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SYSTEMS OF NOMINAL
CLASSIFICATION

EDITED BY

GUNTER SENFT

Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen

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CHAPTER 3

Unusual classifiers in Tariana

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I GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Five main types of nominal classification devices can be identified on the basis of their morpho-syntactic locus (for details see Aikhenvald forthcoming, and a somewhat different version in Craig 1992; Grinevald this volume):

- i. gender and noun class – grammaticalized agreement systems, based on certain core semantic characteristics (most often animacy and sex), marked within an NP or on the predicate but not necessarily on the noun itself;
- ii. numeral classifier – free or bound morphemes which appear in the context of quantification;
- iii. noun classifier – free or bound morphemes which occur next to the noun and characterize it independently of quantification or possession;
- iv. genitive or possessive classifiers – free or bound morphemes which appear in the context of possessive constructions and characterize a possessive relationship, or a possessed noun;
- v. verbal classifiers – bound morphemes which are affixed to the verb, or incorporated into the verb; they categorize a noun, which is typically in S/O function, in terms of its shape, consistency, and animacy (see Aikhenvald forthcoming, for discussion).

In general, this approach provides a very useful tool for describing systems of nominal classification. However, there are still a few problematic issues.¹

One of the problems for an over-all typology of classifiers is the existence of ‘marginal’ classifier types which appear in morphosyntactic loci other than indicated above. One of these ‘marginal’ types is classifier morphemes, variously known as ‘demonstrative’, ‘article’ and ‘deictic’ classifiers, which appear exclusively with deictic elements, indicating

shape, and sometimes also position of the referent noun.² There are languages which have just one set of classifiers found in this context only, e.g. Toba and Pilagá (Guaicuruan languages from Argentina: see Klein 1979 and Vidal 1994); Teop (Austronesian, Bougainville: Mosel and Spriggs n.d.), and Mandan (Siouan: Barron and Serzisko 1982). In a number of languages the same, or almost the same, set of classifier morphemes occurs in quantitative expressions, as numeral classifiers, and with demonstratives; classifiers in different contexts often display distinct morphosyntactic properties (see Goral 1978, for Vietnamese, and the discussion in Aikhenvald forthcoming).

A number of languages have multiple classifier systems – there may be either more than one set of classifier morphemes in different functions, or the same classifier morphemes can be used in distinct morphosyntactic contexts. The first possibility can be illustrated with Akatek (Mayan) (Zavala, this volume). (Bantu languages, e.g. Swahili, also use the same prefixes as noun class markers (indicating agreement) and as noun classifiers, on head nouns.) The second type is typical of classifier languages of South America, especially those of Northwest Amazonia – see the discussion of Tariana in sections 2–4 of this chapter.

The existence of multiple classifier systems in which the same, or almost the same, set of morphemes is used in different morphosyntactic loci is instructive from the point of view of the criteria to be used for distinguishing types of classifiers. They may be crucial for providing further evidence in favour of ‘marginal’ types and subtypes – such as ‘demonstrative’ and ‘article’ classifiers.

This chapter considers such a multiple classifier system in Tariana,³ a North Arawak language from Northwest Amazonia. In section 2 I give a brief description of classifiers in Tariana (more details are found in Aikhenvald 1994a). Classifiers with demonstratives and articles are described in section 3. In section 4, areal properties of the classifier system in Tariana are considered. The status of demonstrative and article classifiers in Tariana and their implications for the typology of classifiers are briefly discussed in section 5.

2 AN OVERVIEW OF THE MULTIPLE CLASSIFIER SYSTEM IN TARIANA

2.1 Classifiers and gender

Like the majority of Arawak languages (Aikhenvald 1996), Tariana distinguishes two genders, feminine animate vs the rest, in prefixes

Table 3.1. A sample list of possessive, verbal, noun and numeral classifiers, and noun class markers in Tariana

Verbal, possessive and noun classifiers	Numeral classifiers	Noun class markers	Semantics
<i>-ita</i>	<i>-hipa; -ita</i>	<i>-ite</i>	male; non feminine animate
<i>-ma</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-ma</i>	feminine (with numeral classifiers and noun classes only if sex is in focus)
<i>-da</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>-da</i>	round objects
<i>-dapana</i>	<i>-dapana</i>	<i>-dapana</i>	habitat
<i>-ipa</i>	<i>-ipa</i>	<i>-ipa</i>	big open space
<i>-ku</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-ku</i>	extended cloth
<i>-kwema</i>	<i>-kwema</i>	<i>-kwema</i>	flat and round
<i>-kha</i>	<i>-kha</i>	<i>-kha</i>	curved
<i>-maka</i>	<i>-maka</i>	<i>-maka</i>	clothing
<i>-na</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-na</i>	long vertical
<i>-pa</i>	<i>-pa</i>	<i>-pa</i>	largish and long
<i>-pi</i>	<i>-pi</i>	<i>-pi</i>	long, thin, vertical
<i>-pu</i>	<i>-pu</i>	<i>-pu</i>	long, hollow
<i>-pukwi</i>	<i>-pukwi</i>	<i>-pukwi</i>	round, hollow

which cross-reference subjects and possessors (see examples (1), (2), (3)). This gender opposition is neutralized in plural. There is also a large set of suffixed morphemes each used in several classifier functions.

