



38

39 The distribution of gender marking on independent personal  
 40 pronouns is shown in map SG. In the case of languages which  
 41 have more than one series of independent personal pronouns,  
 42 the forms considered are those that may be used as subjects.  
 43 The six values depicted in the map are based on the relationship  
 44 between gender and person as reflected in the above mentioned  
 45 Greenbergian universals. The values are:

46

@	1. Gender distinctions in 3rd person plus first and/or second person	19
@	2. Gender distinctions in 3rd person only, but in both singular and non-singular	42
@	3. Gender distinctions in 3rd person singular only	61
@	4. Gender distinctions in 1st or 2nd person but not 3rd	2
@	5. Gender distinctions in 3rd person non-singular only	1
@	6. No gender distinctions	254
	total	379

47

48 The first value represents languages in which gender is highly  
 49 prominent in the pronominal system, i.e. in addition to gender  
 50 in the third person, there is also gender in either the second  
 51 person or first person or both. The gender distinctions in  
 52 question may involve just the singular, or any combination of  
 53 both singular and non-singular. For instance, in Hausa (Chadic;  
 54 Nigeria, Niger) and many other Chadic and Semitic languages,  
 55 gender is exhibited only in the second and third person singular:

56

57 (1) Hausa (Newman 2000: 477)

58 1SG *nī* 1PL *mū*59 2SG.M *kai* 2PL *kū*60 2SG.F *kē*61 3SG.M *shī* 3PL *sū*

62 3SG.F *ita*

63

64 In Ngala (Ndu, Sepik; north-western Papua New Guinea), there  
65 are gender distinctions in all three persons in the singular:

66

67 (2) Ngala (Laycock 1965: 133)

68	1SG.M	<i>wn</i>	1DU	<i>•yn</i>	1PL	<i>nan</i>
69	1SG.F	<i>ñ•n</i>	2DU	<i>•n</i>	2PL	<i>gwn</i>
70	2SG.M	<i>m•n</i>	3DU	<i>k•b•r</i>	3PL	<i>r•r</i>
71	2SG.F	<i>yn</i>				
72	3SG.M	<i>k•r</i>				
73	3SG.F	<i>yn</i>				

74

75 Rif (Berber, Afro-Asiatic; Morocco) has a gender contrast in the  
76 second and third person both the singular and plural (see 3),  
77 while the Murui dialect of Huitoto (Huitotoan; Colombia, Peru)  
78 has a two-way gender contrast in the first and second person  
79 dual and a three way gender contrast in the third person  
80 singular, dual and plural (see 4).

81

82 (3) Rif (McClelland 2000: 27)

83	1SG	<i>nəʃ</i>	1PL	<i>nəʃnin</i>
84	2SG.M	<i>ʃək</i>	2PL.M	<i>kəniw</i>
85	2SG.F	<i>ʃəm</i>	2PL.F	<i>kənint</i>
86	3SG.M	<i>nəttə</i>	3PL.M	<i>nitnin</i>
87	3SG.F	<i>nəttəθ</i>	3PL.F	<i>nitənti</i>

88

89 (4) Murui Huitoto (Wise 1999: 322)

90	SG		DU		PL	
91	1	<i>kuè</i>	1.M	<i>kəkə</i>	1	<i>kaũ</i>
92	1.F			<i>kaiŋaũ</i>		
93	2	<i>ɔ</i>	2.M	<i>ɔmɔkɔ</i>	2	<i>ɔmɔw</i>
94	2.F			<i>ɔmɔŋkɔ</i>		
95	3.M	<i>imwe</i>	3.M	<i>iaũmaiaũ</i>	3.M	<i>imakw</i>
96	3.F	<i>ijaiŋɔ</i>	3.M	<i>iaũŋuaũ</i>	3.F	<i>ijaiŋuaũ</i>
97	3.N	<i>ie</i>	3.N	<i>ie</i>	3.N	<i>ie</i>

98

99 And Korana (Central Khoisan; South Africa) has gender  
 100 distinctions for all three persons in three numbers and in both  
 101 the exclusive and inclusive forms in the dual and plural:  
 102

103 (5) Korana (Meinhof 1930: 43, via Tom Güldemann)

