A FIRST LOOK AT NOUN CLASSIFICATION IN KOTIRIA AND WA’IKHANA CONVERSATION
“GRAMMAR AND MULTILINGUAL PRACTICES THROUGH THE LENS OF EVERYDAY INTERACTION IN TWO ENDANGERED LANGUAGES IN THE EAST TUKANO FAMILY” (2017-2020).
NSF-DEL GRANT BCS-1664348

•Particles in Wa’ikhana conversation (Williams & Stenzel forthcoming)
•Ideology and practice in the Vaupés small-scale multilingual system
•Evidential and epistemic markers in interaction
•Reported speech, storytelling, and perspective taking in conversation
OBJECTIVES OF THIS TALK

1. Overview of the Kotiria/Wa’ikhana noun categorization system

2. Describe (one) use of classifiers in conversational interaction

3. Define goals of interactional analysis of classifiers
1. OVERVIEW OF NOUN CLASS(IFIERS)

mixed/hybrid/integrated/concurrent/”Amazonian-type”
# A ‘MIXED’ SYSTEM

## Gender-like

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canonical</th>
<th>Kotiria/Wa’ikhana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Closed class</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bound, inflectional</td>
<td>✓ (not overt on all Ns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Productive, obligatory, all nouns classed</td>
<td>✓ (though function derivationally as well)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opaque semantic basis of class membership</td>
<td>x − transparent semantic basis (animacy)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Classifier-like

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canonical</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Open class</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ns variably classed</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transparent semantics</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical/derivational</td>
<td>✓ but CLF occur like agreement markers in NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only obligatory in certain syntactic contexts</td>
<td>✓ occur on NP modifiers of all types, not just quantification</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOUN CATEGORIZATION MORPHOLOGY
# Gender Markers

Table 1. Gender markers on animate nouns (adapted from Stenzel 2013 for KOT, fieldwork data for WAI)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root N</th>
<th>Biological Gender</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Human**

With inherent gender

- root-final *#*   | root-final *o*  | **-a/-~da**

Other human nouns

- Ø/-u       | -ko/-o         | **-ro** (oblig.) | (~dubia)

**Nonhuman**

Individual

- higher (humanlike / salient) | **-koro** (opt.) | **-ro** (oblig.) | -a/-ya/-~da
- lower                           | **Ø**           |         |        

Collective (root is inherently PL, ending in -a/-~da)

- **kiro**
# CLASSIFIERS

**Reduced, suffixal CLS, origin not recognizable**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>‘round’</td>
<td>~tá-ká rock-CLS:round</td>
<td>‘stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-du</td>
<td>‘cylindrical/straight’</td>
<td>hóá-dú design/letter-CLS:cylindrical</td>
<td>‘pen/pencil’</td>
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<td>‘filiform, rope/threadlike’</td>
<td>phoa-dá hair-CLS:filiform</td>
<td>‘strand of hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~phi</td>
<td>‘bladelike’</td>
<td>yoá-rí~phi be.long-NOM-CLS:bladelike</td>
<td>‘machete’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-to/ro</td>
<td>‘concave’</td>
<td>phú’ú-ró basket-CLS:concave</td>
<td>‘carrying basket’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MORPHOSYNTACTIC PROPERTIES
AGREEMENT
GENDER MARKERS IN AGREEMENT: NP MODIFIERS

Determiners (deictic, anaphoric, alternate)

1. **a’di-do** bo’tea
   - DEM.PROX-SG aracu(sp.fish)
   - ‘this aracú(fish)’ [W]

2. **tí-~da** pá-~ida dié-yá-~ká
   - ANPH-PL ALT-NMLZ.PL dog-PL-DIM
   - ‘the little dogs’ [K]

Adjectival (stative V)

3. **yaí-ró** do'ró-ri-ro
   - jaguar-SG spotted-NMLZ-SG
   - ‘spotted jaguar’ [K]

4. **~bidícha-~ka** ~doá-rí-ró
   - bird-DIM beautiful-NMLZ-SG
   - ‘beautiful little bird’ [K]

Number/Quantifier

5. **i’tia-do** ~baha
   - three-SG macaw
   - ‘three macaws’ [W]

6. **péya-ye-~kida** wa’i
   - many-NMLZ.PL-PL fish
   - ‘lots of fish’ [W]
CLASSIFIERS IN AGREEMENT