Every noun in Tariana requires a classifier. All inanimate nouns are classified in terms of their shape; animate nouns divide into feminine and non-feminine.

Inanimate nouns can be classified in several different ways depending on the aspect of the referent which the speaker wants to focus on. There are over fifty established classifiers; ‘repeaters’ are used for new or previously unclassified items, as well as for nouns in focus (see Aikhenvald 1994b). Thus, classifiers constitute a potentially open system. A sample list of established classifiers is given in table 3.1.

Subdivision (‘superclassing’: see Sands 1995, for this term) of all nouns into animates and inanimates, with a special generic ‘animate’ classifier, is characteristic of numeral classifiers, and of noun classes. Noun classifiers are used differently with animate and with inanimate nouns. All classifiers except noun classifiers can be used anaphorically.

The same set of classifier morphemes is used in possessive constructions, and as verbal classifiers (section 2.2). These morphemes have a

different semantic effect when used as noun classifiers (section 2.3). Numeral classifiers (section 2.4) and noun class agreement markers used on adjectives (section 2.5) are morphologically and semantically somewhat distinct from other types.

2.2 Possessive and verbal classifiers

In possessive constructions classifier morphemes refer to a possessed noun independently of whether it is alienably or inalienably possessed (1), (2).

- (1) *nu-ya-da* *nu-hwida*
 1sg-POSS-CL:ROUND 1sg-head
 'my head' (inalienable possession)
- (2) *nu-ya-pi* *sipi*
 1sg-POSS-CL:LONG blowgun
 'my blowgun' (alienable possession)

A possessive classifier is used anaphorically in (3) (underlined). The head noun is easily recoverable from the narrative.

- (3) *ai-nuku* *pai-ya-dapana* *irukuitaka*
 here-TOP.NON.A/S priest-POSS-CL:HAB near
di-dana-miki-ri *di-sua-thaka*
 3sgnf-write-OLD-MASC 3sgnf-stay-CONTRARY.TO.EXPECTATION
 'Over here, near the church (lit. the house of priests) there is an old sign (of the adventures of a mythical hero).'

When used as verbal classifiers, the same morphemes categorize the derived intransitive subject (S) of a verb, functioning as a marker of topic-advancing voice (see Aikhenvald, MS) in (4), or mark the subject of a purposive construction, in (5). Note the obligatory use of feminine classifier *-ma* in (4).

- (4) *i:nari* *di-naku-ni-ma-pe-se* *ihya*
 mucura.rat 3sgnf-swive-TOP.ADV-CL:FEM-PL-RESULT 2pl
 '“You two (women) were swived by the mucura rat” (said the bird to the mythical women).'
- (5) *ne-se* *di-musu* *dy-uka* *pani-si*
 then-LOC 3sgnf-go.out 3sgnf-arrive house-NPOSS
di-uma-pidana *diha* *aria-hyu-dapana*
 3sgnf-look.for-REM.P.INFR he stay-PURP-CL:HAB
 'Then he went and looked for a house for himself to live in.'

The verbal classifier *-dapana* 'CL:HAB' is used anaphorically in (6).

- (6) *diha walikiri* *di-dia-pidana* *di-a* *diha*
 he young.man 3sgnf-return-REM.P.INFR 3sgnf-go he
walikasu *di-na-ni-dapana-se*
 again 3sgnf-live-TOP.ADV-CL:HAB-LOC
 'The young man went back, he went to the (house) in which he lived.'

2.3 Noun classifiers

The same set of morphemes are used as noun classifiers. They are suffixed to the noun, and specify its semantics. All noun classifiers are used as nominal derivational suffixes. They cannot be used anaphorically.

Inanimate classifiers differ from possessed and verbal classifiers in the following ways.

- (i) Unlike possessed and verbal classifiers, noun classifiers are not obligatory in the sense that they do not always co-occur with a noun. They may be omitted.
- (ii) When they are used, they have a semantic effect of focusing on an additional characteristic of a noun, and individuating its referent. Nouns with an inanimate referent are intrinsically unmarked for number when used without a suffixed classifier. When a classifier is added, nouns acquire singulative reading, and can be pluralized.

For instance, *episi* means 'iron as a substance', and is unmarked for number. When a noun classifier is added, it acquires a more concrete semantics, and is understood as referring to one object, e.g. *episi-kha* (iron-CL:CURVED) 'iron wire'; *episi-pi* (iron-CL:LONG) 'long piece of iron'. A noun with a classifier can be pluralized, e.g. *episi-kha-pe* (iron-CL:CURVED-PL) 'iron wires'; **episi-pe* is not acceptable.

The animate noun classifiers, *-ita* 'animate non-feminine' and *-ma* 'feminine', do not have this semantic effect.

2.4 Numeral classifiers

The same set of morphemes is obligatorily used with numerals and other quantifying expressions which modify nouns with an inanimate referent – see (7).

