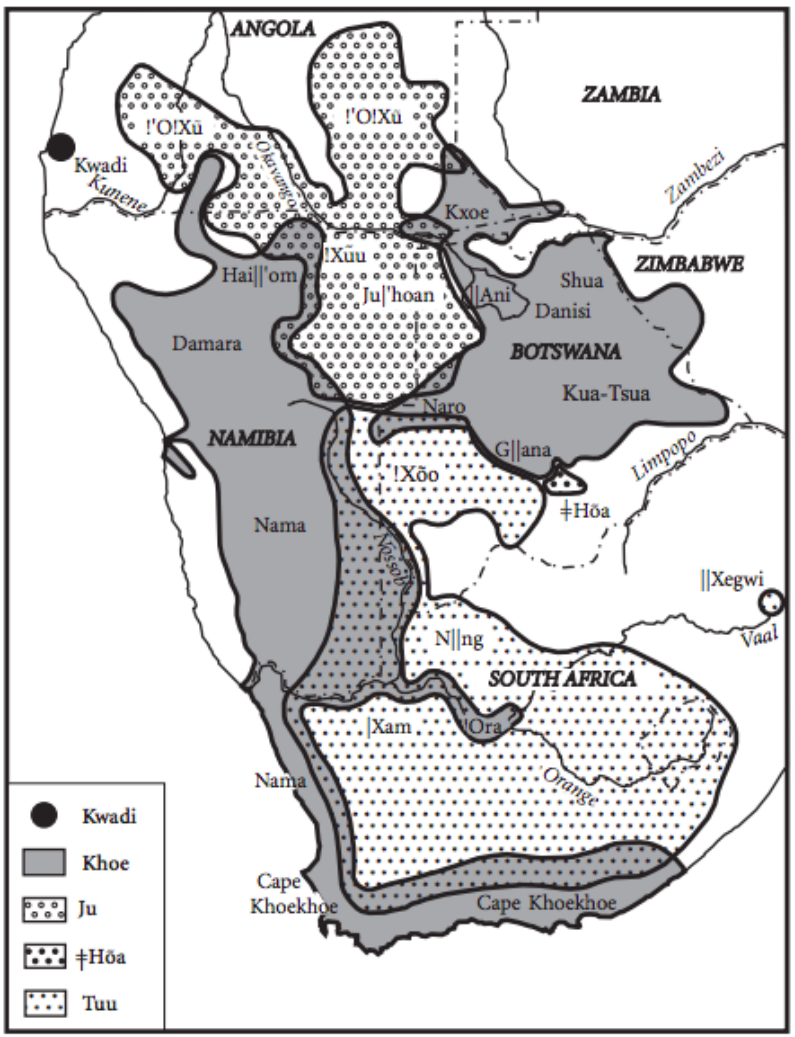
Khoekhoe is spoken in Namibia, Botswana, & South Africa



Originally included with two other families as "Khoisan."
Some notation:

- Clicks:

|	dental
!	alveolar
ǂ	palatal
‖	lateral

- Lexical tone:

SL	super-low	v̏
L	low	v̀
H	high	v́
SH	super-high	v̋

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Phi-featural distinctions

- gender
  - masculine
  - feminine
  - common*
- number
  - singular
  - dual
  - plural
- person (incl. clusivity)
  - 1st exclusive
  - 1st inclusive
  - 2nd
  - 3rd

- full pronouns
- lexical nominals
- possessive pronouns
- subject clitics
- object clitics

Full pronouns

# ↓	π ↓	*Gender* → / [PARTIC] ↓	**Masculine**	**Feminine**	**Common**
Sg	First	[+s][−a]	tíí-tá	tíí-tá	N/A
	Second	[−s][+a]	sáá-ts	sáá-s	N/A
	Third	[−s][−a]	‖ʔĩ-p / -í	‖ʔĩ-s	‖ʔĩ-ʔì
Du	First	[+s][−a] E	síí-k^h-m̀	síí-m̀	síí-m̀
		[+s][+a] I	sáá-k^h-m̀	sáá-m̀	sáá-m̀
	Second	[−s][+a]	sáá-k^h-ò	sáá-r-ò	sáá-r-ò
	Third	[−s][−a]	‖ʔĩ-k^h-à	‖ʔĩ-r-à	‖ʔĩ-r-à
Pl	First	[+s][−a] E	síí-k-é	síí-s-é	síí-t-à
		[+s][+a] I	sáá-k-é	sáá-s-é	sáá-t-à
	Second	[−s][+a]	sáá-k-ó	sáá-s-ó	sáá-t-ù/t-ó
	Third	[−s][−a]	‖ʔĩ-k-ú	‖ʔĩ-tì	‖ʔĩ-ǹ

Khoekhoe has SOV word order

(1) khöè-p ké rá !^{h}óe
person-M.SG DECL PRS run
The (male) person is running

(2) sáá̋-k^h-ò ké ǁˀí̋-p kò mù
2-M-DU DECL 3-M.SG PST see
You (two guys) saw him

Argument nominals show gender distinctions

(1) khʊ̀è -p ké rá !^{h}óe
person -M.SG DECL PRS run
The (male) person is running

(3) khʊ̀è -s ké rá !^{h}óe
person -F.SG DECL PRS run
The (female) person is running

Argument nominals show number distinctions

(1) khʷòè -p ké rá !^{h}óe
person -M.SG DECL PRS run
The (male) person is running

