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Figure 1: Koman languages (map from Nations Online project)

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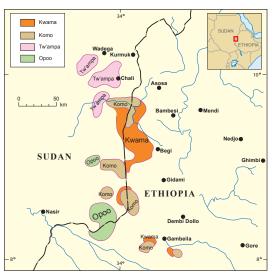


Figure 2: Koman Languages (Blench unpublished)

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General information on Koman

- Group of four languages along the border of Sudan and Ethiopia
- Uduk [udu], Komo [xom], Opuo [lgn], Gwama [kmq]
- Possibly includes extinct Gule
- Linked with Nilo-Saharan by Greenberg (1963), Bender (1997), Ehret (2001), and Blench (2006)
- Shows some lexical similarity, but some prototypical grammatical features of NS are lacking
- More research needed to determine higher up classifications

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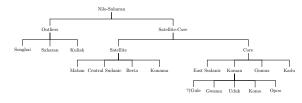


Figure 3: Koman and Nilo-Saharan Languages (Bender 1997)

General information on Koman

- Earlier research very limited
- Includes unpublished manuscripts by Stevenson (1944) and Burns (1947) on Uduk and Komo, respectively
- Some general overviews also found in Tucker & Bryan (1956, 1966), and Bender (1983, 1985, 1994)
- · Koman languages have seen more recent research activity, however
 - Gwama: Kievit (2012); current work by Anne-Christie Hellenthal, and by Justin & Joelle Goldberg
 - Komo: Manuel Otero (e.g. Otero 2012, 2015a, 2015b, etc.)
 - · Opuo: Kebebw (2010), van Silfhout (2013), current work by Mellese Gelaneh
 - Uduk: Killian (2015a, 2015b)
- No research until recently has uncovered any signs of a grammatical gender system

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What is gender?

- Noun classification strategy (Di Garbo 2014)
- \cdot Reflected in behavior of associated words through indexation patterns (Di Garbo 2014)
- Pronouns also viable agreement targets (following terminology of Corbett 1991)
- The term 'gender' used in this presentation refers strictly to limited numbers of class distinctions
- · Criteria for gender assignment more complicated question

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Overview of gender in Koman

- Gender systems exist in some form in all living Koman languages
- Agreement scope limited to verbs, as well as demonstratives in some languages
- Proto-language likely had three-way system with semantic principles of gender assignment
- Evidence suggests that current gender systems are old
- Highly grammaticalized, some erosion of semantic basis in assignment
- · Synchronic connections with information structure and number
- Some languages show greater shift away from gender marking than others

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Pronominal gender in Koman

- 3SG pronominal forms in most languages encode biological gender
- Use primarily semantic criteria of assignment
- Two- or three-way systems most common
- Verbs often use same agreement patterns with nouns as well as pronouns
- Uduk does not differentiate gender in pronouns

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3SG Koman independent pronouns

	Uduk	Komo	Gwama	Opuo
f	ádī	hàp'	hāp'	бā, ābá
m	ádī	hàr	ūhāj	ūtà, ārá
n	ádī	hìn	1	ā'n, án

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3SG Koman bound pronominal forms

	Uduk	Komo			Gwama		Opuo
	S/A	S/A	A	0	S/A	0	
f	-ɗ	-p'	-p'	-ap'	-á, -bí	-àp'	?
m	-ď	-r	-r	-ar	-n í	-è	?
n	-ď	-n	-n	-i, in		-à	?

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3SG Koman bound pronominal forms

	Uduk	Komo		Gwama		Opuo	
	S/A	S/A	A	0	S/A	0	
f	-ď	-p'	-p'	-ap'	-á, -bí	-àp'	?
m	-d	-r	-r	-ar	-n í	-è	?
n	-ď	-n	-n	-i, in		-à	?

Gwama data from Joelle Goldberg (2015); Komo data from Otero (2015c)

Example in Komo (Otero 2012)

- (1) Àdòshār īʃ-ī-r Adoshar sleep-ADØ-3SG.M
 - 'Adoshar is sleeping.'
- (2) hàr īʃ-ī-r 3SG.M sleep-ADØ-3SG.M
 - 'He is sleeping.'
- (3) Īſ-ī-r sleep-ADØ-3SG.M
 - 'He is sleeping.'