- (7) *pa-kha* *kule-kha*
 one-CL:CURVED fishing line-CL:CURVED
 'one fishing line'

Numeral classifiers for animates and humans differ from verbal, possessive and noun classifiers in the following ways.

Numeral classifiers divide into animate and inanimate. The animate classifier *-ita* is used for all sex-differentiable referents, if their sex is not in focus:

(8) *pa-ita inaru*
one-CL:AN woman
'one woman'

(9) *pa-ita a:pi*
one-NUM.CL:AN snake
'one snake'

The feminine animate classifier *-ma* can be used if the sex of the referent is being focused on, as in (10). For the classifier types described above *-ma* is always used with feminine referents, and cannot be replaced with *-ita* 'animate' (cf. (4)).

(10) *pa-ma inaru*
one-CL:FEM woman
'one woman'

There is a special numeral classifier *-hipa* 'non-feminine human', used just in this and no other meaning. This classifier is interchangeable with *-ita* 'animate'; there is a mild preference to use *-hipa* for human male referents, as in (11), (12).

(11) *phepa (< pa + -hipa) tfāri*
one+NUM.CL:AN man
'one man'

or

(12) *pa-ita tfāri*
one-NUM.CL:AN man
'one man'

The 'animate' classifier, *-ita*, is always used with a non-human animate referent, such as *a:pi* 'snake' in (9). The classifier *-hipa* is acceptable with a non-human referent only if it is personified, for instance, in a traditional legend (13).

(13) *phepa a:pi*
one+NUM.CL:AN snake
'one snake (acceptable only if personified)'

The semantics of numeral classifiers is shown in figure 3.1.

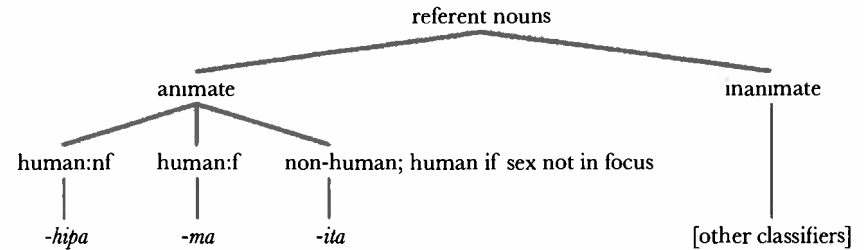


Figure 3.1. Semantics of numeral classifiers

(14) illustrates an anaphoric use of numeral classifier *-da* 'round objects'. The full noun, *piperi* 'pupunha fruit', is introduced in the first line, and then this object is referred to with the classifier attached to numeral 'one' (both occurrences are underlined).

(14) *naha piperi na-yana-ri-se-nuku*
they pupuhna.fruit 3pl-cook-REL-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S
ne-mara-ka-de-pidana na-wa di-na
NEG-NEG+order-TH-NEG-REM.P.INFR 3pl-enter 3sgnf-OBJ
nu-na pa-da phita pi-ŋu
1sg-OBJ one-CL:ROUND 2sg+bring 2sg-come
di-a-pidana di-sa-do-nuku
3sgnf-say-REM.P.INFR 3sgnf-spouse-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S
'They ordered him not to come to the place where they were cooking pupunha fruit. "Bring me one", he said to his wife.'

2.5 Noun class markers

Classifiers are also used in the function of noun class markers. Noun class markers obligatorily mark agreement on adjectives.

As with numeral classifiers, there is a generic 'animate' noun class, marked with *-ite*. This is the only case of a noun class marker being *formally* distinct from the corresponding classifier, *-ita*.⁵ This is illustrated in (15) and in (16) (the classifier *-ita* and the noun class marker *-ite* are underlined).

(15) *apa-ita tfāri hanu-ite*
one-CL:AN man big-NOUN.CL:AN
'one big man'

(16) *inaru ma:tfite*
woman good+NOUN.CL:AN
'good woman'

If the femininity of the referent is in focus, the feminine classifier *-ma* can be used:

- (17) *inaru hanu-ma*
 woman big-CL:FEM
 'a big woman'

In all other cases the same morphemes are used as classifiers and as noun class markers, e.g.

- (18) *kule-kha hanu-kha*
 fishing line-CL:CURVED big-CL:CURVED
 'a big fishing line'

Unlike numeral classifiers, there is no special noun class marker for non-feminine humans. Unlike other classifier types, but similarly to classifiers with articles (see section 3.2), noun class markers have a plural form, *-peni*, used for animates only; the feminine–non-feminine distinction is then neutralized, e.g. *atfa hanu-peni* ('man:PL big-PL.AN') 'big men' (plural of (15)); *ina: ma:tfa-peni* (woman:PL good-PL.AN) 'good women' (plural of (16)).⁶ Plural marking is obligatory with animates. With inanimate nouns it is optionally marked with a pluralizer *-pe* attached after the classifier, e.g. *kule-kha hanu-kha-pe* (fishing line-CL:CURVED big-CL:CURVED-PL) 'big fishing lines' (the reasons why *-pe* is not classifier are given in Aikhenvald 1994a: 432–3).