		SG	DU	PL
1	C		<i>sa-m</i>	<i>sa-da</i>
INCL	F		<i>sa-sam</i>	<i>sa-se</i>
	M		<i>sa-kham</i>	<i>sa-tje</i>
1	C		<i>s-im</i>	<i>si-da</i>
EXCL	F	<i>ti-ta</i>	<i>si-sam</i>	<i>si-se</i>
	M	<i>ti-re</i>	<i>si-kham</i>	<i>si-tje</i>
2	C		<i>sa-khaoo</i>	<i>sa-du</i>
	F	<i>sa-s</i>	<i>sa-saro</i>	<i>sa-sao</i>
	M	<i>sa-ts</i>	<i>sa-kharo</i>	<i>sa-kao</i>
3	C	<i>ll'di-'i</i>	<i>ll'di-kha</i>	<i>ll'dine</i>
	F	<i>ll'di-s</i>	<i>ll'di-sara</i>	<i>ll'dide</i>
	M	<i>ll'di-b</i>	<i>ll'di-khara</i>	<i>ll'dku</i>

104

105 The Korana paradigm is particularly worthy of attention as it is  
 106 the most complete person/number/gender paradigm in the  
 107 sample.

108 Languages in which gender in personal pronouns is  
 109 confined to the third person but not to just the singular are  
 110 covered by value two. The relevant languages may display  
 111 gender in all the singular and non-singular third person forms,  
 112 as in Worora (Wororan; Western Australia), which has gender  
 113 distinctions in the singular, dual, trial and plural.

114

115 (6) Worora (Love 2000: 8–10)

	SG	DU	TRI	PL
1 INCL		<i>ŋarendu</i>	<i>'ŋariŋ'guri</i>	<i>'ŋari</i>
1 EXCL	<i>ŋaiu</i>	<i>a'rendu</i>	<i>'aringuri</i>	<i>'ari</i>
2	<i>ŋundju</i>	<i>nji'rendu</i>	<i>'njiringuri</i>	<i>'njiri</i>
3.M	<i>'indja</i>	<i>iŋ'gandu</i>	<i>'iŋguri</i>	<i>'arka</i>

3.F	<i>'nijina</i>	<i>njin'gandinja</i>	<i>'njingurinya</i>	<i>'arka</i>
3.NW	<i>'wuna</i>	<i>wun'gandu</i>	<i>'wunguri</i>	<i>'wuna</i>
3.NM	<i>'mana</i>	<i>man'gandum</i>	<i>'mangurim</i>	<i>mana</i>

116

117 Alternatively they may have gender in the singular and only  
 118 some of the non-singular numbers, for instance, the dual but  
 119 not the plural, as in Lavukaleve (East Papuan; Solomon Islands):

120

121 (7) Lavukaleve (Terrill 1999: 156, 159)

	SG	DU	PL
1 EXCL	<i>ngai</i>	<i>el</i>	<i>e</i>
1 INCL		<i>mel</i>	<i>me</i>
2	<i>inu</i>	<i>imil</i>	<i>imi</i>
3.M	<i>fona</i>	<i>fonala</i>	<i>fova</i>
3.F	<i>fo</i>	<i>fol</i>	<i>fova</i>
3.N	<i>foga</i>	<i>fogala</i>	<i>fova</i>

129

130 (In Lavukaleve four degrees of distance are distinguished in the  
 131 third person forms. Only the proximal forms are given in (7).)

132 Value three encompasses languages which have a gender  
 133 contrast solely in the third person singular irrespective of the  
 134 variety of number oppositions exhibited, singular/plural as in  
 135 English, singular/dual/plural as in Mundari (Munda; India),  
 136 Trumai (isolate; Brazil), Yessan-Mayo (Sepik; Papua New Guinea)  
 137 or even singular/dual/paucal/plural as in Ungarinjin (Wororan;  
 138 Western Australia).

139 Value four represents languages which display gender in  
 140 either the first or second person but not the third. The only  
 141 instance of gender just in the first person that I have come  
 142 across with respect to independent person pronouns is in Macá  
 143 (Mataco-Guaicuru; Argentina, Bolivia) in which feminine gender  
 144 is marked on the first person inclusive (Aikhenvald 2000: 252).  
 145 Gender just in the second person is slightly more common. It is  
 146 illustrated in (8) from Iraqw (Cushitic, Afro-Asiatic; Tanzania),  
 147 which has both long and short forms of independent personal  
 148 pronouns.