(Determiners)
Possessive (7)  
to=duhi-ri-ph'a'ta  buti-ri-ph'a'ta  
3.POSS=sit-NMLZ-CLF:flat  hard-NML-CLF:flat  
‘her hard bench/stool’ [K]

(Adjectival)  
(stative V) (8)  
di’i-ga  ape-di-pa  ~wa’ba-pa  
flesh-CLF:round  play-NMLZ-CLF:flat  new-CLF:flat  
‘new football field’ [w]

(Number/Quantifier)  
(9)  
~bari  phua-khopa  kē-khopa-ri  khua-ha  
1PL.INC  two-hole  nose-hole-PL  have-VIS.IMPER.1  
‘We have two nostrils.’
GENDER MARKERS IN CLAUSAL SYNTAX

(10) ~barí khé-ro~ka wa’á-dua~da wa’á-ka wú-ria=~be’re
1PL.INC be.fast-SG-DIM go-DESID-1/2PL go-ASSERT.IPfv fly-CLF:round=COM/INST
‘When we want to go (somewhere) quickly, (we) go by plane.’ [K]

(11) yu'u buhu-ko ~di-ha
1SG smile-FEM PROG-VIS.IPfv.1
‘I'm smiling.’ (fem. speaker) [K]

(12) ~ebó-pe-de ~wehé-i wa’á-gú-táhá
macaco.guariba-CONTR-OBJ kill-1/2SGM go-1/2SGM-IRR
‘I’m going to kill the monkey.’ [w]
DERIVATION
GENDER MARKERS IN DERIVATION: LEXICAL ANIMATES

Derivation from verbal roots using nominalizers *-ri/-di* (sg) *-ye* (pl)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Nonhuman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>(13)</em> <em>bu’-di-kido</em></td>
<td><em>~puli-di-kido</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>study-NMLZ-SG</td>
<td>pain-NMLZ-SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘student/teacher’</td>
<td>‘poisonous one (referring to a snake)’ [W]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(14)</em> <em>dua-di-kodo</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sell-NMLZ-F.SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘seller F’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(13)</em> <em>basa-ye-~kida</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dance-NMLZ.PL-PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dancers’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Gender Markers in 3rd-Person Pronominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Deictic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>yʉ’ʉ</td>
<td>~bari [mãrĩ] (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>~bʉ’ʉ [mãʔʉ̃]</td>
<td>~busa [mã̃sã]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anaphoric</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(particle root ti)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person (masculine)</td>
<td>ti-ro</td>
<td>ti-kido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person (feminine)</td>
<td>ti-koro</td>
<td>ti-kodo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 Personal pronouns in Kotiria and Wa’ikhana
GENDER MARKERS IN OTHER 3RD-PERSON PRONOMINALS

(a) a’rí-kó-ró
DEM.PROX-FEM-SG
‘this woman’ [K]

(b) sí-ró
DEM.DIST-SG
‘that man; that (animate) one’ [K]

(c) pá-iro
ALT-NMLZ.SG
‘(an)other one’ (animate) [K]

(d) ape-ye-~kida
ALT-NMLZ.PL-PL
‘others’ (animate) [w]

(e) yabé-kído
INT:what-SG
‘someone’ [w]
GENDER MARKERS IN INANIMATES

Derivation of Mass Ns

• V root + Animate PL suffixes -a/-ye:
  
  * chu ‘eat’ → chu-a ‘food’ [K]
  * i’ya ‘eat’ → i’ya-ye ‘food’ [W]

• Animate SG -ro/-do on Mass N (or V root) derives associated count N:
  
  * ako ‘water’ → ako-do ‘rainstorm’ [W]
  * ~bua ‘(be) high’ → ~bua-ro ‘sky/roof’ [K]
CLASSIFIERS

Count Ns – ‘repeaters’

- No classifier, e.g. *wu’u* ‘house’, *wehse* ‘garden’ [K/w],

- used as ‘repeaters’ in concordial CLF slot

- figure widely in derivation:

  *phi-ri-wu’u* be.big-NMLZ-CLF:edifice ‘longhouse’
CLASSIFIERS

General INAN, bare form = generic reference; CLF required for individuation
± 70 CLF forms indicating salient properties: shape / material / configuration, etc.
CLASSIFIERS