(4) khʷòè -k^h -à ké rá !^{h}óe
person -M -DU DECL PRS run
The (two male) people are running

(5) khʷòè -k -ú ké rá !^{h}óe
person -M -PL DECL PRS run
The (many male) people are running

Lexical nominals and 3rd person pronouns

(1) khʊ̀è **-p** ké rá !^{h}óe
person -M.SG DECL PRS run
The (m) person is running

(3) khʊ̀è **-s** ké rá !^{h}óe
person -F.SG DECL PRS run
The (f) person is running

(5) khʊ̀è **-k-ú** ké rá !^{h}óe
person -M-PL DECL PRS run
The (m) people are running

(6) ǁʔĩ́ **-p** ké rá !^{h}óe
3 -M.SG DECL PRS run
He is running

(7) ǁʔĩ́ **-s** ké rá !^{h}óe
3 -F.SG DECL PRS run
She is running

(8) ǁʔĩ́ **-k-ú** ké rá !^{h}óe
3 -M-PL DECL PRS run
They (m) are running

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Full pronouns vs. lexical nominals so far...

(9) **tíí-tǎ** ké ʔá ŋǂíísá
1-SG DECL COP proud
I am proud

(10) ∅**-nàmǎ-p** ké ʔá ŋǂíísá
3-$\sqrt{Nama}$-M.SG DECL COP proud
The Nama (man) is proud

Three "different" constructions with the same underlying structure

(11) **tíí-∅-tá́** ké ʔá ŋǂíísá
1-$\sqrt{pron}$-SG DECL COP proud
I am proud

(12) **tíí-nàmá́-tá́** ké ʔá ŋǂíísá
1-$\sqrt{Nama}$-SG DECL COP proud
I, Nama, am proud

(13) **∅-nàmá́-tá́** ké ʔá ŋǂíísá
1-$\sqrt{Nama}$-SG DECL COP proud
I, Nama, am proud

Same underlying structure, same possible syntactic positions.

Three "different" constructions with the same underlying structure

(14) ‖**ʔɪ́ɪ̃** -∅ **-p** ké ʔá ŋǂíísá
3 -$\sqrt{pron}$ -M.SG DECL COP proud
He is proud.

(15) ‖**ʔɪ́ɪ̃ -nàmɑ̋** **-p** ké ʔá ŋǂíísá
3 -$\sqrt{Nama}$ -M.SG DECL COP proud
He, Nama, is proud.

(16) ∅ **-nàmɑ̋** **-p** ké ʔá ŋǂíísá
3 -$\sqrt{Nama}$ -M.SG DECL COP proud
The Nama is proud.

Same underlying structure, same possible syntactic positions.

All full pronouns (may) contain a (lexical) Root

	PARTICIPANT	$\sqrt{Root}$	GENDER	NUMBER
(a) **full pronoun**	[±S,±A]	$\sqrt{pron} \leftrightarrow \varnothing$	[±F]	[NUM]
(b) **root-containing**	[±S,±A]	$\sqrt{Root}$	[±F]	[NUM]
(c) **lexical nominal**	[±S,±A] $\leftrightarrow \varnothing$	$\sqrt{Root}$	[±F]	[NUM]

All full pronouns may also contain a lexical Root

# ↓	π ↓	*Gender* → [PARTIC] ↓	**Masculine**	**Feminine**	**Common**
Sg	First	[+s][−a]	tíí-tá	tíí-tá	N/A
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Gender is exponed separately

Ex	Gender	Number	Person [participant]	Form
(1)	masc	dual	2nd [−spkr, +addr]	sáā - k^h - ò
(2)	**fem**	dual	2nd [−spkr, +addr]	sáā - **r** - ò

. □ - GENDER - □

Gender and number are exponed separately

Ex	Gender	Number	Person [participant]	Form
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(2)	**fem**	dual	2nd [−spkr, +addr]	sáā - **r** - ò
(3)	masc	**plural**	2nd [−spkr, +addr]	sáā - *k* - **ó**

. □ - GENDER - NUMBER

Gender and number are exponed separately

Ex	Gender	Number	Person [participant]	Form
(1)	masc	dual	2nd [−spkr, +addr]	sáā - k^h - ò
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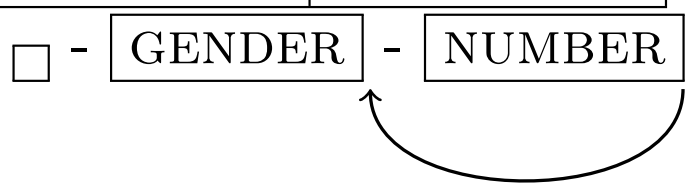

Gender, number, and participant are exposed separately

Ex	Gender	Number	Person [participant]	Form
(1)	masc	dual	2nd [−spkr, +addr]	sáā - k^h - ò
(2)	**fem**	dual	2nd [−spkr, +addr]	sáā - **r** - ò
(3)	masc	**plural**	2nd [−spkr, +addr]	sáā - *k* - **ó**
(4)	masc	dual	1st incl [**+spkr**, +addr]	sáā - k^h - *m̀*
(5)	masc	dual	1st excl [+spkr, **−addr**]	**síī** - k^h - *m̀*