Komo and Gwama agreement (Otero p.c., Goldberg, p.c.)

- (4) $\hat{a} = b\bar{a}m\acute{t}$ $d\bar{u}$ $t\bar{a} \emptyset p' g \acute{a}k$ $y\grave{e}n$ ID.SG = woman DEM.F COP-ADØ-3SG.F-APPL-1SG.O oil 'I (really) desire this woman! (lit .This woman is oil to me!)'
- (5) kíkīzì-tè è-tū man-DIST.M 3SG.M-tall

'That man is tall.'

(6) kíkjāt-tò àp'-tū woman-DIST.F 3SG.F-tall

'That woman is tall.'

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Nominal gender assignment

- Nouns also are assigned grammatical gender in Koman languages
- ${\boldsymbol \cdot}$ Opuo and Gwama still use semantic criteria for gender assignment
 - · Inherently masculine and feminine pronouns and nouns assigned as expected
 - Most nouns which are not inherently female assigned to M gender in Gwama (Justin Goldberg, p.c.)
 - Very small amount of irregular nouns (such as tortoise) take feminine agreement in Gwama (Justin Goldberg, p.c.)
 - · Irregular nouns show signs of agreement erosion
 - · Can also sometimes take masculine agreement patterns

Gwama examples (Justin Goldberg, p.c.)

(7) ímí gùs-ní gùs cow run-3SG.M.S RED

'An ox ran.'

k'ŧk'ŧſ (8) gùs-á gùs tortoise run-3SG.F.S RED

'A tortoise ran.'

k'ŧk'ŧſ (9) gùs-ní gùs tortoise run-3SG.M.S RED

'A tortoise ran.'

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Nominal gender assignment

- Komo less rooted in biology than Opuo and Gwama
 - · Human nouns still generally assigned as expected, but more signs of lexicalized forms
 - Morphology and phonology play more of a role
 - · Frozen morphology can trigger agreement patterns
 - · Some nouns require agreement patterns even without frozen morphological markers
 - · N category used primarily for abstract concepts such as nominalized verb forms
 - Most inanimate objects use masculine forms
 - · Sun and moon always take feminine agreement
- Uduk gender assignment opaque; appears largely arbitrary
 - · Almost no phonological, morphological, or semantic criteria involved
 - All nouns assigned to either Class I (Ø) or Class II (à=)
 - · Nouns much more rigid in class placement than in other Koman languages

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Some Komo nouns

Feminine					
bāgúlàlà	'yellow-bellied kite'				
bāt' ú rsá	'woodpecker'				
bāk' ū máāk	'centipede'				
bādíyè	'rainbow'				
bābò̄ɔnk'ɔ́	'frog'				
tέ	'sun'				
Masculine					
à=bár	'bird, sp.'				
à=kí∫	'antelope, sp.'				
à=5	'rain'				



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Nominal proclitics

- Koman languages also make use of gender markers directly on nouns through nominal proclitics
- Vary in how much nominal proclitics are still rooted in coding biological gender
- · From what is known, Opuo appears to still use semantic criteria for proclitics
- · Gwama uses mixture of semantics and information structure
- Some forms still require further research
- Komo gender markers have largely shifted from marking gender to marking information structure (Manuel Otero, p.c.)
 - · Do not encode biological gender
 - Feminine form largely lost; used only with female names and in some frozen lexicalized forms
- Uduk clitics hard to place or compare due to loss of semantics
- Do not encode biological gender, but do retain classificatory role as primary use of proclitics

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Koman nominal proclitics

	Uduk	Komo	Gwama	Opuo
f	à=, mā= ?	(bā=)	Ø, (ī=?)	6ā=
m	Ø, ā = ?	à=	$\bar{\mathbf{u}} = , (\bar{\mathbf{a}} = ?)$	ù=
pl.	(ī=)?	gù=	mā=	bì =

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Gender and number interactions

- Koman nouns are generally unmarked for number
- No inherent singular or plural encoding for most nouns; interpretation depends on context
- Number-marking instead most commonly occurs at clause or phrasal level
- Can sometimes allow for more nuanced interpretations of number, such as general, dual, paucal, etc.
- Marked with nominal proclitics as well as in agreement patterns
- \cdot Uduk Associative plural \bar{i} requires Class 1 agreement patterns
- Uduk numeral classifiers may be connected to the gender system, but too little known as of yet

Komo examples: Gender & Number (Otero p.c.)