- Reduced, suffixal CLF, with obvious lexical origin

  - e.g. *yuku* ‘tree’ → CLF: *-ku* ‘tree/shaftlike’

*phicha-ku* fire-CLF:tree/shaftlike ‘shotgun’
### Classifiers

**Reduced, suffixal CLS, origin not recognizable**

- **-ka** ‘round’
  - tá-ká rock-CLS:round ‘stone’
- **-du** ‘cylindrical/straight’
  - hóá-dú design/letter-CLS:cylindrical ‘pen/pencil’
- **-da** ‘filiform, rope/threadlike’
  - phoá-dá hair-CLS:filiform ‘strand of hair’
- **~phi** ‘bladelike’
  - yoá-ri~phi be.long-NOM-CLS:bladelike ‘machete’
- **-to/ro** ‘concave’
  - phú’ú-ro basket-CLS:concave ‘carrying basket’
CLASSIFIERS IN PARTICLE ROOT PRONOMINALS

(14)

*a’di-bati*
DEM.PROX-CLF:seive
‘this seive’ [w]

*sí-ria*
DEM.DIST-CLF:round
‘that canoe’ [K]

*pá-du*
ALT-CLF:cylindrical
‘(an)other pen/pencil’ [K]

*ape-sie*
ALT-CLF:side
‘other side (of X)’ [w]

*ti-phi*
ANPH-CLF:sharp
‘the knife’ [K]

*ti-pe*
ANPH-CLF:time
‘back then/at that time’ [w]
# Continuum of Properties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>lexical (CLS)</th>
<th>grammaticalized (GENDER)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>use more variable</td>
<td>use obligatory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retain phonological features</td>
<td>lose phonological independence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantics</th>
<th>specific</th>
<th>general</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qualify Ns</td>
<td></td>
<td>code inherent properties of Ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by salient features or type</td>
<td></td>
<td>(animacy, gender)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>full root ‘repeater’</th>
<th>reduced root (shortened from indep. form)</th>
<th>suffixlike (never occur as indep. word)</th>
<th>suffix (full)</th>
<th>suffix (fused)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>examples</td>
<td>-wu’u</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>-da -ku -du</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-khopa</td>
<td>~ba</td>
<td>-ka -paro</td>
<td>~da</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-~phi -thu</td>
<td>-ro</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
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</table>
MIXED? HYBRID? UNIFIED SYSTEM?
What are the *functions* do noun classification systems?

Nominal classification systems serve two main types of functions: semantic, i.e., the use of classification markers to expand the referential power of the lexicon, and discourse/pragmatic, i.e., the use of classification markers to establish and manipulate the status of discourse referents.

A fourth shared function is use of classification markers to identify referents and track them in discourse, which makes it possible to avoid repeating nouns. This allows the use of lexical nouns for topic shift or emphasis, while classification markers maintain reference to a familiar topic.

(Contini-Morava and Kilarski 2013)
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WHAT IS REFERENCE?

- Reference is something people, not nouns, do
- Reference is a “socially significant phenomenon” … “a kind of communicative action that occurs as part of an interactive manifold” (Hanks 1990)
- “a way of relating to another person” … [by] “establishing or maintaining a communicative focus on some entity, usually in order to say something about it” (Enfield 2013)
- Nouns denote denotata; people use denoting expressions to refer (Blythe 2009)
What is the role of noun categorization devices in the social act of referring?
AN EXAMPLE

Eug:  a’ría ko sãa hireto, ñuhari?

a’-ría
DEM.PROX-CLF:round

ko  ~saa  hi-re  to
water MOV.inside COP-VIS.PFV.2/3 DEF

some water got in this round thing,
entrou água nesse daqui,
Eug: a'ria ko sāa hireto, ŋuhari?
a'ria ko ~saa hi-re to
dem.prox-clf:round water mov.inside cop-vis.pfv.2/3 def
some water got in this round thing,
entrou água nesse daqui,
Eug: agora sim
now, yes

(0.8)

Elsa: ã?
what?
que?