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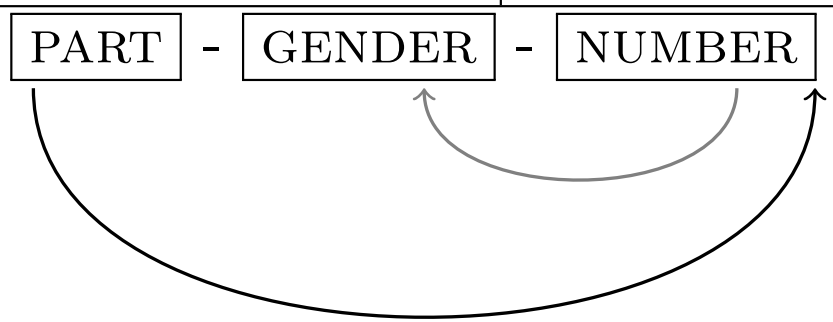

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The nature of spell-out & the directionality of allomorphy

- Root-outward insertion (cyclicity)
- Insertion "uses up" those features (rewriting)
- Inward phonology can condition allomorphy
- **Outward features can condition allomorphy**

(Bobaljik 2000)

Gender, number, and participant are exponed separately

Ex	Gender	Number	Person [participant]	Form
(1)	masc	dual	2nd [−spkr, +addr]	sáā - k^h - ò
(2)	**fem**	dual	2nd [−spkr, +addr]	sáā - **r** - ò
(3)	masc	**plural**	2nd [−spkr, +addr]	sáā - *k* - **ó**
(4)	masc	dual	1st incl [**+spkr**, +addr]	sáā - k^h - *m̀*
(5)	masc	dual	1st excl [+spkr, **−addr**]	**sī** - k^h - *m̀*

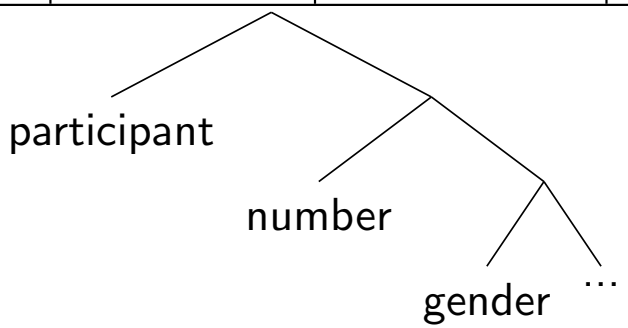

Fig 2. Relative ordering of phi

VS. PART - GENDER - NUMBER

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Gender features associated with nouns as a category

Part of the "lexical entry" of nouns? or a characteristic of (Root-attaching) categorizing head?

- Khoekhoe gender is not a feature of noun Roots' lexical entries (highly redundant):
  - Animate nouns' "mated" genders, as biological sex
  - Inanimate nouns swappable grammatical genders, with semiregular size interpretations
  - Khoekhoe gender is still Root-attached for many nominals, with some idiosyncratic affective interpretations
- Khoekhoe gender is identified with a categorizing head: nominalizer

Harris 1991's treatment of Spanish gender facts are a useful comparison: animates

"All Spanish nouns have lexical gender, either masculine or feminine" (Harris 1991:36)

(17) "Human nouns are "mated"...and grammatical gender matches biological sex"

a. el amig -o
DET.M $\sqrt{friend}$ -M
male friend

b. la amig -a
DET.F $\sqrt{friend}$ -F
female friend

.

"Clone" every human noun stem's lexical entry, & add biological sex

Harris 1991's treatment of Spanish gender facts are a useful comparison: same-stem inanimates

(18) "The gender of [non-human] nouns is arbitrary...and lexically specified: there is no correlation with *phonological shape* of the stem"

a. el libr -o
DET.M $\sqrt{book}$ -M
book

b. la libr -a
DET.F $\sqrt{freedom}$ -F
freedom

. Lexically specify each stem's grammatical gender

Harris 1991's treatment of Spanish gender facts are a useful comparison: similar-meaning inanimates

(19) "The gender of [non-human] nouns is arbitrary...and lexically specified: there is no correlation with *meaning*"

a. el domicili -o
DET.M $\sqrt{home}$ -M
home

b. la residenci -a
DET.F $\sqrt{residence}$ -F
residence

. Lexically specify each stem's grammatical gender

Harris 1991's treatment of Spanish gender facts are a useful comparison: similar-meaning inanimates

(20) "The gender of [non-human] nouns is arbitrary...and lexically specified: there is no correlation with *meaning**"

a. el domicili -o
DET.M $\sqrt{home}$ -M
home

b. la residenci -a
DET.F $\sqrt{residence}$ -F
residence

.

