On Exuberant Noun Categorization in Matsigenka (Arawak): Gender, Animacy, and a Multiple Classifier System

Zachary O’Hagan and Lev Michael
University of California, Berkeley

Gender and Classifiers: Areal and Genealogical Perspectives
Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen
January 27, 2015

1 Introduction

- In this talk we describe three noun categorization systems (Aikhenvald 2003) in Matsigenka
  - Kampan Arawak language of southeastern Peruvian Amazonia (Snell 2011)
  - ~10,000 speakers in the Urubamba and Manú river basins
- The Matsigenka nominal lexicon is exhaustively categorized along two axes, which obligatorily control agreement on targets (Corbett 2006) of several word classes
  - Gender [masc, fem]:
    * Verbs covary in gender with third-person subjects and objects
    * Possessums covary in gender with their third-person possessors
    * Demonstratives covary in gender with the nouns they modify
    * A small class of adjectives covary in gender with the nouns they modify
  - Animacy [anim, inan]:
    * The positive existential verb covaries in animacy with its subject
    * Numerals and a subset of adjectives covary in animacy with the nouns they modify
    * Interrogative pronouns covary in animacy with their anaphor
- The Matsigenka nominal lexicon is non-exhaustively categorized along a third axis
  - Classifiers appear non-obligatorily in multiple syntactic environments, and are thus an example of a ‘multiple classifier’ system (Aikhenvald 2003:204)
    * They occur suffixed to nouns, numerals, adjectives, and verbs
  - Classifiers occupy a position on a continuum of morphosyntactic and semantic properties that relate them to inalienable nouns (Farmer & O’Hagan 2014)

*The data on which this talk is based comes from a corpus of 170 texts developed by the authors and colleagues (Vargas Pereira et al. 2013), as well as from elicitation carried out with Maribel Kaibi Omenki. Data from the former source is cited with a three-letter text code and sentence number; data from the latter source is cited as ‘MKO’.*
2 Gender

- Matsigenka exhibits a binary gender distinction
  
  - i- MASC and o- FEM: verbal subjects (1), nominal possessors (2), demonstratives (3), coordination (4), and adjectives (6)
  - =ri MASC and =ro FEM: verbal objects (5)

(1) Verbal Subject

a. ...gara ikami shima.
   
   **MASCULINE**
   
   \[gara \text{ i- kam -i shima}\]
   
   NEG 3mS- die -REAL.I fish
   
   ‘...the fish won’t die.’ (ijm14)

b. Tyara okanti noniriva?
   
   **FEMININE**
   
   \[tyara \text{ o- kant -i no- niriva}\]
   
   what 3fS- say -REAL.I 3fP- daughter.in.law
   
   ‘What is my daughter-in-law saying?’ (shr57)

- Matsigenka exhibits possessum-possessor ordering, where the possessum, when the possessor is third-person, bears a prefix covarying in gender with the possessor

(2) Nominal Possessor

a. ...irogakenparira ivatsa maeni...
   
   **MASCULINE**
   
   \[i- r- og -ak -enpa =ri =ra i- \text{ patsa maeni}\]
   
   3mS- IRR- eat -PERF -IRR.A =3mO =SUB 3mP- flesh bear
   
   ‘...[he won’t be able to] eat bear meat...’ (iks8)

b. ...iroviikakenpa oani tanko...
   
   **FEMININE**
   
   \[i- r- oviik -ak -enpa o- \text{ ani tanko}\]
   
   3mS- IRR- drink -PERF -IRR.A 3mP- juice nettles
   
   ‘...he will drink nettle juice...’ (ism13)

- Demonstratives precede nouns, and bear a prefix covarying in gender with the modified noun

(3) Demonstrative

a. Yoka kamagarini...ikoneatimoigiri...
   
   **MASCULINE**
   
   \[i- \text{ oka kamagarini i- konea -t -imo -iq -i =ri}\]
   
   3m- DEM:PROX demon 3mS- appear -EPC -APPL:PRES -PL -REAL.I =3mO
   
   ‘[Long ago] this demon appeared before [them]...’ (suv3)

b. Pagiro, pokagitenaro oka shinki.
   
