

Gender system of Khoekhoegowab

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1. Introduction

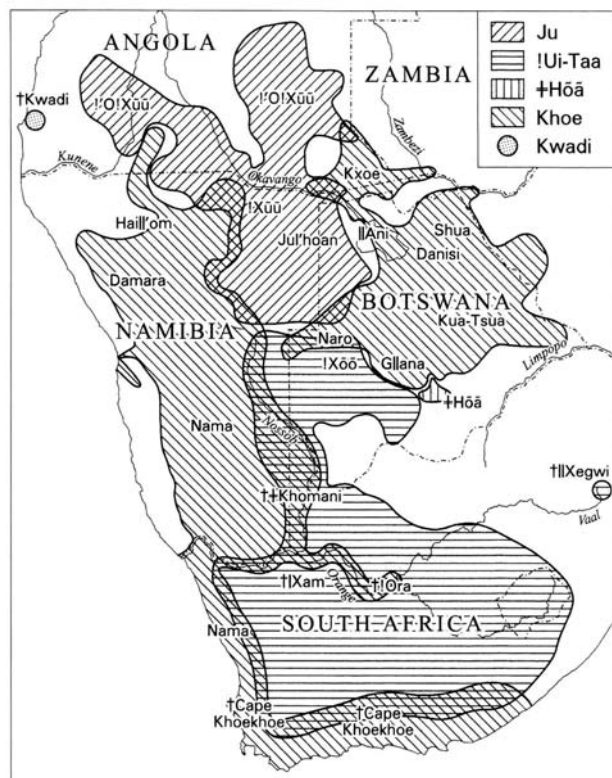
Khoekhoegowab (ISO 639-3 NAQ)

Other names: Nama, Namaqua, Bergdama, Bergdamara; Hottenttot (*pejorative*) (Lewis et al. 2014)

a) Classification ("Khoisan")

1. Non-Khoe (Ju, †Hôa, Tuu)
2. Khoe-Kwadi ("Central Khoisan")
 - 2.1. Khoekhoe
 - 2.1.1. North: Nama/Damara, Haii'om, †Aakhoe(DC) (= KHOEKHOEGOWAB)
 - 2.1.2. South: !Ora; Cape Khoekhoe varieties (DC)
 - 2.2. Kalahari Khoe
3. Sandawe (not illustrated on the map)
4. Hadza (not illustrated on the map)

(Figure 1: Classification of 'Khoisan' languages based on Güldemann & Vossen 2000: 102)



(Map 1: Distribution of 'Khoisan' languages based on Güldemann & Vossen 2000: 102)

b) Socio-linguistic Data

- Total of 251 100 speakers throughout southern Africa (Namibia, South Africa and Botswana).
 - 200 000 of them live in Namibia, where has a national language status (Lewis et al. 2014).
- National radio broadcasters in South Africa and Namibia broadcast programmes in Khoekhoegowab (Lewis et al. 2014).
- Second most widely used language per household in Namibia (Namibia Statistics Agency, Census 2011).
- Taught in primary schools and secondary schools in Namibia (Lewis et al. 2014).
- Can be studied up to doctoral level at the university of Namibia (Lewis et al. 2014).
- Use latin script with additional characters.

c) Grammatical and Phonological Information

- Canonical sentence structure: SOV
- Isolating/agglutinating language
- Phonological inventory:
 - 20 click consonants (combination of 4 influxes and 5 effluxes - accompaniment)
 - 12 non-click consonants; 5 oral and 3 nasal vowels
- 6 lexical tones in citation form (i.e. SL; L; SL-L (low-rising); SH; H; H-SH (high-rising)) and 4 lexical tones in sandhi form (cf. Haacke 1999c: 72 and Brugman 2009: 120).

2. Previous studies on the Khoekhoegowab gender system

+ Table (1) shows the assignment criteria of the conventional three genders, whilst table (2) illustrates the genders with their markers.