*Yet "tiny pockets of partial predictability exist. For example, some stems refer to fruit when feminine, and to the corresponding tree when masculine" (fn13) *cerez-a* (f) / *cerez-o* (m) 'cherry/tree'

Harris 1991 treats Spanish gender as determined by noun stems' lexical entries

Surface form	**Lexical entry**			
	UR	*Meaning/features*	*Gender*	*Class*
amigo	/amig/	'friend', [HUMAN]	cloned:[m]	
amiga	/amig/	'friend', [HUMAN]	cloned:[f]	
libro	/libr/	'book'	-	
libra	/libr/	'freedom'	[F]	
domicilio	/domicili/	'home'	-	
residencia	/residenci/	'residence'	[F]	
orden	/orden/	'succession'	-	]∅
orden	/orden/	'command'	[F]	
drama	/dram/	'command'	-	]a

The nature of Roots and categorizing heads in Distributed Morphology

- Roots cannot appear unless merged with a little x categorizer (licensing relationship)
- Root-attached x can yield special interpretations (idiosyncrasies and allosemy)

(Embick & Marantz 2008)

- As lexical heads, Roots should not bear functional features / have cross-linguistic variation (Borer-Chomsky hypothesis)

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Most animate Roots are licensed by multiple genders (human animates)

(21) **same root animate nominals (biological gender) - human**

a. ∅-khŏ̀è-**p**
3-$\sqrt{\textit{person}}$-M.SG
the man

b. ∅-khŏ̀è-**s**
3-$\sqrt{\textit{person}}$-F.SG
the woman

c. ǁùù **-p**
parent -M.SG
father

d. ǁùù **-s**
parent -F.SG
mother

e. student **-i**
student -M.SG
male student

f. student **-s**
student -F.SG
female student

Most animate Roots are licensed by multiple genders (animal animates)

(22) **same root animate nominals (biological gender) - animal**

a. ∅-ʔə̀ɾí-**p**
3-$\sqrt{dog}$-M.SG
the male dog

b. ∅-ʔə̀ɾí-**s**
3-$\sqrt{dog}$-F.SG
the female dog

c. ∅-|ìɪ́ɾɪ́-**p**
3-$\sqrt{fox}$-M.SG
the male fox

d. ∅-|ìɪ́ɾɪ́-**s**
3-$\sqrt{fox}$-F.SG
the female fox

e. ∅-gə̀mà-**p**
3-$\sqrt{bovine}$-M.SG
the bull

f. ∅-gə̀mà-**s**
3-$\sqrt{bovine}$-F.SG
the cow

Harris 1991 proposes 'Human Cloning' for analogous Spanish data

Lexical entries	amigo/-a /amig/ N 'friend'	
Cloning (32b)	/amig/ N 'friend' 'male'	/amig/ N 'friend' 'female'
Gender (32a)		f
Feminine Marker (21)		]a
Marker Realization (22)	[amig]o	[amig]a
Syllabification	a.mi.go	a.mi.ga

Harris 1991:52 (34)

- Captures regularity through rule applying to unspecified-for-gender lexical entries
- Doesn't allow marker to bear predictable semantics of biological gender and syntactic grammatical gender - because it wouldn't be reliable in the rest of Spanish's nominal lexicon
- Captures exceptions to regularity within animates by having *specified* gender lexical entries prevent rule

Different gender values license specific Roots (animates with biological gender)

(23) **different root animate nominals (biological gender)**

a. ʔáo-**p**
$\sqrt{man}$-M.SG
the man

b. * ʔáo-**s**
*the man
✓ (f) pal!

c. tàrǎ-**s**
$\sqrt{woman}$-F.SG
the woman

d. * tàrǎ-**p**
*the woman

e. dà̀-**p**
$\sqrt{father}$-M.SG
the father

f. * dà̀-**s**
*the father

g. mà-**s**
$\sqrt{mother}$-F.SG
the mother

h. * mà-**p**
*the mother

Animate Khoekhoe nouns' relationship with gender is better explained by licensing

- Roots cannot appear unless merged with a little x categorizer (licensing relationship)
  - ✓$\sqrt{Cat} + n_1 =$ ✓cat (noun)
  - * $\sqrt{Cat} + n_2 =$ * catage (noun)
  - * $\sqrt{Marry} + n_1 =$ * marry (noun)
  - ✓$\sqrt{Marry} + n_2 =$ ✓marriage (noun)
- Root-attached x can yield special interpretations (idiosyncrasies and allosemy)

(Embick & Marantz 2008)

Most Spanish noun stems have a single, unpredictable, arbitrary lexical gender

Surface form	**Lexical entry**			
	UR	*Meaning/features*	*Gender*	*Class*
libro	/libr/	'book'		
libra	/libr/	'freedom'	[F]	
domicilio	/domicili/	'home'		
~~domicilia~~	~~/domicili/~~	~~'home/?'~~	~~[F]~~	
~~residencio~~	~~/residenci/~~	~~'residence/?'~~	—	
residencia	/residenci/	'residence'	[F]	

At first glance, Khoekhoe inanimate nominals also have the same kind of arbitrary lexical gender

(24) ∅-nál-**í**
3-$\sqrt{\textit{needle}}$-M.SG
a needle

(25) ∅-‖ǒà-**p**
3-$\sqrt{\textit{spoon}}$-M.SG
a spoon

(26) ∅-gòà-**s**
3-$\sqrt{\textit{knife}}$-F.SG
a knife

(27) ∅-àűtǒ-**s**
3-$\sqrt{\textit{car}}$-F.SG
a car

But unlike Spanish, Khoekhoe inanimate nominals may always swap their grammatical gender

Switched gender has some subregularities (size, specialized use):

(28) ∅-nál-**í**
3-√*needle*-M.SG
a needle

(29) ∅-‖ǒà-**p**
3-√*spoon*-M.SG
a spoon

(30) ∅-gòà-**s**
3-√*knife*-F.SG
a knife

(31) ∅-àűtǒ-**s**
3-√*car*-F.SG
a car

(32) ∅-nál-**s**
3-√*needle*-**f**.SG
a big, curved needle

(33) ∅-‖ǒà-**s**
3-√*spoon*-**f**.SG
a soup ladle

(34) ∅-gòà-**p**
3-√*knife*-**m**.SG
a long butcher knife

(35) ∅-auto-**p**
3-√*car*-**m**.SG
a giant monster car

Switching genders reveals Root-attached, idiosyncratic meanings

(36) a. ∅-hőm-**s**
3-√*shirt*-**f**.SG
a shirt

b. ∅-hőm-**i**
3-√*shirt*-**m**.SG
a shirt that's hanging out, untucked, or worn sloppily, by some ne'er-do-well

Could be the very same shirt!