   **FEMININE**
   
   \[pagiro p- okagi -t -e =na =ro o- \text{ oka shinki}\]
   
   aunt.VOC 2S- toast -EPC -IRR.I =1O =3fO 3f- DEM:PROX corn
   
   ‘Aunt, toast this corn for me.’ (kop64)

\[^1\]Matsigenka exhibits traces of a split-S alignment, in which case enclitics express verbal subjects.
• *ntiri* conjoins DPs and bears a prefix covarying in gender with the rightward conjunct

(4) **COORDINATION**

a. Itentaka ijina intiri itomi...  
*i- tent -ak a i- jina i- ntiri i- tomi*  
3mS- accompany -PERF -REAL.A 3mP- wife 3mS- COORD 3mP- son  
‘He came with his wife and his son...’ (its2)

b. ... itovaenkaegi iriri ontiri iriniro.’  
*i- tovaenka -egi ir- iri o- ntiri ir- iniro*  
3mP- full.sibling -PL 3mP- father 3fS- COORD 3mP- mother  
‘... the full siblings of his father and mother.’ (its3)

(5) **OBJECT ENCLITIC**

a. Pitsavetirikari matsontsori.  
*pi- tsave -t -i =ri =kari matsontsori*  
2S- summon.by.bad.acts -EPC -REAL.I =3mO =WARN jaguar  
‘Watch out, you’ll summon the jaguar.’ (art28)

b. Ineapaakerora kipatsi...  
*i- ne -apa -ak -i =ro =ra kipatsi*  
3mS- see -ALL -PERF -REAL.I =3fO =SUB land  
‘Upon seeing the land...’ (chn26)

2.1 **Gender and the Lexicon**

- Humans are categorized as masculine or feminine in accord with biological sex
- Animals as species are assigned a semantically non-transparent gender (Emlen 2014:313-314)
- Individuals may be treated as masculine or feminine, if their biological sex is salient
  - Typically masculine: mammals, snakes, fish, and social insects
  - Typically feminine: non-snake reptiles, amphibians, molluscs, crabs, non-social insects
- All masculine entities are obligatorily animate (see below)

3 **Animacy**

- Matsigenka exhibits a binary animacy distinction encoded with the suffixes *-ni ANIM and -ti INAN* on adjectives (6), numerals (7), quantifiers (8), and interrogative pronouns (9)
  - The positive existential verb also exhibits two suppletive forms *aiño* and *aityo*,² animate and inanimate, respectively (10)
  - The negative existential verb, in contrast, exhibits no animacy distinction (11)
- With the exception of the positive existential, animacy agreement is DP-internal

²Note that these forms appear to contain *-ni* and *-ti*. 
(6) **ADJECTIVE**

a. Ishiganaka ityomian otoni...  
   i- shig -an -ak -a i- tyomia -ni o- tomi  
   3mS- run ABL-PERF-REAL.A 3m- small -ANIM 3IP- son  
   ‘Her small son ran away...’ (krt55)

b. Irirori ineakerora otyomiati koviti...  
   iriro =ri i- ne -ak -i =ro =ra o- tyomia -ti koviti  
   3m.PRO =CNTR 3mS- see PERF-REAL.I =3fO =SUB 3f- small -INAN pot  
   ‘Upon seeing the small pot...’ (pis27)

- Most adjectives agree only in gender with the noun they modify.
- Numerals precede nouns, and basic numerals 1-3 agree in animacy, and not gender, with the noun they modify (7)

(7) **NUMERAL**

a. ...yagi mavani shima...  
   i- ag -i mava -ni shima  
   3mS- catch REAL.I three -ANIM fish  
   ‘...he caught three fish...’ (ksk29)

b. Inpo aganaka mavati kutagiteri...  
   inpo o- ag -an -ak -a mava -ti kutagiteri  
   then 3fS- pass ABL-PERF-REAL.A three -INAN day  
   ‘When three days had passed...’ (tsr35)

(8) **QUANTIFIER**

a. ...maganiro shintori shitakontkiciphira.  
   maganiro shintori ashi -t -ako -t -ankich -a =rira  
   all.ANIM peccary trap -EPC -APPL:INDR -EPC -SUBJ.FOC -REAL.A =REL  
   ‘...all the peccaries that were trapped.’ (isk11)

b. ...itsivotanakerora magatiro inkenishi.  
   i- tsivo -t -an -ak -i =ro =ra magatiro inkenishi  
   3mS- illuminate ABL-PERF-REAL.I =3fO =SUB all.INAN forest  
   ‘...illuminating the entire forest.’ (mae16)

(9) **INTERROGATIVE**

a. ...tyanika pokankitsi?  
   tya -ni =ka pok -ankits -i  
   wh -ANIM =EPIST come -SUBJ.FOC -REAL.I  
   ‘...who could have come?’ (oat32)

b. Tyati avotsi inkenantapaenpa...?  
   tya -ti avo -tsi i- n- ken -ant -apa -enpa  
   wh -INAN path -ALIEN 3mS- IRR- follow.route -APPL:INSTR -ALL -IRR.A  

---

See also intaga ‘only’ and tovai ‘much, many’, which agree in animacy with the noun the modify.
‘Along which path will he come...?’ (skv26)

(10) **Positive Existential**

a. ...antari niaaku eni aiño keatsi...