Masculine	Feminine	Common
Male	Female	Biological sex not considered (its either unknown, unimportant, or hypothetical); conflation of male and female sexes (although known).
Big, high, long, thin, strong, important	Small, round, short, wide, weak, less important	Objects whose size or shape cannot be claimed with certainty.
<i>Ao-b</i> 'Der Mann/Mensch' (Meinhof 1909: 47) <i>Hai-b</i> 'hoher, schlanker	<i>Tara-s</i> 'woman/wife' (Meinhof 1909: 48) <i>Hai-s</i> 'breiter,	<i>Khoe-i</i> 'ein Mensch' (Meinhof 1909: 48) <i>Xuu-i</i> 'something' (Hagman 1977: 24)

Baum' (Meinhof 1909: 48)	niedriger Baum' (Meinhof 1909: 48)	
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Table 1: Gender assignment criteria in Khoekhoegowab according to Meinhof 1909: 47f, Dempwolff 1934/5: 38f, and Hagman 1977: 22

	S	D	P
Masculine	-b	-kha	-gu
Feminine	-s	-ra	-di
Common (~indefinite)	-i	-ra	-n

Table 2: The conventional Khoekhoegowab three gender system (according to Meinhof 1909: 47f, Dempwolff 1934/5: 38f, and Hagman 1977:22)

+ Carl Meinhof notes:

"Das *i* des Genus Commune ist ursprünglich ein unbestimmter Artikel, der mit Genus-Unterscheidung nichts zu tun hatte. Diese unbestimmte Bedeutung des *i* führte dann leicht weiter dahin, dass man bei seiner Anwendung auf das Geschlecht weniger oder keine Rücksicht nahm, und so entstand daraus der Gebrauch des Genus Commune." (1909: 48)

+ Hagman (1977: 24) labels the latter gender *indefinite-common* stating that within this gender, common gender reading is confined to non-singular numbers (i.e. the combination of male and female) only, whilst indefinite gender reading is independent of number.

+ The gender model in tables (1) and (2) above, although highly coherent in itself (especially in the first two genders), considers neither mass nouns nor transnumeral nouns. The present reconstruction aims to improve on these shortcomings.

3. Definition

+ Hockett (1958: 231 cited by Corbett 1991: 1) defines genders as classes of nouns reflected in the behavior of associated words [agreement].

+ Greville Corbett argues that one "should [...] differentiate *controller genders*, the genders into which nouns are divided, from *target genders*, the genders which are marked on adjectives [targets] (depending on the language)." (Corbett 1991: 151)

+ I will therefore look at target genders based on agreement and then relate that to head noun marking as an intermediate step before I will reconstruct the gender system and present my data.

4. The agreement system in Khoekhoegowab

+ Agreement marking on targets is highly based on alliterative concord according to Corbett's (1991) terminology.

- This is an agreement system in which, i.) the marking on the target is identical to that of the controller, and ii.) agreement marking triggered by the controller is consistent throughout all targets, i.e. agreement marking does not change according to targets. (Corbett's 1994:117).

+ The following categories constitute agreement between targets and controllers:

Person	Gender	Number
First Person (1)	Masculine (M)	Singular (S)
Second Person (2)	Feminine (F)	Dual (D)
Third Person (3)	Common (C)	Plural (P)

Table 3: Agreement categories in Khoekhoegowab

a) Agreement markers and targets

+ Agreement markers are made up of the so-called person-gender-number (PGN) suffixes.

+ Targets include demonstratives, adjectives, universals, numerals, associatives, reflexives, predicatively used nominals in so-called co-referential copulative sentences, and anaphoric pronouns.

+ Appositive constructions of the structure [N-PGN_x] [MOD-PGN_x], illustrate more canonical cases of agreement since agreement is obligatory in such constructions.

+ Example (1) shows agreement between an appositive (numeral) modifier and the possessive noun phrase, whilst the appositively used universal in example (2) agrees with the head *tsee-s*.

(1) Ti |hoosa-kha |gam-kha.
 1S.POSS friend-2M.D two-2M.D
 The two (male) friends of mine. (Hagman 1977: 46)

(2) Mâ tsee-s hoa-s.
 which day-F.S every-F.S
 Every day (Hagman 1977: 47)

+ In examples (3) agreement is between the pronominal subject and the nominal predicate, whereas in example (4), it is between the demonstrative and the nominal predicate. Both examples illustrate the so-called *co-referential copulative constructions* (Haacke 1976).

- (3) **||î-b** ge khoe-**b-a**.
 DISC-3M.S IND person-3M.S-OBL
 He is the/a person/man. (Hagman 1977: 58)
- (4) Nee-**i** ge khoe-**e?** (*i + a (OBL) > e)
 this-3C.S IND person-3C.S:OBL
 Dies ist ein Mensch. (Meinhof 1909: 63)

+ Example (5) shows agreement (anaphoric reference) between the subject pronoun and the deposed subject. Example (6) shows a similar agreement, but with a conjunctive noun phrase as deposed subject.

