A Typology of Gender

Olga Steriopolo, ZAS
olgasteriopolo@hotmail.com

Adam and Eve depicted in a mural in Abreha wa Atsbeha Church, Ethiopia
The term *gender* (genus ‘kind’ or ‘sort’) was first used in the 5th c BC by the Greek philosopher Protagoras who divided Greek nouns into three different classes: ‘feminine’, ‘masculine’, and ‘inanimate’ (nowadays called ‘neuter’). The term *gender* is used interchangeably with *noun class*. 
Question 1: What is gender (noun class) from a linguistic point of view?

- The gender of nouns is determined on the basis of agreement with other words, e.g., pronouns, adjectives, verbs, etc., as in (1). These words change their form in accordance with gender of the noun.

  (1)    Russian (Slavic language)

    a. Eht-a strann-aya knig-a porazil-a nas.

       this-FEM strange-FEM book-FEM.NOM.SG impressed-FEM we.ACC

   “This strange book impressed us.”
b. Eht-ot strann-yj roman porazil nas.
   this-MASC.NOM.SG strange-MASC novel.MASC.NOM.SG impressed.MASC we.ACC
   “This strange novel impressed us.”

c. Eht-o strann-oe proizveden-ie porazil-o nas.
   this-NEUT.NOM.SG strange-NEUT work-NEUT impressed-NEUT we.ACC
   “This strange work impressed us.”

(from Matushansky 2013, p. 272)
Some languages have overt gender markings (e.g., suffixes, prefixes) that indicate gender or a noun class. In such cases, the gender of a noun can be inferred from its form (2), (3).

(2) *Maale (African language)*

a. dárz-átsi
   elephant-MASC.DEFINITE
   ‘the male elephant’

b. dárz-éll-ó
   elephant-FEM-DEFINITE
   ‘the female elephant’

(Amha 2001: 44)
(3) **German (Germanic language)**

a. **Stud-ent**

   student-MASC.NOM.SG

   ‘a male student’

b. **Stud-ent-in**

   student-MASC-FEM.NOM.SG

   ‘a female student’
• There are languages that do not have overt gender markings (they have covert gender), as in (4), (5).

(4)  *Walman (Papuan language)*

\[ \text{Ngolu} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{n-o} \quad \text{lapo-n}. \]

\[
\text{cassowary that 3SG.MASC-be large-3SG.MASC}
\]

‘That male cassowary is large.’ (Brown & Dryer, unpublished data)
(5) Manambu (Papuan language)

a. numa-də bal
   big-MASC.SG pig
   ‘big pig’

b. kwasa-ø bal
   small-FEM.SG pig
   ‘small pig’

(Aikhenvald 2012: 44)
Question 2: Why is gender fascinating?

- Why a certain noun is assigned a certain gender? For example, the word for ‘house’ is feminine in French, masculine in Russian, and neuter in German (6a-c).

(6) a. French

   la         maison
   ART.FEM.SG house.FEM.SG
   house.NEUT.SG

   ‘house’

b. Russian

   dom
   house.MASC.SG

   ‘house’

c. German

   das         Haus
   ART.NEUT.SG

   ‘house’
• Gender is invariable in some languages, while in others, the same noun can have different genders depending on various factors (size and shape of the referent, emotions of the speaker towards the referent, etc.).

(7) *Manambu*

a. numa-ø du 
   big-FEM.SG man

b. kə-də numa-də ta:kw
   this-MASC.SG big-MASC.SG woman

‘big man (woman-like)’ ‘this big woman (man-like)’ (Aikhenvald 2012: 53)
1. Gender systems across languages

- (i) Strict semantic gender system;
- (ii) formal gender system (morphological and phonological);
- (iii) referential (discourse) gender system (Steriopolo and Wiltschko 2010).