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{anta} &=\text{ri} & \text{nia} &=\text{-a} & \text{eni} &=\text{aiño} & \text{keatsi} \\
\text{there} &=\text{CNTR} & \text{river} &=\text{-CL:fluid} & \text{LOC} &=\text{Urubamba} & \text{EXST:ANIM} & \text{river:monster}
\end{align*}
\]

‘...in the Urubamba River there was a monster...’ (tip14)

b. Aityo kenkitsarintsi irashi irirori...

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aityo} & & \text{k} & & \text{en} & & \text{kan} & & \text{its} & & \text{as} & & \text{ri} & & \text{shi} & & \text{ir} & & \text{iro} & =\text{ri} \\
\text{EXST:INAN} & & \text{tell} & & \text{-NOMZ} & & \text{-ALIEN} & & \text{3mP} & & \text{about} & & \text{3m.PRO} =\text{CNTR}
\end{align*}
\]

‘There’s a story about him...’ (mgr2)

(11) **Negative Existential**

a. ...kantankicha mameri ojime.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kantankicha} & & \text{mameri} & & \text{o} & & \text{~ jime} \\
\text{but} & & \text{NEG.EXST} & & \text{3fP} & & \text{- husband}
\end{align*}
\]

‘...but she didn’t have a husband.’ (gtp3)

b. ...mameri ovore, mameri mapu...

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mameri} & & \text{o} & & \text{~ vor} & & \text{mameri} & & \text{mapu} \\
\text{NEG.EXST} & & \text{DMY} & & \text{- wave} & & \text{NEG.EXST} & & \text{rock}
\end{align*}
\]

‘...there are no waves, there are no rocks...’ (nma8)

- Matsigenka existential verbs are the only ones defective in not exhibiting subject agreement

### 3.1 Animacy and the Lexicon

- Animacy is for the most part semantically transparent
  - animate = all lifeforms capable of independent motion
  - inanimate = entities incapable of independent motion

- There are a small number of possibly “surprising” animate (Emlen 2014:313-314)
  - celestial bodies, lightning, and rainbows
  - plants with white, sticky sap (e.g., rubber plants)
  - chemically active substances (e.g., ash paste, ant venom, soap, gasoline)
  - miscellaneous: gold, paper money, coins, metal needles, slingshots, honey

- Not all theoretically possible combinations of gender and animacy are attested

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MASC</th>
<th>FEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANIM</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INAN</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Interaction of Gender and Animacy
Table 2: Distribution of Matsigenka Gender and Animacy Marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coord</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Noun (Poss.)</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Adj</th>
<th>Num</th>
<th>Quant</th>
<th>Interr</th>
<th>Extst</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animacy</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Interim Summary

- Gender is DP-internal and -external and encoded in five different word classes
- Animacy is mainly DP-internal and also encoded in five different word classes
- Adjectives are the only word class in which both gender and animacy are expressed

4 Classifiers

- Matsigenka classifiers appear in multiple syntactic environments, and are a less grammatical system than gender or animacy
  - The nominal lexicon is not exhaustively categorized by classifier
  - No noun must bear a classifier, in any context (even, for example, in enumeration)
  - Not all nouns may take a classifier
- Classifiers occur suffixed to nouns (12), adjectives (13), numerals (14), and verbs ((15)-(16))
  - Each of the following examples is grammatical when the classifier is absent

(12) Ishiganaka maniropoa.

\[
\begin{align*}
  i- & \quad \text{shig} - \text{an} - \text{ak} - \text{a} & \quad \text{maniro} - \text{poa} \\
3mS- & \quad \text{run} - \text{ABL} - \text{PERF} - \text{REAL.A} & \quad \text{deer} - \text{CL:tuber-like} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘A deer ran away.’ (MKO)

(13) ...paniro tsinane akatsitisamani...

\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{paniro} & \quad \text{tsinane} & \quad \text{o-} & \quad \text{akatsiti} & \quad \text{-sama} & \quad \text{-ni} \\
\text{one.ANIM} & \quad \text{woman} & \quad 3f- & \quad \text{short} & \quad -\text{CL:chubby} & \quad -\text{ANIM} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘...a short woman...’ (osh9)

(14) Noneake patsaniro shigopa.