- (5) **Tsî-ra** ge luri gora-**ra** ge mî...
 and-3F.D IND white crow-3F.D REM.PST say...
 Und sie beide, die weißen Krähen, sprachen. (Dempwolff 1934: 101)
- (6) **Tsî-gu** ge !gaa-**gu** tsî sîsen-ao-**gu** tsî-**ga** (*gu + a(OBL))
 and-3M.P IND worker-3M.P and work-man-3M.P and-3M.P.OBL
 ge mâ i.
 IND stand STAT
 Und die Knechte und Arbeitsleute standen da. (Dempwolff 1934: 60)

+ Agreement in conjunctive noun phrases ([NP₁ tsî + NP₂ tsî + ... NP_n tsî] + PGN)
 - Person agreement on the final conjunction is based on the hierarchy of speech act participants within the series of noun phrases, whilst the gender and number is the total of the whole conjunctive noun phrase.

- (7) Sa-**ts** tsî nee ao-**b** tsî-**kho**...
 I-2M.S and this man-3M.S and-2M.D
 You and this man (here)... (Hagman 1977: 49)
- (8) Ao-**b** tsî tara-**s** tsî-**ra**...
 man-3MS and woman-3F.S and-3C.D
 The man and the woman... (Hagman 1977: 48)

+ In example (9), the genitive agrees with the subject (i.e. its possessor) and not with the head of the possessive noun phrase.

- (9) Gâ-**di** ge ||î-**di** !am-am-|ae-de ge uu.
 foolish IND DISC-3F.P light-mouth-fire-F.P.OBL REM.PST take
 Die Törichten (FEM.) nahmen ihre Lampen. (And the foolish (five virgins) took their lamps.) (Dempwolff 1934: 112)

+ Based on the agreements marked on targets, a complete list of agreement classes can be made.

- + Figure 2. shows eight (8) agreement classes in Khoekhoegowab.
- Only the third person agreement classes are illustrated. However, Khoekhoegowab further exhibits (6) agreement classes in the first, and second persons respectively. These are nevertheless only pronominal.

Agreement classes	S	D	P
1	-b/~Gi (M)		
2		-kha (M)	
3			-gu (M)
4	-s (F)		
5		-ra (F)	
6			-di (F)
7	-i (C)		
8			-n (C)

Figure 2: Agreement classes in Khoekhoegowab

b) Syntactic (and grammatical) restrictions on agreement

- + Agreement on targets is not always a given.
- + Among other instances, attributively used modifiers show no agreement, as exemplified below with a scenario in which the genders of the *on-coming two persons are either hard to recognise, or are just unknown*. The modifying attributive numeral shows no agreement.

(10) |Gam khoe-n ge sii !goaxa.
 two person-3C.P IND arrive coming.hither
 Two people are coming/approaching. (Sylvanus Job)

5. Head noun (class) marking

+ Noun stems (and nominal phrases) take an overt marking of person, gender and number by means of the so-called *Person-Gender-Number (PGN)* suffixes.

-In this way, a word (or a phrase) is identified unambiguously as a noun (or as a nominal phrase).

+ However, there are cases in which head marking is absent due to some grammatical reasons (shown below).

+ Agreement markers are identical (in shape) to the PGN suffixes, which are also used for marking head nouns (unambiguously) (i.e. for marking head class).

+ Examples below show head noun marking in third person only (appropriate for gender establishment):

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (11) Khoe- b
person-3M.S
Der Mensch/der Mann
(Meinhof 1909: 47) | (16) †Gui kai ao- gu
many big man-3M.P
Many big men (Hagman 1977: 34) |
| (12) Khoe- s
person-3F.S
Die Frau (Meinhof 1909: 47) | (17) !Nona tara- di
three woman-3F.P
Three women (Hagman 1977: 41) |
| (13) Khoe- i
person-3C.S
Ein Mensch (Meinhof 1909: 47) | (18) Gam khoe- ra
two person-3F.D
Die zwei Frauen (Meinhof 1909: 49) |
| (14) Xam- mi
lion-3M.S
Lion (Hagman 1977: 22) | (19) Gam khoe- ra
two person-3C.D
Zwei Menschen (Meinhof 1909: 49) |
| (15) Gam kai giri- kha
two big jackal-3M.D
Two large male jackals.
(Hagman 1977: 35) | (20) †Gui khoe- n
many person-3C.P
Many people (Hagman 1977: 34) |

+ Due to the alliterative nature of the agreement system, there seems to be no perceivable difference between head class and agreement class as far as gender establishment is concerned.