The semantics of noun classes is shown in figure 3.2.

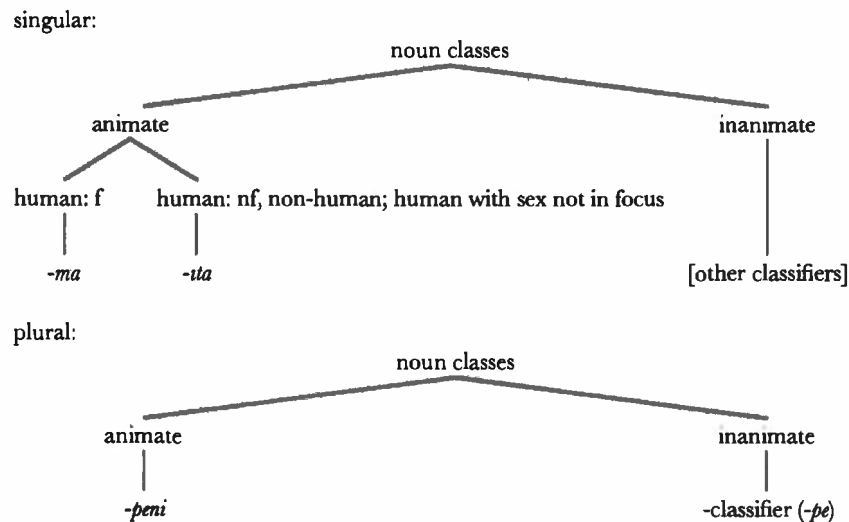


Figure 3.2. Semantics of noun classes

The anaphoric use of noun class marker, *-dapana* 'CL:HAB', with adjective *ma:tfa* – 'good' and attributive, is illustrated in (19). The anaphoric use is underlined.

- (19) *kayu diha di-sata-ka, diha depita hiku-pidana*
 so he 3sgnf+ask-SEQ, he night appear-REM.P.INFR
pani-si ma:tfa-dapana thuya aria-dapana-pidana
 house-NPOSS good-CL:HAB all having-CL:HAB-REM.P.INFR
hiku. Diha-dapana-se-pidana naha ma:tfa-dapana-se
 appear. He-CL:HAB-LOC-REM.P.INFR they good-CL:HAB-LOC
kahwi na-ka:-niki.
 wake 3pl+go-DECL-COMPL.
 'After he (the man) asked, the same night there appeared a beautiful house, having all in it. In this very beautiful one (house) they woke up.'

3 CLASSIFIERS WITH DEMONSTRATIVES AND ARTICLES

Classifiers used with demonstratives and articles differ from those used in other morphosyntactic environments in the following ways.

First, demonstratives and articles divide into two superclasses – animate and inanimate. This property is shared with numeral classifiers and noun class markers, but not with classifiers of other types.

Second, demonstratives and articles then have generic, or 'unspecified' forms.

Third, demonstratives and articles used with inanimate nouns can be specified for shape and form; this is done with the same morphemes as the ones used as verbal and possessive classifiers, and as noun classifiers.

Fourth, the use of shape classifiers is optional with demonstratives and articles, unlike classifiers of other types (Aikhenvald 1994a). It depends on the role of a noun in discourse. The use of the feminine classifier *-ma* is optional with demonstratives, and depends on the role of a noun in the discourse. With articles, the feminine form *duha* is obligatory (cf. Aikhenvald 1994a).

Classifiers with demonstratives are considered in section 3.1, and classifiers with articles in section 3.2. They are compared in section 3.3.

3.1 Classifiers with demonstratives

Tariana has a two-way opposition in demonstratives: proximate and distal. Figure 3.3 shows how classifiers are used with demonstratives.

Animate forms of demonstratives can optionally be specified for sex (+feminine vs the rest). The proximate animate demonstrative has a semisuppletive form (*hi*).

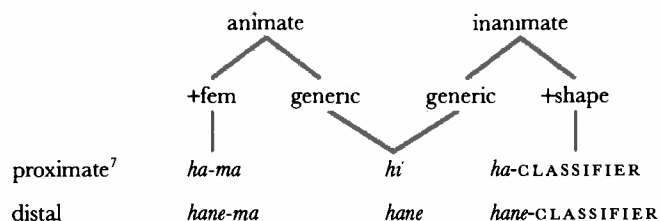


Figure 3.3. Semantics and form of demonstratives with classifiers

Demonstratives can be specified for shape and form (with inanimate nouns), and for sex (animate nouns); this is done with the same set of classifiers as the one used for noun, verbal and possessive classification. As said before, the use of classifier *-ma* 'feminine' and of shape classifiers depends on the role of the noun in the discourse.

The generic form of demonstratives (*hi* and *hane*) is used with a noun that has an animate referent (20).

- (20) *hi phenisi hi Taria na-nu*
 DEM:AN brothers DEM:AN Tariana 3pl-come
 'These brothers, these Tarianas came'.

- (21) *di-ayha-ka-pidana hane ifiri*
 3sgnf-swim-DECL-REM.P.INFR that animal
 'That animal is swimming.'