(10) mángà íʃ-í-n mango be.ripe-ADØ-3PL

'The mangoes are ripe.'

(11) mángà íf-í-r mango be.ripe-ADØ-3SG.M

'The mango is ripe.'

Gwama examples: Gender & Number (Goldberg p.c.)

(12) dŭlū è-tū stick 3sg.m-tall

'The stick is tall.'

(13) dùlū à-tū stick 3SG.N-tall

'The sticks are tall (two or three or general).'

(14) mā-dùlū ùn-tū
DEF.PL-stick 3PL-tall

'The sticks are tall (many).'

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Gender and information structure

- · Gender also interacts with information structure
- Primary synchronic use of $\grave{a}=$ (historical M) and $g\grave{u}=$ (plural) in Komo is for marking information structure
- Mark identifiable but less activated elements of the discourse (singular and plural, respectively) (Otero 2015)
- Gwama also uses $\bar{\mathbf{u}} =$ and $m\bar{a}$ as definite markers (Justin Goldberg, p.c.)
- Uduk shows signs that à = also has role in information structure
- · Further importance of gender in Uduk for argument structure

Uduk gender

- Nouns show gender agreement primarily with verbs, when functioning as O arguments
- No agreements with demonstratives or most modifiers
- Uduk's gender marking system has particularly strong basis in referent and argument tracking
- Primary distinction between marking of gender is not a difference in which particular markers are used
- Instead, Class II genders generally show overt marking in some way whereas Class I genders do not
- Accusative and the Associative cases show overt marking only for Class II nouns
- · Use of the Accusative marker also requires cross-referencing of A
- Constructions with Class I O not only do not use overt marking for O, but inhibit cross referencing of A

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- (15) wàthí dhìth-ì'd à shō? man sweep:PFV-3sg ACC.CL2 floor
- (16) wàthí dhìth gù'b man sweep:PFV house
 - 'The man swept the house.'

'The man swept the floor.'

- (17) áhā wử'c mā 'ká 1sG bite:PFV ERG.CL2 dog 'The dog bit me.'
- (18) áhā wử'c ā á'dī 1sG bite:PFV ERG.CL1 3sG 'It bit me.'

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Uduk gender and information structure

- Dahl (2004) gives some reasons why reference tracking may not always justify grammatical gender distinctions, e.g.
 - · reference tracking does not explain use of gender in NP-internal agreement
 - · referential ambiguity between two referents that differ in animacy is unlikely
- · But!
- · Uduk does not show NP-internal agreement
- · And semantic categories such as animacy are not a factor in gender assignment
- · Constituent order frequently changes based on information structure
- Limited amount of cross-referencing of arguments on verb (Unlike Komo and Gwama)
- · Suggests high correlation between IS and gender marking

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Conclusion

- Recent research shows all extant Koman languages to have gender-marking systems
- Gender marking shows heavy correlation with information structure in at least three of the four languages, possibly all four
- · Number marking also connected in all four languages

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- Gender in Koman languages appears to be a remnant system of an earlier, more productive system
- $\boldsymbol{\cdot}$ More complicated and haphazard than it appears on the surface
- · Assignment to particular classes can be particularly arbitrary
- Research raises a number of questions, such as:
 - · How did Uduk lose semantic bases other languages show?
 - $\boldsymbol{\cdot}$ If gender is an old feature of Koman languages, what is the connection to Nilo-Saharan?

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Thanks!

Thank you to Manuel Otero and Justin Goldberg, without whom this presentation would not have been possible!

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