1.1. Semantic gender system

- The gender of a noun can be inferred from its meaning.
- Tamil and other Dravidian languages (e.g., Kannada, Telugu, Kolami, Ollari, Parji) use three genders based on the meaning of a noun (Corbett 1991: 9-10).
- **Rational** is a term almost equivalent to ‘human’ but often includes gods and often excludes infants (Corbett 2007, p. 259).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male rational (god or male human)</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>aan, Civán</td>
<td>man, Shiva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female rational (Goddess or female human)</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>pen, Kaali</td>
<td>woman, Kali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>neuter</td>
<td>maram, viitu</td>
<td>tree, house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Gender in Tamil
Tamil girl
• Dizi (Maji) (Omotic language spoken by about 7, 000 people in the Kefa province of Ethiopia) uses two genders based on the meaning of a noun (Corbett 1991: 11).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female or diminutive</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>dade, kieme, orce</td>
<td>girl, small pot, small broom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>dad, kiemu, orca</td>
<td>boy, pot, broom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Gender in Dizi
Halkomelem (Salish language spoken by a few speakers in British Columbia, Canada) uses female gender for all females (marked gender). Gender is unmarked for all others (Wiltschko 2008).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>the slhálì, the álex,</td>
<td>the woman, the sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>te swíyeqe, te álex</td>
<td>the man, the sibling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Gender in Halkomelem
Archi (Northeast Caucasian language) uses Gender I for male rationals, Gender II for female rationals and Genders III and IV as follows, tables 4 and 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Gender III</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>domestic animals and birds</td>
<td></td>
<td>dogi, qaz</td>
<td>donkey, goose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>larger wild animals and birds</td>
<td></td>
<td>pil, jam</td>
<td>elephant, wolf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all insects</td>
<td></td>
<td>hilku</td>
<td>fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mythical beings</td>
<td></td>
<td>ilbis</td>
<td>devil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musical instruments</td>
<td></td>
<td>parx</td>
<td>drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cereals</td>
<td></td>
<td>qoqol</td>
<td>wheat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trees</td>
<td></td>
<td>had</td>
<td>lime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>astronomical phenomena</td>
<td></td>
<td>bac</td>
<td>moon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Gender III in Archi
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Gender IV</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>young animals and birds</td>
<td>biš</td>
<td>calf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smaller wild animals and birds</td>
<td>mejmanak</td>
<td>monkey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tools and cutting instruments</td>
<td>bel</td>
<td>spade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloth, most clothing</td>
<td>at’ras</td>
<td>satin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metals</td>
<td>lacut</td>
<td>iron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquids</td>
<td>čixir</td>
<td>wine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abstracts</td>
<td>mukul</td>
<td>beauty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Gender IV in Archi
The semantic parameters of gender across languages:

(i) Sex (natural gender): females are feminine and males are masculine (many Afro-Asiatic, East-Nilotic, and Central Khoisan languages);
(ii) Human vs. non-human (some Dravidian languages);
(iii) Rational (humans, gods, demons) vs. non-rational (Tamil and other Dravidian languages);
(iv) Animate vs. inanimate (Siouan).
1.2. Formal gender system

- Nouns are **NOT** assigned to gender according to their semantics. Instead, the gender is assigned **arbitrary**, as illustrated in Table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Sun</th>
<th>Water</th>
<th>Moon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>neuter</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>neuter</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>neuter</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Grammatical gender in Russian, German, and French
• Given the meaning of a noun, its gender can NOT be predicted, as in Table 7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Building</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>dóm</td>
<td>zdán’ije</td>
<td>škóla</td>
<td>un’ivers’it’ét</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>neuter</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>Haus</td>
<td>Gebäude</td>
<td>Schule</td>
<td>Universität</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>neuter</td>
<td>neuter</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>maison</td>
<td>édifice</td>
<td>école</td>
<td>université</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Grammatical gender for nouns that denote buildings

• The gender of a noun can be inferred from its form (morphological or phonological). Given the form of a noun, its gender can be predicted.
1.2.1. Morphological form

(8) Spanish

a. El **perr-o** de Juan está enferm-o.
   ART.MASC.SG dog-MASC of Juan is ill-MASC
   ‘Juan’s (male) dog is ill.’

b. La **perr-a** de Juan está enferm-a.
   ART.FEM.SG dog-FEM of Juan is ill-FEM
   ‘Juan’s (female) dog is ill’.
• It has been claimed in the literature (Corbett 1982, 1991; Fraser & Corbett 1995, Matushansky 2013, among others) that nouns denoting males have masculine gender and nouns denoting females have feminine gender (semantic core). However, in morphological gender systems, we can observe overriding of gender.

(9) German  masc \(\rightarrow\) neuter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. ein groß-er Mann</th>
<th>b. ein klein-es Männ-chen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ART big-MASC man.MASC.SG</td>
<td>ART small-NEUT man-DIM.NEUT.SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘a big man’</td>
<td>‘a small man’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) German  fem \(\rightarrow\) neuter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. eine groß-e Frau</th>
<th>b. ein klein-es Fräu-lein</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ART big-FEM woman.FEM.SG</td>
<td>ART small-NEUT woman-DIM.NEUT.SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘a big woman’</td>
<td>‘a small young woman’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(11) **Dutch  masc → neuter**

a. een mooi-e jongen  
ART beautiful-MASC boy.MASC.SG 
‘a beautiful boy’

b. een mooi jonge-tje  
ART beautiful.NEUT boy-DIM.NEUT.SG 
‘a beautiful little boy’

(12) **Dutch  fem → neuter**

a. een mooi-e meid  
ART beautiful-FEM girl.FEM.SG 
‘a beautiful girl’

b. een mooi meis-je  
ART beautiful.NEUT girl-DIM.NEUT.SG 
‘a beautiful little girl’
1.2.2. Phonological form

- In Afar (Afro-Asiatic), the position of the accent is an indicator of gender, as in table 8.