The animate demonstrative *hi* can be used anaphorically only if it refers to an animate noun. See (22).

- (22) *hi puaya-sina wa-na di-dia*
 DEM:AN different-REM.P.NON.VIS. 1pl-OBJ 3sgnf-return
wa:ku
 1pl+speak
 'This one (Creator) made our speech (languages) different.'

Hi can be used with a noun with an inanimate or female referent if the noun is not in focus. In (23) *hi ina:* means 'these women' as a class; *ha-ma inaru* would mean 'this very woman'.

- (23) *hi ina: ma-nihita-ka-de*
 DEM:AN women NEG-think-TH-NEG
 'These women (as a class) do not think.'

Demonstrative *ha* + classifier is used to refer to inanimate objects if the noun itself, or its shape, is in focus. In (24), classifier *-na* 'CL:VERT'

is used with proximate demonstrative (underlined) because the noun it modifies ('hill') is in focus.

- (24) *kwana ha-na yapa-na*
 who DEM:INAN -CL:VERT hill-CL:VERT
hane-r iku-ma-se kheta ka-thake
 that-PLACE-ONE.OF.PAIR-LOC REL+bring REL-cross+CAUS
ke:meta nu-itu-kanape-nuku
 REL+get+CAUS 1sg-daughter-PL-TOP.NON.A/S
ka-sa-do-mhade
 REL-spouse-FEM-FUT.PROB
 'Who takes this very mountain across to the other side of the river (lit. that one place of a pair) will marry my daughter.'

(25) shows a similar use of *-na* 'CL:VERT' with distal demonstrative *hane*.

- (25) *hane-na heku-na ithani-ka di-swa*
 that-CL:VERT tree-CL:VERT near-DECL 3sgnf-stay
 'It (the baby) is under that very tree (over there).'

(26) and (27) illustrate the contrast between the generic demonstrative and a demonstrative with a classifier. In (26) a classifier of the 'repeater' type, *-idaki* 'CL:HUMAN BODY', is used anaphorically with a proximate demonstrative (underlined). Here it refers to the superficial shape assumed by a spirit who had just taken off its snake appearance, and taken the shape ('human body'-like) of a man:

- (26) *diha-maka-nuku di-wa di-a*
 he-CL:CLOTH LIKE-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-start 3sgnf-go
di-soleta
 3sgnf-take off+CAUS
ha-idaki-ne-pidana
 DEM:INAN-CL:HUMAN BODY-INS-REM.P.INFR
dinu di-sata-pidana
 3sgnf+come 3sgnf-greet-REM.P.INFR
 'He (spirit) took off his cloth-like one (snake's looks), came in this human body-like one and greeted (his son-in-law).'

In (27) the shape of *-idaki* 'body' is not in focus; and so the generic proximate form *hi* is used:

- (27) *na:ma-pidana hi*
 3pl+look for-REM.P.INFR DEM:AN:GENERIC
didaki-nuku
 3sgnf+body-TOP.NON.A/S
 'They were looking for his body.'

Demonstrative stem+ classifier can be used anaphorically to refer to an inanimate object, as in (28):

- (28) *na-na dhuta-sina du-nu*
 3pl-OBJ 3sgf+bring-REM.P.NON.VIS 3sgf-come
ha-pua-nuku
 DEM:INAN-CL:RIVER-TOP.NON.A/S
 'She (the mythical ancestor) brought (Tarianas) to this one (river).'

(28a), with a generic classifier, would be ungrammatical, since only the generic classifier *hi* can be used anaphorically to refer to animates.

- (28a) ?*na-nadhuta-sina du-nu hi-nuku*

Another use of demonstratives with inanimate classifiers is reminiscent of the individuating semantic effect of noun classifiers (section 2.3). A generic demonstrative is often used with a noun unspecified for number, referring to the type of object. In (29), *heku* 'tree' refers to trees as a type of vegetation, and is used with a generic demonstrative *hi*.

- (29) *hi heku-nuku di-pana*
 DEM:AN tree-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-plant
 'He (Creator) planted trees.'

A demonstrative followed by a classifier is used to individuate the referent. This is illustrated with *ha-na heku-na* 'this tree' in (30).

- (30) *pa-ŋhi dhema-na diha ha-na*
 IMP-eye 3sgnf+burn-REM.P.VIS he DEM:INAN-CL:VERT
heku-na
 tree-CL:VERT
 'This tree burnt one's eyes.'

3.2 Classifiers with articles

Articles in Tariana are formed on the third person subject cross-referencing prefixes. They can also be used anaphorically as personal pronouns.

Articles typically refer to a previously mentioned, or otherwise known or identifiable, participant (e.g. the traditional god).