Khoekhoe gender is not redundantly specified on Roots, but is contributed by the Root-licensing *n* categorizer

- Spanish nominals mostly have a single, unpredictable, arbitrary lexical gender
  - ⇒ Not too redundant to double some (e.g. /libr/) lexical entries
  - ⇒ Well-defined class of human nouns exhibit subregularities, which can be captured in a rule
- Khoekhoe nominals differ. Almost all animates are licensed in all genders. All inanimates are licensed in all genders, sometimes with resulting idiosyncratic meanings.
  - ⇒ Fully redundant to double nominalized Roots' lexical entries to bear each gender

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Deverbal nominalizations have a consistent gender

(37) a. n‖ə̀ú
hear
to hear

b. n‖ə̀ú **-s**
hear -F.SG
the hearing, sense of hearing

(38) a. mə̀ù
see
to see

b. mə̀ù **-s**
see -F.SG
the seeing, eye

(39) a. ǂʔə̀a̋
think
to think

b. ǂʔə̀a̋ **-s**
think -F.SG
the thinking, thought

Nominalizations can very productively apply to a whole sentence, arguments included, imposing that gender

(40) [n‖àa̋-n hȍá-n-àȁ -k^h-m̀ ké n‖ȁ̃ú tóá]
[that-N.PL all-N.PL-OBL -(1)-M-DU DECL hear finish]
-**s** k^{h}őó !ã́à
-F.SG after
after our-having-finished-hearing-all-that (Hagman 1977:126)

Deadjectival -*sì*-derived nouns have a consistent gender

(41) a. kā́á
big
big

b. kā́á -sì **-p**
big -ness -M.SG
bigness

(42) a. |ʔùɾ́ísā́
dirty
dirty

b. |ʔùɾ́ísā́ -sì **-p**
dirty -ness -M.SG
dirtiness

(43) a. |ʔàḿò
endless
endless

b. |ʔàḿò -sì **-p**
endless -ness -M.SG
endlessness, eternity

Fission?

Even more tellingly, denominal *-sì*-derived '-hood' nouns impose that same gender

(44) a. tàrā́ **-s**
woman -F.SG

b. *tàrā́ **-p**
woman -M.SG

c. tàrā́ -sì **-p**
woman -hood -M.SG
womanliness, feminine nature

(45) a. khö̀è **-s**
person -F.SG
woman

b. khö̀è **-p**
person -M.SG
man

c. khö̀è -sì **-p**
person -hood -M.SG
humanity, mankind, throng

Fission?

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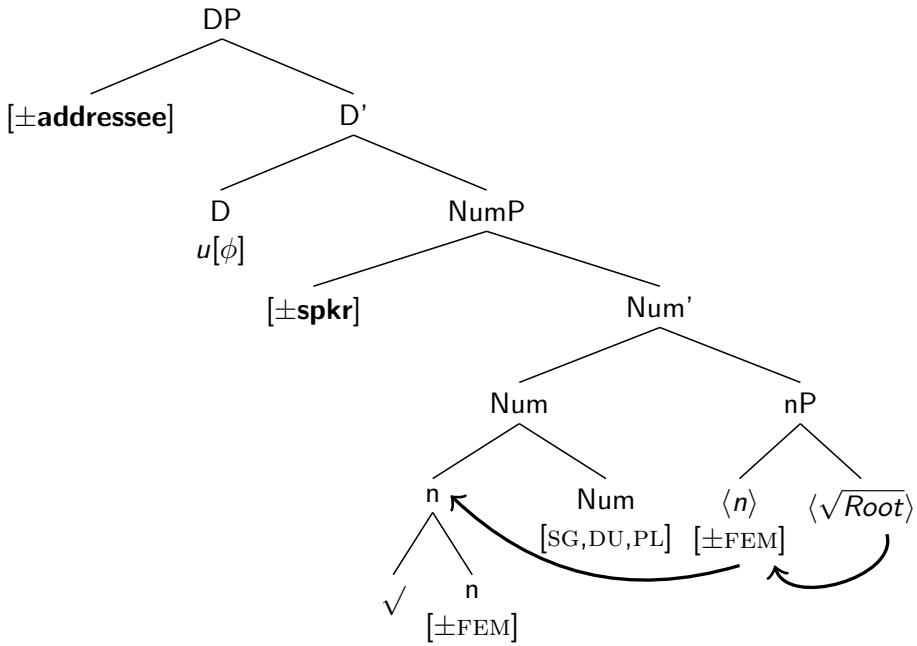
Having a Root-attached *n* bear gender has:

- allowed us to understand licensing restrictions between Roots and gender, minimizing superfluous lexical representations
- given an explanation for the partially regular, partially idiosyncratic (modifications to) meanings of gender-swapped inanimate nominals
- given an explanation for the gender imposed by nominalizations

Wrap-up

- Lexical Roots possible in all nominals and pronominals
- Gender on little *n* in all nominals and pronominals
- Num introduced outside nP
- Speaker participant features local enough to condition number allomorphy, but only addressee spelled out



Thank you!