Almost all nouns are can be assigned to the correct gender by the phonological rules.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>end in an accented vowel</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>catò, karmà</td>
<td>help, autumn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end in a consonant</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>cedèr, gilàl</td>
<td>supper time, winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end in a vowel, but not accented</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>tàmu, baànta</td>
<td>taste, trumpet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Gender in Qafar (Afro-Asiatic)
1.3. Referential gender system

Nouns are NOT assigned to gender according to their semantics. The gender is NOT assigned arbitrary, either. Instead, it is determined by certain properties of the referent, e.g., the natural gender (sex) of the referent, size and shape of the referent, and emotions of the speaker towards the referent (Steriopolo and Wiltschko 2010).

• Natural gender of the referent.

In Lak, the noun ḥakin ‘doctor’ can take the patterns associated with gender I, gender II or gender III, depending on whether the doctor is a man, an older woman or a younger woman (Corbett 1991: 181)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Gender I</td>
<td>ākān</td>
<td>doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older female</td>
<td>Gender II</td>
<td>ākān</td>
<td>doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger female</td>
<td>Gender III</td>
<td>ākān</td>
<td>doctor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Gender in Lak  
(Northeast Caucasian language)
In Archi, the nouns *lo* ‘child’ and *misgin* ‘poor person’ can take the patterns associated with gender I, gender II or gender IV in the singular, depending on whether the referent is a man, a woman or whether the gender of the referent is unknown/unimportant (Corbett 1991: 181)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Gender, sg.</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Gender I</td>
<td><em>lo, misgin</em></td>
<td>child, poor person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Gender II</td>
<td><em>lo, misgin</em></td>
<td>child, poor person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown/unimportant</td>
<td>Gender IV</td>
<td><em>lo, misgin</em></td>
<td>child, poor person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Gender in Archi (Northeast Caucasian language)
• Size and shape of the referent.

In many Papuan languages, the same noun can have different genders depending on size and shape of the referent. Long and large referents are often used with masculine gender, while small and round ones are used with feminine gender, as in (13)-(15).

(13) Alamblak (Papuan language)
   a. kuñ-t  
       house-FEM
   b. kuñ-r  
       house-MASC
   ‘house’    ‘(unusually) long house’  
   (Aikhenvald 2012: 57, 58)

(14) Sare (Papuan language)
   a. seboxu-r  
       table-MASC
   b. sebox-u  
       table-FEM
   ‘high table’ ‘squat table’  
   (Sumbuk 1999: 115)
(15) *Manambu*

\[
\text{ya:l} \quad \text{ata} \quad \text{numa-Ø} \quad \text{məy} \quad \text{ta:l} \\
\text{belly} \quad \text{then} \quad \text{big-FEM.SG} \quad \text{very} \quad \text{become.3FEM.SG} \\
tə-ɬə-ɬ \quad \text{a} \quad \text{numa-də} \quad \text{ya:l} \\
become-3FEM.SG.completive.different.subj \quad \text{then} \quad \text{big-MASC.SG} \quad \text{belly} \\
adəka. \\
demonstrative.distal.reactivated.topic.MASC.SG \\
\]

‘(Her) belly then became very big (feminine), having become (big), here is a very big (masculine) belly.’  

(Aikhenvald 2008: 118)
• In many languages, feminine gender is associated with small size and masculine gender with large size. However, the opposite can also be found, as in Hadza (16).