-Both these class marking systems seem to lead to the same gender distinctions, but can be complementary. Therefore I will continue with the agreement classes shown in figure 2 (above) when I reconstruct the genders in section 6.

+ The noun *khoe* (similarly to many animate nouns) indicates a case of a multiple-gender noun, which according to Corbett (1991: 181) are nouns that take any one gender consistently based on some semantic or pragmatic reasons.

a) Head marking in compound noun roots

+ A compound noun root has two (or more) constituents (either verb + (noun +) noun; or noun + noun).

-The animacy and the gender of the last constituent determines the animacy and the gender of the compound as a whole .

-The rest of the nouns in the compound are not marked for gender.

+ While the noun for head *dana* which is generally marked as feminine (-s) receives no marking in the compound in example (21a), the noun for 'wind' or 'air', *†oa* and 'nose' *†gui* receive no marking in examples (22a) and (23a) respectively.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (21)a. Dana-khoe- b
head-person-3M.S
Der Hauptmann (Meinhof 1909: 11) | vs. (21)b. Dana- s
head-3F.S
(Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 23) |
| (22)a. <i>†</i> Oa-kuni- s
wind/air-wagon-3F.S
The aeroplane (Hagman 1977: 29) | vs. (22)b. <i>†</i> Oa- b
wind/air-3M.S
Wind/air (Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 378) |
| (23)a. <i>†</i> Gae- <i>†</i> gui- ao-b (<i>†</i> gae <i>†</i> gui = to lead)
pull-nose-man-3M.S
The male leader (Hagman 1977: 28) | vs. (23)b. <i>†</i> Gui- s
nose-3F.S
Nose (Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 395) |

However, when the compound in example (23a) refers to a female, its class marking on the final root changes accordingly.

- (24) *†*Gae-*†*gui-**ao-s** (*†*gae*†*gui = to lead)
pull-nose-man-**3F.S**
The female leader (Hagman 1977: 28)

+ Example (24) shows yet another case of a double-gender noun.

b) Head noun marking by means of prosody

+ In limited cases noun stems are identified prosodically, but without gender. For gender specification, a respective PGN needs to be attached additionally, shown in examples (25) to (26) below).

(25)a. #ù^ˆú^ˆ ¹ 'to eat' (high-rising tone) vs. (25)b. #ú^ˆú-i 'food' (noun) (super-high tone)
(Haacke & Eiseb 2002:382) (Haacke & Eiseb 2002:382)

(26)a. lóòm 'to fall sleep' (high tone) vs. (26)b. lóòm-s 'sleep' (noun) (high-rising tone)
(Haacke & Eiseb 2002:239) (Haacke & Eiseb 2002:382)

+ Nominalization of the verbs in example (27a) and (28a) retain the tone of the verb (with only the (nominalizing) PGN added to it in examples (27b) and (28b) respectively.

(27)a. #ù^ˆú^ˆ 'to eat' (high-rising tone) vs. (27)b. #ù^ˆú-s 'eating' (noun) (high-rising tone)
(Haacke & Eiseb 2002:382) (Haacke & Eiseb 2002:382)

(28)a. lóòm 'to fall sleep' (high tone) vs. (28)b. lóòm-s 'sleeping' (noun) (high tone)
(Haacke & Eiseb 2002:239) (Haacke & Eiseb 2002:239)

c) Syntactic (and grammatical) restrictions on head noun marking

+ Nouns used predicatively in a stative construction are not marked for head noun class. Compare the noun *ao* in example (29a) to that in (29b)

(29)a. lî-b ge a ao.
DISC-3M.S IND STAT man
He is a man. (Sylvanus Job)

compare,

(29)b. Ao-b ge tara-s-a ra mû.
man-3M.SIND woman-3F.S-OBL PRS.PROG see
The man is seeing the woman. (Haacke 1976: 183)

¹ The circumflex is placed between the two vowels for the purpose of tonal marking. The circumflex indicate nasality.

6. The gender system

+ Gender is assigned to head nouns semantically by means of the primary criterion of biological sex for nouns with animate referents and arbitrarily by means of the criteria of size and shape mainly for nouns with inanimate referents.