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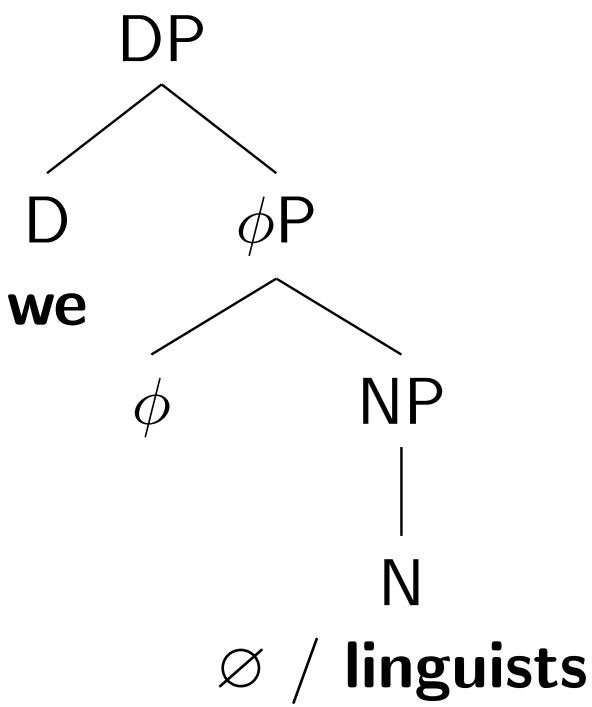
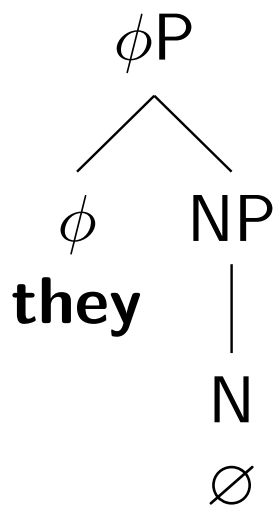
Dechaine & Wiltschko 2002 proposed that pronouns come in three maximal syntactic sizes

(1) a. Pro-DP
argument only
. R-expression

b. Pro-phiP
argument or predicate
. variable

c. Pro-NP
predicate only
. constant





Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002: the pronominal inventory of English: binding

	pro-DPs R-expressions	pro-phiPs variables	pro-NPs constants
Bound variable	*I$_i$ know that John saw *me*$_i$, and Mary does too.	✓[*Every candidate*]$_i$ thinks that [*he*]$_i$ will win.	*[*Everybody*]$_i$ thinks [*one*]$_i$ is a genius.
Coreference (Cond C)	Why not *?... ✓I$_i$ think that John saw *me*$_i$	✓[*John*]$_i$ thinks that [*he*]$_i$ will win.	*[*Mary*]$_i$ thinks [*one*]$_i$ is a genius.

(46) ✓*Mary*$_i$-ga [*kanozyo*$_i$-ga tensai-da to] omotte-iru
Mary-NOM she-NOM genius-COP COMP think-PRES
Mary$_i$ thinks that she$_i$ is a genius (Noguchi 1997:770,(2b) = (23b), D&W 2002:418)

Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002: English third person pronouns can occur in predicative position

(47) postcopular predicate position = (48), D&W 2002:425

a. That's [her]$_{pred}$.

b. *She's [that]$_{pred}$.

(48) participation in word formation = (51), D&W 2002:426

a. .[*she*]-male
.[*she*]-society
.[*she*]-oak

b. .[*he*]-goat
.a real [*he*]-man
.[*him*]-bo (vs. bimbo)

c. The [*hes*] would quarrel and fight with the females. (Jonathan Swift)

Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002: English pro-DPs (1st and 2nd person pronouns) "make an overt NP subconstituent available"

(49) Pro-phiPs preceding nouns = (32) D&W 2002:421

a. *we* linguists
b. *you* linguists
c. **they* linguists
d. *us* linguists
e. *you* linguists
f. */? *them* linguists

An aside: clitics appear when Khoekhoe's basic word order is scrambled

(1) khȍè -p ké rá !^{h}óe
person -M.SG DECL PRS run
The (male) person is running

(3) khȍè -s ké rá !^{h}óe
person -F.SG DECL PRS run
The (female) person is running

Clitics appear when Khoekhoe's basic word order is scrambled: subject clitics

(1′) !^{h}óe =[p] ké rá khõ̀è -p -àã̀
run -M.SG.SBJ DECL PRS person -M.SG -OBL
The (male) person is RUNNING

(3′) !^{h}óe =[s] ké rá khõ̀è -s -àã̀
run -F.SG.SBJ DECL PRS person -F.SG -OBL
The (female) person is RUNNING

Clitics appear when Khoekhoe's basic word order is scrambled: object clitics

(2) sáā́-k^h-ò ké ‖ʔī́-p kò mù
2-M-DU DECL 3-M.SG PST see
You (two guys) saw him

(2′) sáā́-k^h-ò ké kò mù -pí
2-M-DU DECL PST see -3.M.SG.OBJ
You (two guys) saw him

(50) a. ‖ʔí -∅ -p
3 -$\sqrt{pron}$ -M.SG
He is proud.

b. ‖ʔí -nàmá -p
3 -$\sqrt{Nama}$ -M.SG
He, Nama, is proud.

c. ∅ -nàmá -p
3 -$\sqrt{Nama}$ -M.SG
The Nama is proud.