(16) Hadza (African language)

a. ʔato
   axe.MASC
   ‘axe’

b. ʔato-ko
   axe-FEM
   ‘large axe’ (Edenmyr 2004: 16)
• *Emotions of the speaker towards a referent.*

For example, in Oromo, the speaker expresses negative emotions towards a dog (17b) and the gender of the noun ‘dog’ changes.
(17) Oromo (Harar dialect) (African language)

a. sareé takka ganda xeesa arkinne.
   dog.FEM one.FEM village in we.saw
   ‘We saw a dog in the neighborhood.’

b. sareé-n xun bashoo tizza jala fige.
   dog-MASC that.MASC cat.FEM my.FEM after ran.MASC
   ‘That (nasty) dog chased my cat.’
   (Clamons 1995: 392)

(18) German

a. der/klein-er Baum
   ART.masc/little-masc tree
   ‘the/little tree’

b. das/klein-es Bäum-chen/-lein
   ART.neut/little-neut tree-dim/dim
   ‘the/little tree (dim)’
2. Various groups of nouns

2.1. Common gender nouns

Such nouns denote animate beings. They have only one form but can have more than one gender. Their gender depends on the referent (e.g., Spanish, Portuguese, Russian).

(19) *Spanish*

a. la **patriota** bonit-a
   ART.FEM.SG patriot    beautiful-FEM
   ‘a beautiful patriot (female referent)’

b. el **patriota** bonit-o
   ART.MASC.SG patriot    beautiful-MASC
   ‘a beautiful patriot (male referent)’

(20) a. la **testigo** bonit-a
    ART.FEM.SG witness   beautiful-FEM
    ‘a beautiful witness (female referent)’

b. el **testigo** bonit-o
   ART.MASC.SG witness   beautiful-MASC
   ‘a beautiful witness (male referent)’

(21) a. la **estudiante** bonit-a
    ART.FEM.SG student    beautiful-FEM
    ‘a beautiful student (female referent)’

b. el **estudiante** bonit-o
   ART.MASC.SG student    beautiful-MASC
   ‘a beautiful student (male referent)’

(Soledad Dominguez, personal communication)
2.2. Epicenes

Such nouns denote animate beings (members of the species). They have only one form and only one gender. Their gender does NOT depend on the referent.

(22) Russian

a. bol’sh-oj  kit  b. *bol’sh-aya  kit

big-MASC.NOM.SG  whale.MASC.NOM.SG  big-FEM.NOM.SG

whale.MASC.NOM.SG

‘big whale (member of the species)’

(23) Russian

a. bol’sh-aya  mysh’  b. *bol’sh-oj  mysh’

big-FEM.NOM.SG  mouse.FEM.NOM.SG  big-MASC.NOM.SG

mouse.FEM.NOM.SG

‘big mouse (member of the species)’  (Steriopolo 2008)
2.3. Hybrid nouns
Usually there is a limited number of such nouns in a given language (in Russian, these are profession-denoting nouns). Such nouns can trigger mixed gender agreement, as in (24c) and (d).
(24) **Russian**

a.  Nov-yj  **vрач**  prishyol.

new-MASC.SG  doctor.NOM.SG  came.MASC.SG

‘The new doctor came’

b.  Nov-aya  **vрач**  prishl-a.

new-FEM.SG  doctor.NOM.SG  came-FEM.SG

‘The new doctor came (referring to a female)’

c.  Nov-yj  **vрач**  prishl-a.

new-MASC.SG  doctor.NOM.SG  came-FEM.SG

‘The new doctor came (referring to a female)’

d.  U menya – interesn-aya  nov-yj  **vрач**.

at me  – interesting-FEM.SG  new-MASC.SG  doctor.NOM.SG

‘I have an interesting new doctor (referring to a female)’  (Pesetsky 2013, p. 18)
3. Interaction of gender and number

- In many languages around the world, gender is restricted to the singular number. Nonsingular numbers—dual and plural—do not differentiate genders. For example, in Manambu, there is no gender distinction in the dual and plural (25).
(25) Gender distinction in Manambu

Singular feminine –ø or –l
Singular maculine –d(ǝ)
Dual –bǝr
Plural –di

(26) a. kǝ-dǝ  tǝp
   this-MASC.SG  village
   ‘this (masc) village’

    b. kǝ-di   tǝp
              this-PL   village
             ‘these villages’

    c. kǝ-bǝr   tǝp
               this-DUAL  village
              ‘these two villages’

             (Aikhenvald 2012: 39)
• However, there are languages, where gender is found in both singular and plural numbers. For example, Icelandic has a masculine–feminine–neuter distinction in both singular and plural.
(27) Icelandic

a. *velkominn* (masculine singular) – one male person
b. *velkomin* (feminine singular) – one female person
c. *velkomið* (neuter singular) – someone whose gender is unknown
d. *velkomnir* (masculine plural) – a group of males
e. *velkomnar* (feminine plural) – a group of females
f. *velkomin* (neuter plural) – a mixed or indeterminate group
In Cushitic languages, there is also a clear gender distinction in the plural form. For example, in Somali there are two distinct plural markers –*dii* and –*hii* for masculine and feminine genders, respectively (28).