149

150 (8) Iraqw (Mous 1993: 112)

151		long	short
152	1SG	<i>aníng</i>	<i>án</i>
153	2SG.M	<i>kúung</i>	<i>kú</i>
154	2SG.F	<i>kíing</i>	<i>ki</i>
155	3SG	<i>inós</i>	<i>ís</i>
156	1PL	<i>atén</i>	<i>át</i>
157	2PL	<i>kuungá</i>	–
158	3PL	<i>ino ín</i>	<i>inín</i>

159

160 Some other languages which also have gender just in the second  
 161 person are Burunge (Cushitic, Afro–Asiatic; Tanzania), Kofyar  
 162 (Chadic, Afro–Asiatic; Nigeria) and Minangkabau (Western  
 163 Austronesian; Sumatra/Indonesia).

164 Value five has been assigned to languages which display  
 165 gender only in the third person non–singular. These languages  
 166 constitute a sub–type of exceptions to Greenberg’s Universal 45.  
 167 A case in point is that of Dagaare (Gur; Ghana) which has a  
 168 human/non–human distinction only in the third person plural.  
 169 This is illustrated in (9).

170

171 (9) Dagaare (Bodomo 1997: 71)

172

173	1SG	<i>maa</i>	1PL	<i>tenee</i>
174	2SG	<i>foo</i>	2PL	<i>yεnee</i>
175	3SG	<i>onɔ</i>	3PL.H	<i>bana</i>
176	3PL.NH	<i>ana</i>		

177

178 Plank and Schellinger (1997: 62–65) mention several other  
 179 languages belonging to this type, which are not in the sample,  
 180 namely the Sauias dialect of Biak, Wandamen and Windesi  
 181 (Austronesian; West Papua/Indonesia); Katu (Katuic, Mon–  
 182 Khmer; Vietnam, Laos) and Palauan (Western Malayo–Polynesian;  
 183 Palau Island).

184 Finally, value six represents languages that have no overt  
 185 gender contrasts in the independent personal pronouns.  
 186 Included in this category are languages in which third person  
 187 pronouns are confined solely to humans or animates while other  
 188 referents are referred to by demonstratives, classifiers or full

189 NPs. Such languages are sometimes interpreted as displaying a  
190 covert gender opposition.

191

### 192 **3. Geographical distribution**

193

194 Gender in independent pronouns is found in about 30 per cent  
195 of the languages in the sample. The greatest concentration of  
196 languages with gender is in Africa. Gender is very prominent  
197 among the Afro-Asiatic languages of northern Africa, in the  
198 Niger-Congo languages of sub-Saharan Africa and also in the  
199 Khoisan languages of the southern part of the continent. It is  
200 not, however, a regular feature of Nilo-Saharan languages. The  
201 other major area with gender distinctions in independent  
202 pronouns is Eurasia and especially Europe. Gender is also very  
203 much in evidence among the non-Pama-Nyungan languages of  
204 northern Australia.

205 Turning to the areas where gender is much less  
206 prominent, in New Guinea gender is found mainly among the  
207 non-Trans-New Guinea languages of northern New Guinea,  
208 particularly in the Sepik area and neighboring areas of West  
209 Papua. It also occurs among some of the West Papuan languages  
210 on the extreme northwest tip of New Guinea and in northern  
211 Halmahera. There is even less gender in the Americas, especially  
212 North America. The North American languages that do have  
213 gender are scattered throughout the continent. In South America  
214 gender is found primarily in the northern part of the continent  
215 and especially among the languages of the Amazon basin. The  
216 area in which gender is encountered most rarely is Southeast  
217 Asia and Oceania. Gender occurs in some Austro-Asiatic  
218 languages but hardly at all in Austronesian languages. All but  
219 one (Drehu) of the languages exhibiting gender from this area  
220 are non-Austronesian.

221 Among the languages that do have gender distinctions in  
222 independent pronouns, gender just in third singular is dominant  
223 in all areas but for Africa. In Africa the dominant pattern seems  
224 to be gender in third person irrespective of number. In the case  
225 of the Afro-Asiatic and Khoisan languages, the favoured  
226 distribution of gender is both in the second and third person.

227 Outside of Africa gender in other than the third person,  
 228 particularly in the singular, is rare. Instances of gender in the  
 229 first and second person non-singular are found in Europe  
 230 (Spanish, Lithuanian, Slovene), New Guinea (Baniata, Vanimu)  
 231 and Australia (Anindilyakwa, Ndjébbana, Nunggubuyu). It is also  
 232 only in Africa that we find languages displaying gender  
 233 exclusively in some person other than the third.

234

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