(31) comes from an origin myth which describes a feast where a lot of manioc beer (*kahpi*) was consumed; Tariana ancestors got drunk and got into trouble. Manioc beer had been mentioned several clauses before; the article (*diha*) is used in (31) to refer to it again:

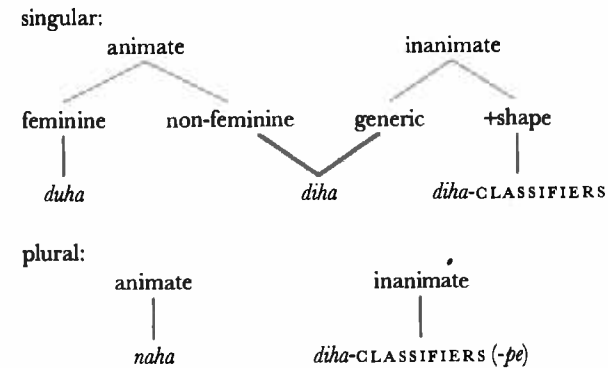


Figure 3.4. Semantics and form of articles with classifiers

- (31) *diha kahpi na-ira*
 ART:GENERIC manioc.beer 3pl-drink
na-kama-sina na-yena na
 3pl-drunk-REM.P.NON.VIS 3pl-become 3pl+go
 'They drank the (aforementioned) manioc beer, they became drunk.'

Like noun class markers (figure 3.2), articles have a plural form, *naha*, used only for animates (irrespective of their sex) e.g. *duha inaru* (ART:FEM woman) 'the woman', *naha ina*: (ART:PL.AN woman:PL) 'the women'; *diha ifari* (GENERIC.ART man) 'the man', *naha atfa* (ART:PL.AN man:PL) 'the men'. Nouns with inanimate referent can optionally take the plural suffix *-pe*, as in (32).

- (32) *diha-na-pe waha wa-ka-ni-na-pe*
 ART-CL:VERT-PL we 1pl-see-TOP.ADV-CL:VERT-PL
 'the high ones (hills) which we see'

The semantics and form of articles with classifiers are shown in figure 3.4.

The basic difference between demonstratives (figure 3.3) and articles (figure 3.4) lies in the obligatory use of the feminine form, and in the way plural is marked. With demonstratives, generic animate *hi* 'proximate' and *hane* 'distal' are used for non-females and for females, if sex is not in focus; special feminine forms (*ha-ma* and *hane-ma*, respectively) are used only when sex is in focus. With articles, *duha* is obligatory with female animates. Demonstratives do not have any special form for plural; articles have a special form for animate plural, just like noun class markers. (31) illustrates the use of a generic article with an inanimate noun. *Duha* is used with a female referent in (33).

- (33) *duha inaru du-ya-khe*
 ART:FEM woman 3sgf-cry-IN.SPITE
du-a-ka-pidana
 3sgf-say-DECL-REM.P.INFR
 'In spite of her crying, the woman was speaking.'

If the inanimate noun, or its shape, is not in focus, the generic form of the article is used:

- (34) *kay-nami diha pani-si-se*
 so-AFTER ART:GENERIC house-NPOSS-LOC
hna-kasi ma:tf-a-peri hiku-pidana
 eat-NOM good-COLL appear-REM.P.INFR
 'After that, good food appeared in the house.'

Articles are often used anaphorically. Like generic animate demonstratives, *diha* is not used anaphorically with inanimates; *diha* + classifier is used instead, cf. *diha-dapana* (ART-CL:HAB) 'the house' in (19). If used anaphorically, *diha* automatically acquires a 'masculine animate' reading, as in (5) where *diha* means 'he'.

Classifiers are used when the shape of an inanimate referent is in focus. This is illustrated with (35), from a story about the exploits of the Tariana's ancestors who had managed to kill a powerful snake. The site where it happened is still visible, and there is a stone that has the shape of a snake's head. The shape of the stone is important; this is why 'the head' is referred to with *diha-da diwhida* (ART-CL:ROUND 3sgnf+head) 'the-round one head', and not *diha dihwida* (ART:GENERIC 3sgnf+head) 'the head'.

- (35) *na-na-mi-sa deru-naka*
 3pl-break-LOC-TIGHTLY 3sgnf+hang-PRES.VIS
diha-da dihwida
 ART-CL:ROUND 3sgnf+head
 'In the place where they broke (the snake's head), this round head is still hanging.'

Unlike classifiers with demonstratives, classifiers with articles do not have the semantic effect of individuating a noun (cf. (29), (30)).

3.3 Classifiers with demonstratives and with articles: a comparison

The ways animacy and feminine vs non-feminine gender are expressed with demonstratives and with articles are shown in figures 3.3 and 3.4.

Table 3.2. *Properties of classifiers with demonstratives and with articles*

	with demonstratives	with articles
Animate vs inanimate distinction	yes	yes
Generic vs specific form	yes	yes
Pragmatic effect of shape classifiers with inanimates	yes	yes
Obligatory use of feminine	no	yes
Pragmatic effect of feminine classifier	yes	no
Individuating semantic effect	yes	no

In table 3.2 semantic and pragmatic properties of classifiers with demonstratives, and with articles, are compared.

Our preliminary conclusion is that in Tariana classifiers with demonstratives and classifiers with articles must be considered distinct subtypes – formally, semantically and pragmatically. Further conclusions will be drawn in section 5, where we compare classifiers used with demonstratives and with articles and classifiers in other morphosyntactic loci.