Eug: a'ria ko sãa hireto, ť̄u-hari?
a'ria ko ~saa hi-re to
dem.prox-clf:round water mov.inside cop-vis.pfv.2/3 def
some water got in (my watch dem-clf:round) here,
entrou água nesse daqui,

~yu-hari
see-int.ipfv
see?
tá vendo?

do'se yoa ko sãa nihã
do'se yoa ko ~saa ~di--ha
q:how do water mov.inside cop-spec
How did water get in?
Como a água entrou?
Elsa: dihka? <tuk>
   dii-ka
   Q:which-CLF:round
   Which?
   Qual?

   (1.0)

Elsa: de'rowe sásapu? <tuk>
   de'ro-we să-sa-pu
   how (do you suppose) it got in?
   como sera que entrou?

Eug: ūba <tuk>
   I don't know
   não sei
ANOTHER EXAMPLE

5.1 (2006-07-01JB02a, 102631_103954)

kanyethu kura pandjedhadharra.

kanyi-gathu kura pandje -dha -dharra
Prox-towards water 3DAUCS.22bring/take.PST|IMP -PST -moving
DEM-PART NomCl CSP -TNS -adv

“The two siblings were bringing something of the water class this way.”

(Blythe 2009)
FORMULATING REFERENCE

To persons, places, times, objects, activities, ...
“a matter of selection” (Enfield 2013)

e.g. "have you seen her?
    Kris?
    your mom?
    the chair?
    of linguistics?
    the one who wears glasses?
    that person we ran into at the park last week?
PRINCIPLES SHAPING REFERENCE FORMULATION

Preferences  (Minimization, Recognition, circumspection, recipient design, …)

Form and Position  (initial vs subsequent)
ANOTHER EXAMPLE

Eug:  

\textit{kūria} \textit{yu'\=ana yu\=sih\=pia ñaria tara}  
\textit{\textsmaller{\~nu-ria}} \textit{yu'\=u-\textsmaller{\~da} yu=sipia} \textit{\textsmaller{\~ya-ria} ta-ra}  
\textit{one/a-\textsmaller{\textit{CLF:round}}} \textit{1sg-loc 1sg.foss=\textit{motor} bad- \textit{CLF:round} come-\textit{VIS.IPFV.2/3}}  

for me (in my experience), one tank in my old motor comes  
pra mim, (com) um carote naquele meu feio (motor), venho
GENDER MARKERS
these are (seem to be) the same ones who were drinking

e aqueles de novo que estavam bebendo |

(3.3)

they're (AN) drinking, this booze (INAN), this is the/their booze-
bottle (INAN) they're drinking
eles estão bebendo, essa bebida, essa é a garrafa que eles bebem
Emi: kha'apw su-ro hi'na
beside-LOC arrive.TRS-SG EMPH
meeting up then (with the drinkers)
chegando perto (desses que bebem) então

Emi: ðpu (.4) [tina me’ne su::,
~o-pu tí--da ~be’de se
DEIC.PROX-LOC ANPH-PL COM/INST arrive.TRS
over here (.4) meeting up with them (AN)
pra lá (.4) chegou com eles

Dom: [ðhu
sim
(.8)

Emi: òi tina me’ne su::, òi tina me’ne hi’na si’ni::,
~o-i tí--da ~be’de se
DEIC.PROX-LOC ANPH-PL COM/INST arrive.TRS
here (he) meets them,
aqui chegou com eles,
~o-i tí--da ~be’de ~hi’da si’ni
DEIC.PROX-LOC ANPH-PL COM/INST EMPH drink
here (he’s) with them drink(ing)
aqui então bebeu com eles,
(.7)

Emi: òi tina me’ne (.5) si’ni::
~o-i tí--da ~be’de ~si’di
DEIC.PROX-LOC ANPH-PL COM/INST drink
here (he’s) with them (.5) drink(ing)
aqui com eles (.5) bebeu
CONCLUSIONS

GENDER AND CLASSIFIERS IN *DOING REFERENCE*

• Use of classifiers is one option for formulating reference

• Classifiers *and* gender markers used to narrow the scope of reference in

• Successful reference relies on embodied context of talk

• Referential strategies depend on pragmatic action
GENDER AND CLASSIFIERS IN REFERENCE

Some questions:

1. What are the range of options for referring to person and objects?
2. When do constructions with classifiers / gender occur?
3. What does repair reveal about the system?

We need studies of reference to persons and objects in class/classifier languages
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