+ Based on head noun marking and agreement classes the following gender system may be delineated:

Agreement classes	S	D	P	
1	-b -b/~Ci	-	-	
2		-kha		
3			-gu	Masculine
4	-s			
5		-ra		
6			-di	Feminine
7	-i	-	-	Neuter
8			-n	Common

Figure 3: Gender system in Khoekhoegowab

Observation

+ **There is a set of nouns** which take the agreement classes **-b**, (~consonant (C) followed by *i*) in singular, **-kha** in dual and **-gu** in plural respectively. This set of nouns constitutes gender *I* (traditionally labelled as *masculine*).

-Assignment criteria:

- i. Biological sex – male (semantic)
- ii. Size and shape: big, high, long, thin, important (semantic)
- iii. Names of countries (Semantic)
- iv. The (abstract) noun deriving suffix *-si* mainly stakes masculine gender (formal).

(30) Ao-**b** (Der Mann/Mensch (Meinhof 1909: 47))

(31) Hai-**b** (Hoher, schlanker Baum (Tall, thin tree) (Meinhof 1909: 48))

(32) Amerika-**b** (The United States of America (Hagman 1977: 23))

(33) Kai-si-b (Bigness/greatness (masculine) (Hagman 1977: 26))

+ **There is a closed set of nouns** which take **-b** in singular and have *neither dual nor plural* agreement, e.g. /Goa-b (small stock collective), /Gai-b (strength), !huu-b (soil ground), Xau-b (dung, excrement), /Khûi-b (vomit) and /Aru-b (dry and pulverized manure), Tsau-b (tiredness) Ama-b (truth).

-These nouns are few in number and many of them are readily taken up in the neuter (transnumeral) gender. No separate gender therefore needs to be postulated for these nouns.

+ **The second set consists of nouns** that take **-s**, in singular, **-ra** in dual and **-di** in plural and is labelled gender II (*feminine*), illustrated by examples (35) to (37) below.

-Assignment criteria:

- i. Biological sex – female
- ii. Size and shape: small, round (~square shaped), short, wide, less important.
- iii. Nominalization of word categories.
- iv. Names of cities

(34) Tara-s (Frau (Woman/wife) (Meinhof 1909: 48))

(35) Hai-s (Breiter, niedriger Baum. (Wide, small tree) (Meinhof 1909: 48))

(36) Mû-s ('Seeing' (Hagman 1977: 126))

(37) |Ae||gam-s (The (city of) Windhoek (Hagman 1977: 23))

-The combination of the masculine and feminine gender conflate with the dual of this gender.

+ **The third (III) set involves mass nouns** which trigger only the singular agreement, namely **-i** on their targets (i.e. they are singularia-tantum (no dual, no plural) - marked with the little circle in figure 3 (above).

-Assignment criteria:

- i. mass nouns such as *liquids, powder (and powder-like objects), gaseous objects, fat and sand (and other granular things)* (see examples below).

(38) Aa-xuu-i (a drink, esp. tee or coffee, Haacke and Eiseb 2002)

(39) †Oo-i (Salt, Haacke and Eiseb 2002)

(40) Sâ-i (Buchu powder, prepared from different aromatic herbs as perfume , Haacke and Eiseb 2002))

(41) !Nui-i (fat) (see also !Khaulnui-i (petrol), lit. crazy fat, Haacke and Eiseb 2002)

-Other nouns that take this singularia tantum gender include the following closed list: ²

(42) |Aru-i (Hailom – wild sweetpea, Haacke and Eiseb 2002)

² All these nouns are from Haacke and Eiseb 2002.

- (43) |Goa-i (Stem succulent, *Trichocaulon officinale*, edible)
 (44) Aspes-i (Asbestos; < Afr. Asbes)
 (45) Lef-i (Lift, free ride; Eng. lift)
 (46) Xale-i (Lift, free ride; Afr. geleentheid)

+ **There is a fourth (IV) set of nouns** which is constituted by nouns referring to objects (either animate or inanimate objects) which are non-specific, generic, or indefinite, as well as by nouns referring to animates whose biological sex is either unknown, or unspecified. This type of nouns trigger agreement class *-i* in singular and *-n* in plural, but no dual. There are moreover about nine nouns which trigger this agreement pattern.