\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{no-} & \quad \text{ne} - \text{ak} - \text{i} & \quad \text{pa} - \text{tsa-} & \quad \text{niro} & \quad \text{shigopa} \\
1S- & \quad \text{see} - \text{PERF} - \text{REAL.1} & \quad \text{one} - \text{CL:liana-like} & \quad \text{one.ANIM} & \quad \text{caterpillar.sp.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘I saw one shigopa.’ (MKO)

- Doubling of a classifier on a modifier and noun is ungrammatical (e.g., *pa\text{poatiro} sekatsipoa*)
Classifiers on verbs may exhibit one of two morphosyntactically conditioned allomorphs

- Forms beginning with /p/ or /k/ surface with these onsets when the noun they classify is in subject position
- The same forms surface with the voiced counterparts [b] and [g] when the noun they classify is in object position

Note that classifiers on nouns, adjectives, and numerals always exhibit voiceless onsets

(15) ...taekatsavagetankicha maranke.

ontoaek -a -tsa -vage -t -ankich -a maranke  
pile.up -EPV -CL.liana-like -DUR -EPC -SUBJ.FOC -REAL.A snake

‘...and there were many snakes piled up around the edge.’ (mrn50)

(16) Ipavoatakena sekatsi.

i- p -a -poa -t -ak -i =na sekatsi  
3mS- give -EPV -CL:tuber-like -EPC -PERF -REAL.1 =1O manioc

‘He gave me manioc.’ (MKO)

Doubling of a classifier on the verb and noun is ungrammatical (e.g., *ipavoatakena sekatsipoa)

### 4.1 Classifiers as Inalienable Nouns

The Matsigenka nominal lexicon exhibits an alienable-inalienable distinction

- Alienable nouns may appear in isolation, but are possessable only with the addition of the suffix -ne ∼ -te ((17)-(18))
- Inalienable nouns may never appear in isolation, and are possessable without further morphological operation (19)

Matsigenka classifiers can be thought of as a sort of inalienable noun in the language

(17) Naro nogavintsata...shima, kemari, osheto...

naro n- og -a -vintsata -t -a shima kemari osheto maniro  
1.PRON 1S- eat -EPV -INCL -EPC -REAL.A fish tapir howler.monkey deer

‘I like [i.e., to eat]...fish, tapir, monkey, deer...’ (mto25)

(18) a. ...tononkavagetake oshinkine.

tononk -a -vage -t -ak -i =Ø o- shinki -ne  
grind -EPV -DUR -EPC -PERF -REAL.1 =3S 3fP- corn -A.P

‘...grinding her corn.’ (art32)

b. gaigaririra imarankete

og -a -ig -a =ri =riira i- maranke -te  
eat -EPV -PL -REAL.A =3mO =REL 3mP- snake -A.P

‘those who eat their snakes’ (ine4)

(19) ...ovashi opotakotanakero ovanko.

...ovashi opotakotanakero ovanko.

...ovashi opotakotanakero ovanko.

...ovashi opotakotanakero ovanko.
‘...then she set fire to her house.’ (art42)

- Contextually unpossessed nouns inalienable exhibit one of two morphological instantiations
  - Some must take the suffix -(n)tsi (20)
  - Others must take the prefix o- (21)
    * “Dummy” o- is homophonous with the third-person feminine possessive prefix, but does not induce voicing of a following /p/ or /k/ (cf. (19) & (21a))

(20) -(n)TSI
    ovashi i- n- tsmank -a -ig -ak -e =ro =ra panko -tsi
    thus 3mS- IRR- shade -EPV -PL -PERF -IRR.1 =3F0 =SUB house -ALIEN

    ‘...thus they will shade the house.’ (ova19)

(21) “Dummy” o-
    a. ...yogavintantaigarë okashi paroto.
    i- ogavint -ant -a -ig -a =ri o- kashi paroto
    3mS- treat -APPL:INSTR -EPV -PL -REAL.A =3mO DMY- liquid tree.sp.
    ‘...they treat themselves with the liquid [of the leaves] of the paroto tree.’
    b. ...onanpinaku onti ventsaenkankicha otega...
    o- nanpina =ku o- nti ventsaenk -ankich -a o- tega
    DMY- side =LOC 3mS- COP line.up -SUBJ:FOC -REAL.A DMY- flower
    ‘...along the side there were flowers lined up...’ (mae3)
    c. ...ogari okana inti itomiegi.
    o- oga =ri o- kana i- nti i- tomi -egi
    3F- DEM =CNTR DMY- bunch 3mS- COP 3mP- son -PL:SPEC
    ‘...the bunches are the children.’ (par9)
    d. ...irogoigakerora otsantsa...
    i- r- ogo -igi -ak -e =ro =ra o- tsantsa
    3mS- IRR- measure -PL -PERF -IRR.1 =3F0 =SUB DMY- length
    ‘...[they will begin by] measuring it lengthwise...’ (ova24)