(51) a. sáá -∅
1I[+s,+a] -$\sqrt{pron}$
-tà
-MIX.PL
We (incl) are proud.

b. sáá-nàmá-tà
1I[+s,+a]-$\sqrt{Nama}$-MIX.PL
We (incl) Namas are proud.

c. ∅-nàmá-tà
1I[+s,+a]-$\sqrt{Nama}$-MIX.PL
We (i/e) Namas are proud.

(52) a. sáá -∅
2[−s,+a] -$\sqrt{pron}$
-tù/tó
-MIX.PL
You (all) are proud.

b. sáá-nàmá-tù/tó
2[−s,+a]-$\sqrt{Nama}$-MIX.PL
You Namas are proud.

c. ∅-nàmá-tù/tó
2[−s,+a]-$\sqrt{Nama}$-MIX.PL
You Namas are proud.

Even more tellingly, denominal *-sì*-derived '-hood' nouns impose that same gender

(53) a. ʔőáxáè **-s**
virgin -F.SG

b. *ʔőáxáè **-p**
virgin -M.SG

c. ʔőáxáè -sì **-p**
virgin -hood -M.SG
virginity

(54) a. ǁùù **-s**
parent -F.SG
mother

b. ǁùù **-p**
parent -M.SG
father

c. ǁùù -sì **-p**
parent -hood -M.SG
parenthood, the quality of being parental

Switching genders reveals Root-attached, idiosyncratic meanings (cont.)

(55) ∅ -!ʔá -p
3 -√*River* -M.SG
a river

(56) ∅ -!ʔá -s
3 -√*River* -F.SG
a city

(57) ∅ -də̀ò -p
3 -√*Road* -M.SG
a road

(58) ∅ -də̀ò -s
3 -√*Road* -F.SG
a door / gate

(59) ∅ -ǂʰànɨ́ -s
3 -√*Book* -F.SG
a book

(60) ∅ -ǂʰànɨ́ -p
3 -√*Book* -M.SG
a piece of paper

What about "common" gender?: Licensing (some) mass nouns

(61) **only inanimate mass nouns have unspecified lexical gender**

a. ∅-sőó -ʔì
3-√*sauce* -N.SG
sauce

b. ∅-mai -ʔì
3-√*meal* -N.SG
maize porridge

c. ∅-ǂűű́ -ʔì
3-√*food* -N.SG
food

d. ∅-|áò -ʔì
3-√*blood* -N.SG
blood (spilled, dry)

What about "common" gender?: Not all mass nouns

While some mass nouns (61) do have unspecified gender, others are specified for masculine or feminine (62):

(61)
a. ∅-sőó -ʔì
3-√*sauce* -N.SG
sauce

b. ∅-mai -ʔì
3-√*meal* -N.SG
maize porridge

c. ∅-ǂűű́ -ʔì
3-√*food* -N.SG
food

d. ∅-|áò -ʔì
3-√*blood* -N.SG
blood (spilled, dry)

(62)
a. ∅-ǂóà-p
3-√*wind*-M.SG
wind

b. ∅-sììrő-p
3-√*broth*-M.SG
broth

c. ∅-ǂűű́-p
3-√*food*-M.SG
a lot of food

d. tíí ∅-|áò-p
my 3-√*blood*-M.SG
blood (inalien poss)

What about "common" gender?: Indefinite??

(63) ∅ -ǁȍà -**ʔì**-àȁ
3 -$\sqrt{\textit{spoon}}$ -ʔγ.SG-OBL
ʔáo tè (rèȅ)
give me (IMP)
Give me a spoon (any one).

(64) ∅ -ǁȍà -p -àȁ
3 -$\sqrt{\textit{spoon}}$ -M.SG -OBL
ʔáo tè (rèȅ)
give me (IMP)
Give me (back) the spoon.

What about "common" gender?: Unknown or unmarked gender

Unknown gender (specific, definite)

(65) tíí́-∅-tá́ ké ∅-khò̰è-**ʔì**-àà̰ rá mù
1-$\sqrt{pron}$-SG DECL 3-$\sqrt{Person}$-ʔγ.SG-OBL PRS see
I see that person (but I do not know what gender they are)

Hypothetical (indefinite, nonspecific)

(66) ∅-khò̰è-ʔì
3-$\sqrt{Person}$-ʔγ.SG
some person or other

What about "common" gender?: Unknown or unmarked gender

Zero-place predicates

(67) |àbí =ʔì ké rá
rain =ʔγ.SG DECL PRS
It's raining.

(68) ∅-n|ànű-s
3-rain-F.SG
the rain

Why not encode specificity in D?

(69) nə̋ə̀ ∅-pə̏pə̀kíí̋ -ɾó **-ʔì** ké ʔá ʔìχáə̋
this 3-$\sqrt{baby}$ -DIM -ʔγ.SG DECL COP cute
This little baby (unknown gender) is cute. (definite, specific)

(70) nə̋ə̀ ∅-pə̏pə̀kíí̋ **-ʔì** -àə̀ tàɾé -ʔè ə̏f àóɾé -ʔè
this 3-$\sqrt{baby}$ -ʔγ.SG -OBL be.female -OBL or be.male -OBL
Is this baby male or female?