4 AREAL PROPERTIES OF MULTIPLE CLASSIFIER SYSTEMS IN TARIANA

Multiple classifier systems are an areal feature of the region of North-west Amazonia which includes the basin of the Upper Rio Negro and the Vaupès in Brazil and Colombia, and the adjacent regions of north-eastern Peru. All these languages typically have the same set of classifier morphemes used in possessive constructions to refer to the possessed noun, and with nouns, numerals and adjectives; some also use classifiers with verbs.

The main difference between the North-Arawak languages spoken on the Upper Rio Negro, and Tariana and Tucano, is that in the former classifiers are not used with demonstratives and articles. Compare the following examples from Tariana (36), (37), Tucano (East-Tucanoan (38)), and Baniwa of Içana, a North-Arawak language from the Upper Rio Negro (39), (40). Unlike Tucanoan languages, Tariana and Baniwa have articles. However, Tariana uses classifiers with articles in the way described in section 3.2, and Baniwa does not: feminine vs non-feminine gender distinction is used instead.

Tariana:

(36) *ha-ku* *amaku*
this-CL:EXTENDED hammock
'this hammock'

(37) *diha-ku* *amaku*
ART GENERIC-CL:EXTENDED hammock
'the hammock'

Tucano:

(38) *ati-gĩ* *pũ-gĩ*
DEM:INAN-CL:LARGE hammock-CL:LARGE
'this hammock'

Baniwa:

(39) *hrieĩ* *pieta*
DEM+NON.FEM hammock
'this hammock'

(40) *hria* *pieta*
ART:NON.FEM hammock
'the hammock'

The use of classifiers with demonstratives and with articles in Tariana is a phenomenon acquired through areal diffusion from East-Tucanoan languages (see Aikhenvald 1996). That articles + classifiers do not have the same semantic effect of individuation as do demonstratives + classifiers may be due to a more recent development of the former following the analogy of demonstratives. Note that East-Tucanoan languages do not have articles of any sort.

In other languages of the area with multiple classifier systems, inanimate classifiers tend to be optional with demonstratives, but not in other morphosyntactic contexts. For instance, in Yagua, a language from northeastern Peru (Payne and Payne 1992: 446) inanimate classifiers with demonstratives may be omitted if the head noun is overtly present (i.e. they are only obligatory in an anaphoric function). This implies a possibility of analysing them as a distinct subtype of classifier.

5 CONCLUSION

The properties of the six classifier types in Tariana, identified on the basis of their morphosyntactic contexts, semantics and pragmatics, are summarized in table 3.3.

Table 3.3. *Properties of classifiers in Tariana*

	Possessive and verb classifier	Noun classifier	Noun class	Numeral classifier	Demonstrative classifier	Article classifier
always obligatory in a given context	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no
animate vs inanimate distinction	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
generic vs specific form	none	none	none	none	yes	yes
pragmatic effect of shape classifiers with inanimates	none	none	none	none	yes	yes
semantic effect of shape classifiers with inanimates	no	yes	no	no	yes	no
special animate plural class	no	no	yes	no	no	yes
feminine obligatory for female referents	–	–	–	–	no	yes

The following conclusions concern the status and functions of demonstrative and article classifiers in the multiple classifier system of Tariana.

(i) Classifiers used with demonstratives and with articles are similar to noun classifiers, in that they are not obligatory, under certain, semantically or pragmatically defined, conditions.

(ii) The use of demonstrative and article classifiers is based on the division of nouns into animate and inanimate, unlike verbal and possessive classifiers, but like other types of classifiers.

This property suggests a subdivision of classifiers in Tariana into two groups: classifiers within an attributive NP (which would include numeral, noun, demonstrative and article classifiers, and noun classes),

and classifiers in other contexts (within a possessive NP, and in a clause, i.e. possessive and verbal classifiers).

(iii) The existence of a generic and a specific form, and the pragmatic effect of shape classifiers with inanimate nouns, are the only properties which are common to demonstrative classifiers and article classifiers, but not to classifiers of any other type.

Classifiers with demonstratives and with articles are used to focus on the referent, and/or on its shape. That the context of demonstratives and articles is chosen for this purpose follows from pragmatic and functional properties of demonstratives and articles as correlated with individuation and with focusing.

(iv) Three properties distinguish demonstrative and article classifiers from each other. Like noun class markers, but unlike classifiers with demonstratives, articles have a plural animate form. There may be a historical explanation for this. Articles originated in a combination of cross-referencing personal prefixes with an emphatic particle *-ha*, and personal prefixes display a neutralization of +feminine/–feminine opposition in the plural (see section 2.1). For the same reason, feminine marking, obligatory with cross-referencing prefixes, is also obligatory for articles, but not for demonstratives.

Inanimate classifiers have the semantic effect of individuation with demonstrative but not with article classifiers. This property is shared with noun classifiers. This semantic effect seems to be related to the pragmatics of shape classifiers with demonstratives, the major function of which is pointing at and individuating referent nouns.

This effect has not developed with articles, possibly due to their semantics and function. Articles in Tariana are used to identify and draw attention to a previously mentioned or otherwise known participant, and not to individuate it. This provides a functional explanation for a semantic difference in the use of classifiers with demonstratives, and with articles.