- Like other inalienable nouns, nouns that take dummy o- cannot appear in isolation
- Dummy o- itself clearly derives (historically) from the third-person feminine possessive prefix
  - When it is prefixed, it does not require the alienable possession suffixes, as do a combination of possessive prefix and alienable noun (see (18))

- Nearly all nouns that function as classifiers may take dummy o- and be referential (22)\(^4\)

\(^4\)See also (14) and (15).
4.2 Interim Summary

- Classifiers constitute a non-obligatory, non-exhaustive system of noun categorization
- They occur with the members of the fewest word classes

Table 3: Distribution of Matsigenka Gender, Animacy, and Classifier Marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>COORD</th>
<th>DEM</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>ADJ</th>
<th>NUM</th>
<th>QUANT</th>
<th>INTERR</th>
<th>EXST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animacy</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifier</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 Arawak Perspective

- In the influential classification of Aikhenvald (1999), Kampan constitutes one of six sub-groups of ‘South and South-Western Arawak’, itself one of two first-order branches of Arawak
  - Asháninka, Ashéninka, Caquinte, Matsigenka, Nanti, Nomatsiguenga
- A plausible internal classification for Kampan Arawak is given in Figure 1 (Michael 2008:218)

![Figure 1: Kampan Classification](image)

5 See Michael & Granadillo (2014:7) for a summary.
5.1 Animacy and Gender in Kampan

- The distribution of animacy and gender marking varies within Kampan\textsuperscript{6}

### Table 4: Distribution of Animacy and Gender Marking in Kampan Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANIMACY</th>
<th>COORD</th>
<th>DEM</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>ADJ</th>
<th>NUM</th>
<th>QUANT</th>
<th>INTERR</th>
<th>EXST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nomatsiguenga</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matsigenka</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanti</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caquinte</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asháninka</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashéninka</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>COORD</th>
<th>DEM</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>ADJ</th>
<th>NUM</th>
<th>QUANT</th>
<th>INTERR</th>
<th>EXST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nomatsiguenga</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matsigenka</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanti</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caquinte</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asháninka</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashéninka</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Caquinte, Asháninka, and Ashéninka lack an animacy distinction altogether
  - In combination with Kampan-external evidence, this suggests an animacy distinction was innovated in Southern Kampan
  - Animacy distinctions are being lost on certain adjectives in Matsigenka, e.g., *mara* ‘big’
  - Nomatsiguenga differs from Matsigenka and Nanti in not encoding animacy on interrogative pronouns
  - van Epps (2010:31-32) suggests the animate suffix *-ni* is cognate to the human classifier in other southern Arawak languages such as Baure and Mojeño
    * Furthermore, since many adjectival roots derive historically from verbs, *-ti* may be the re-analysis of an epenthetic consonant and reality status suffix (ibid.:34-35)

(23) ...pairani ityomiati ra notomi...

pairani i- tyomia -t -i =ra no- tomi
\[\text{long.ago 3mS- be.small -EPC-REAL.1 =SUB 1P- son}\]

‘...long ago when my son was still small...’
(Snell 2011:562)

- Gender marking is ubiquitous across Kampan, and reconstructs to the proto-language
  - Most languages encode gender on demonstratives, nouns, verbs, and adjectives
  - Matsigenka and Nanti have extended gender marking to the DP coordinator
  - Caquinte has lost gender marking on demonstratives and adjectives

\textsuperscript{6}See Kindberg (1980); Michael (2008); Payne (1980, 1981); Shaver (1996); Snell (2011); Vargas Pereira et al. (2013).
Nomatsiguenga, instead of marking animacy on interrogative pronouns, marks gender

- Classifier systems like that in Matsigenka are present in all Kampan languages
  - Classifier systems are present even in northern Arawak, as in Baniwa (Aikhenvald 2007), but with different morphosyntactic distributions

6 Conclusion

- Matsigenka exhibits two exhaustive and obligatory noun categorization systems
- A third system is non-exhaustive and non-obligatory
- Classifiers are argued to be a sort of inalienable noun
- Gender systems are old within Arawak
- The Matsigenka animacy system is an innovation within northern Kampan
- Like classifier systems span all Kampan languages
References


VARGAS PEREIRA, HAROLDO; JOSÉ VARGAS PEREIRA (authors); LEV MICHAEL; CHRISTINE BEIER; and ZACHARY O’HAGAN (compilers). 2013. Matsigenka Text Corpus (v. June 2013). ms.