Introducing adnominals

Recall that Root-containing pronouns as in (b) are happy in argument position:

(52) a. sáā́ -∅ -tù/tó
2[−s,+a] -$\sqrt{pron}$ -MIX.PL
You (all) are proud.

b. sáā́-nàmā́-tù/tó
2[−s,+a]-$\sqrt{Nama}$-MIX.PL
You Namas are proud.

c. ∅-nàmā́-tù/tó
2[−s,+a]-$\sqrt{Nama}$-MIX.PL
You Namas are proud.

(71) sáā́ -∅ -nàmā́ -t-ó ké kā́ísè rá !^{h}úa
2[+a] -[−s] -$\sqrt{Nama}$ -MIX-PL DECL too.much PRS speak
You Namas talk a lot.

Introducing adnominals: linear order of [±addressee]

We can modify those arguments with **adjectives**:

(72) sáa̋ **-ǂʰűpíχä̈** -nàmá̋ -t-ó ké kā́ísè rá
2[+a] **-loud** -√*Nama* -MIX-PL DECL too.much PRS
!ʰúa
speak
You loud Namas talk a lot.

...and [±addressee] stays linearly first

Introducing adnominals: linear order of [±addressee]

We can modify those arguments with **numerals** and **adjectives**:

(73) sáắ -**hàkà** -ǂ^h**ű̋pí̃χä** -nàmắ -t-ó ké kắísè
2[+a] -**four** -**loud** -$\sqrt{Nama}$ -MIX-PL DECL too.much
rá !^{h}úa
PRS speak
You four loud Namas talk a lot.

...**and [±addressee] stays linearly first**

High position for [±addressee] in Spec-DP

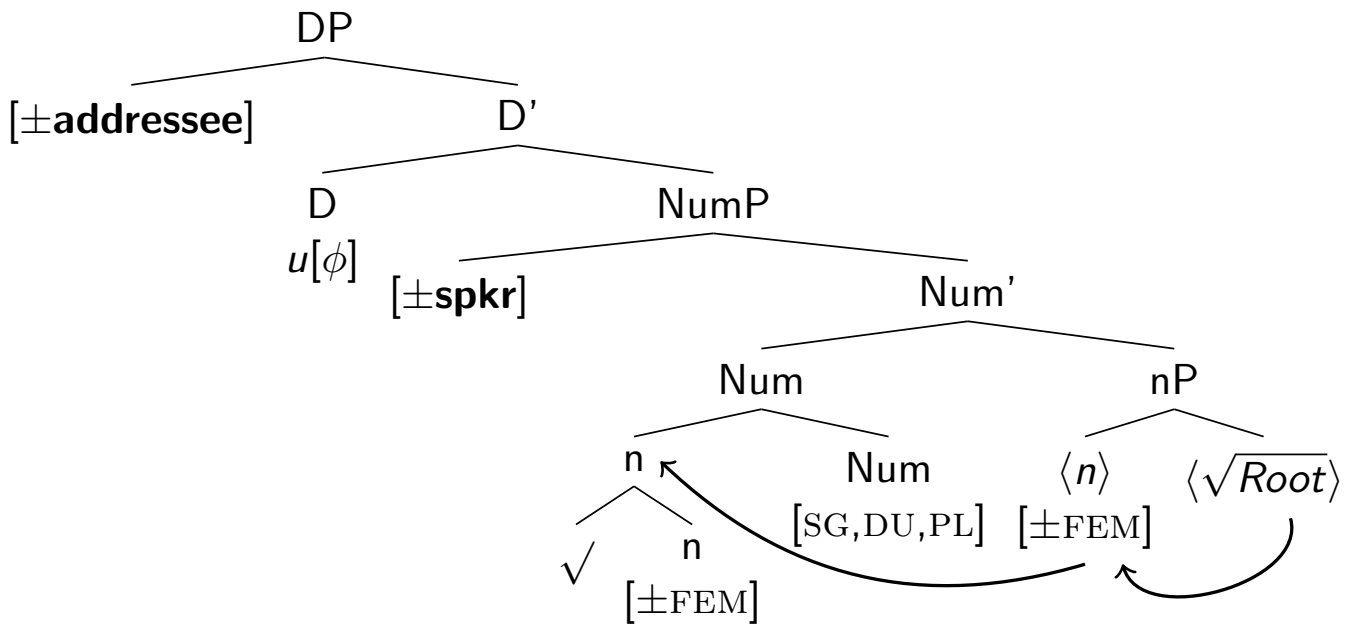
Only addressee is spelled out, high. But recall the speaker features are the only ones that condition allomorphy in the number, so they must be local (and therefore low).

(74) **sáa̋** -k^h-m̀
[+S,+**A**] -M-DU
1st inclusive dual masculine (*us two guys*)

(75) **sáa̋** -k^h-ò
[−S,+**A**] -M-DU
2nd dual masculine (*you two guys*)

(76) **síi̋** -k^h-m̀
[+S,−**A**] -M-DU
1st exclusive dual masculine (*us two guys, not you*)

Separate positions for [±addressee] and [±speaker] PARTICIPANT features



Proposed pronominal structure