(v) Unlike other languages with demonstrative classifiers (see section 1), demonstrative and article classifiers in Tariana overlap with classifiers of other types. Demonstrative and article classifiers differ from other types in their form, and in their pragmatics. These facts favour the inclusion of demonstrative classifiers as a separate type within an overall morphosyntactic typology of classifiers.⁸

A further question arises: in a classifier language with distinct systems of demonstratives and articles, is it necessarily the case that different types of classifiers have to be used with these two word classes? The data of Tariana, summarized in tables 3.2 and 3.3, suggest this. However, in Tariana demonstratives and articles are etymologically different. Languages in which articles and demonstratives come from the same historical source may well behave in a different way.

NOTES

- 1 A few further distinctions can be made within types. Possessive constructions in fact allow for two subtypes of classification devices. One kind includes classifiers which characterize the possessed noun in terms of how it can be handled. These are also known as 'relational classifiers', and are found in Austronesian languages (see Lichtenberk 1983; Senft 1986, for Kilivila); and in a few North American and South American Indian languages. They are usually restricted to alienably possessed nouns. The other kind are classifiers which characterize the possessed noun, usually in terms of its shape and animacy, and are used independently of alienable vs inalienable distinctions. These are found in a few South American Indian languages, as a type independent from 'relational' classifiers (see Aikhenvald 1994a; forthcoming; and examples (1), (2) above).
- 2 Another rare type are classifier morphemes known as 'locative classifiers' which occur on locative adverbs and adpositions, and indicate shape, form and animacy of the argument. So far only one language has been found in which there is a separate set of morphemes used in this context: Palikur (North-Arawak, Brazil: Green and Green 1972; Aikhenvald 1994b; Aikhenvald and Green 1998).
- 3 Tariana is a North-Arawak language spoken by around 100 people in the linguistic area of the Vaupes. Tariana is the only Arawak language spoken in the Vaupes linguistic area, a region characterized by an obligatory polylingualism due to marriage patterns based on linguistic exogamy (Sorensen 1967, Aikhenvald 1996). The other languages spoken in the area belong to the East-Tucanoan family, genetically unrelated to Tariana. East-Tucanoan languages and Tariana display a striking number of structural similarities due to areal diffusion of patterns, mostly unilateral, from East-Tucanoan to Tariana. Materials on Tariana were collected during three fieldtrips in 1991 and 1994–96. They contain word lists, conversations and around 700 pp. of texts told by speakers of different generations.

I am extremely grateful to my teachers of Tariana: Cândido, Jose, Jovino, Graciliano, Olivia and Rafael Brito. I owe thanks to R. M. W. Dixon, for useful discussion and help. Abbreviations used throughout this paper are: AN – animate; ART – article; CAUS – causative; CL – classifier; COLL – collective; COMPL – completive; DECL – declarative; DEM – demonstrative;

- EXIST – existential; f, FEM – feminine; FUT – future; HAB – habitat; IMP – impersonal; INAN – inanimate; INDEF – indefinite; INFR – inferred; INS – instrumental; LOC – locative; MASC – masculine; NEG – negative; nf – non-feminine; NOM – nominalization; NON.VIS – non-visual; NPOSS – non-possessed; NUM – numeral; OBJ – objective; pl – plural; POSS – possessive; PRES.EYEW – present eyewitness; PURP – purposive; PROB – probable; REL – relative; REM.P – remote past inferred; SEQ – sequential; sg – singular; TH – thematic; TOP.ADV – topic advancing; TOP.NON.A/S – topical non-subject; VERT – vertical; VIS – visual.
- 4 Why the same morphemes are used in both functions may be explained historically. In Baniwa of Içana, a North Arawak language closely related to Tariana but spoken outside the Tariana-East-Tucanoan contact area of the Vaupes river basin, possessive classifiers are used only for predicative possession, and as expected, they coincide with verbal classifiers. In Tariana, the use of possessive classifiers was extended to non-predicative NPs as the result of areal diffusion from East-Tucanoan languages (see Aikhenvald 1996).
- 5 *-ite* in Tariana comes from *-ita-y*, *-y* being the adjectivizing morpheme used on some noun class markers in Baniwa. The difference between this noun class marker and the corresponding classifier in Tariana is thus reminiscent of the one in Baniwa. It can be considered an archaism (Aikhenvald 1994a, b; 1996).
- 6 Words for ‘man’ and ‘woman’ have irregular plural forms.
- 7 In young people’s language, proximate demonstrative *hi* tends to be used with all animate nouns, and *ha* (without classifiers) with inanimate nouns which are not in focus, e.g.
- (i) *nu-a nu-inu-de ha-marie-ne*
 1sg-go 1sg-kill-FUT DEM:INAN-knife-INS
 ‘I will kill (an animal) with this knife.’
- 8 Demonstratives and sometimes articles have a different set of genders in some Indo-European languages. The existence of three genders for articles, and two for nouns in Cantabrian Spanish is reported by Holmquist (1991).

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