(28) **Somali**

a. inammá-*dii* baa y-imid  
   boy-MASC.PL focus PL-came

b. ináma-*hii* baa y-imid  
   girl-FEM.PL focus PL-came

‘The boys came.’  
‘The girls came.’ (Serzisko 1982:184)
• In many fusional languages, a single morpheme represents gender and number simultaneously, as in (29).

(29) *Walman*

a. pelen n-aykiri  
   dog 3SG.MASC-bark  
   ‘The male dog is barking.’

b. pelen w-aykiri  
   dog 3SG.FEM-bark  
   ‘The female dog is barking.’

c. pelen y-aykiri  
   dog 3PL-bark  
   ‘The dogs are barking.’  
   (Brown & Dryer, in prep: 2)
4. Interaction of gender and declension (inflectional) class

- According to Aronoff (1994), declension is a set of words whose members each select the same set of inflectional morphemes.
- For example, most Russian nouns are in one of four declension classes, except for indeclinable nouns (kofe ‘coffee’, pal’to ‘coat’), as shown in table 11.
- There is often no 1:1 correspondence between declension classes and gender, as nouns of different genders can belong to the same declension class.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>masculine/hybrids end in -Ø in Nom.SG</td>
<td>feminine/masculine/common gender end in -a in Nom.SG</td>
<td>feminine end in in soft [-back] consonant in Nom.SG</td>
<td>neuter end in -o/e in Nom.SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zakon</td>
<td>'law'</td>
<td>zakon</td>
<td>shkol-u</td>
<td>kost</td>
<td>kost'-yu</td>
<td>vin-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shkol-a</td>
<td>'school'</td>
<td>shkol-y</td>
<td>kost-i</td>
<td>kost-i</td>
<td>vin-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kost</td>
<td>'bone'</td>
<td>kost-u</td>
<td>kost-e</td>
<td>kost-i</td>
<td>vin-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vin-o</td>
<td>'wine'</td>
<td>vin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zakon-y</td>
<td>'laws'</td>
<td>zakon-y</td>
<td>shkol-y</td>
<td>kost-i</td>
<td>kost'-yu</td>
<td>vin-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shkol-y</td>
<td>'schools'</td>
<td>shkol-y</td>
<td>kost-i</td>
<td>kost-i</td>
<td>vin-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kost-i</td>
<td>'bones'</td>
<td>kost-ov</td>
<td>kost-e</td>
<td>kost-i</td>
<td>vin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vin-a</td>
<td>'wines'</td>
<td>vin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Declension classes in Russian (Corbett 1982)
Thank you!

Olga Steriopolo, ZAS
olgasteriopolo@hotmail.com
References


A List of Terms

1. Agreement (slide 3)
2. Overt gender (slide 5)
3. Covert gender (slide 7)
4. Rational (slide 11)
5. Semantic parameters of gender (slide 17)
6. Arbitrary assignment of gender (slide 18)
7. Semantic core (slide 21)
8. Overriding of gender (slide 21)
9. Mixed gender agreement (slide 34)
10. Fusional languages (slide 41)
11. Declension (slide 42)
What are gender systems in these five languages: semantic or formal (morphological or phonological)?
Table 1: Gender in Zande (Niger-Congo)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>male human</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>kumba</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female human</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>dia</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other animate</td>
<td>animal</td>
<td>nya</td>
<td>beast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>residue</td>
<td>neuter</td>
<td>bambu</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: Gender in Russian (Slavic)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>chelovek, papa, muzhchina</td>
<td>person, dad, man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>mama, zhena</td>
<td>mother, wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>zver’</td>
<td>animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>ovca, stena</td>
<td>sheep, wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>neuter</td>
<td>okno, steklo</td>
<td>window, glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criterion</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Examples</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male rational</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>las</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female rational</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>ninu</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other animate</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>nic</td>
<td>bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>residue</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>nex</td>
<td>river</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Gender in Lak (Caucasian)
Table 4: Gender in Spanish (Romance)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>homber, padre, chico</td>
<td>man, father, boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>mujer, madre, chica</td>
<td>woman, mother, girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>libro, vestido</td>
<td>book, dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>revista, corbata</td>
<td>magazine, necktie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criterion</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Examples</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>bàxa, toobokòya, toobokoyta</td>
<td>son, brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>baxà, tooboko, tooboko, toobokyta</td>
<td>daughter, sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>gilàl, tàmu</td>
<td>winter, taste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>karmà, catò</td>
<td>autumn, help</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>