- (47) Xuu-i (thing)
 (48) !Nôa-i (kind, type, sort), e.g. An!nôa-i (stylish, showy way of walking)
 (49) Dii-ai-i (Kind of action)
 (50) †Û-i (food); †Û-n (edibles, food stuffs) (Hai†û-i (fruit))
 (51) Daise-i (Hailom: Mammal)
 (52) Ama-i (festivity, celebration)
 (53) †Geese-i (cheese; < Ger. Käse) (Language committee coinage – LC)
 (54) Kaas-i (Cheese; < Afr. Kaas)
 (55) Spook-i (ghost < Afr. spook)

- If not for these few nouns (above), this gender is lexemeless and is used by nouns from genders I and II whenever any reference to masculinity or femininity has to be avoided (see the following examples).

- (56) Khoe-i 'ein Mensch' (Meinhof 1909: 48)

Example (57) illustrates a scenario in which the genders of the on-coming two persons are either hard to recognise, or are just unknown.

- (57) |Gam khoe-n ge sii !goaxa.³
 two person-3C.P IND arrive coming.hither
 Two people are coming/approaching. (Sylvanus Job)

+ The latter two sets of nouns, including the set of nouns with referents whose genders are unspecified, are traditionally all subsumed under one gender, namely the *common* gender.
 + The example above, however, demonstrates that the so-called *common* gender actually has no noun which agrees, consistently with *-i* in singular *-ra* in dual and *-n* in plural. In fact this gender has no dual, but only singular *-i* and plural *-n* – representing a small number of nouns and referents with an unknown gender.

³ This example has been tested with other speakers as well and the plural (*-n*) marking of the subject, although awkward in this context, is the only resolution in the given scenario.

+ Table (4) sums up the genders postulated.

Genders	S	D	P	Labels	Assignment criteria
I	-b -b/~Ci	-kha	-gu	Masculine	Male; Big, high, long, thin, strong, important
II	-s	-ra	-di	Feminine	Female; Small, round, short, wide, weak, less important
III	-i	-	-	'Neuter'	Mass nouns (liquids, fats
(IV)	i	-	n	common	Generic; underspecified or unknown gender

Table 4: The gender system of Khoekhoegowab

7. Loanwords (and calques)

+ Loanwords are primarily assigned to either feminine or masculine genders based on the criteria which are already at play in the language with regard to gender placement. For example *reisi-i* 'rice' and *kofi-i* 'coffee' all take neuter agreement like all other Khoekhoegowab mass nouns.

+ Almost all the linguistic loanwords are assigned to the feminine gender including calques. This could be owing to the gender for *word 'mî-s' (feminine)* in Khoekhoegowab⁴.

(58) |Huu |oomû-s⁵ 'consonant' (Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 479)

(59) |Huu |oosîsenmî-s 'consonant-verb' (Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 479)

(60) Aliterasi-s (<Afr. alliterasie) 'alliteration' (Haacke & Eiseb 2002: 6)

⁴ All linguistic loans (as well as loanwords into the language) have been officially translated or coined by the language committee.

⁵ These are actually not loans but calques (replace them with real loans)

8. Data from the lexicon

+ To gain the overview for the gender models advanced earlier on, I have gathered data from the Khoekhoegowab dictionary (with an English-Khoekhoegowab index) (Haacke and Eiseb 2001) and have analysed the genders in which the nouns are semantically and as well as formally classified.

+ Some 7507 words have been tested.

+ Results:

- nouns are distributed almost equally between the two major genders of feminine and masculine.

- Slightly more words take feminine gender than masculine gender. This may owe it to the fact that the feminine gender is productive when it come to nominalising other word categories.

Nr. Of words analysed	Masc.	Fem.	Neu.	Double-/multiple-gender nouns (Masc./Fem./Neu.)
7507	3432	3509	164	402
	45.7%	46.7%	2.2%	5.4%

Table 5: Statistical analysis of gender on Khoekhoegowab nouns

Observations

+ Loans constitute 2.8% whilst nouns with double gender make up 5.1%. These gender flexible nouns are mainly for human referents and are made up of compounds, e.g.

(61) a. †Gae-†gui-ao-b (†gae†gui = to lead)

pull-nose-man-3M.S

The male leader (Hagman 1977: 28)

vs.

b. †Gae-†gui-ao-s (†gae†gui = to lead)

pull-nose-man-3F.S

The female leader (Hagman 1977: 28)

+ Again, no nouns have been found which take an indefinite singular *-i* (above labelled as common gender) and *-ra* in dual and *-n* in plural, as it has been held in the conventional model shown earlier.

+ Any noun which is of variable gender will take either a consistent common gender (according to the last model) or feminine, if not masculine.

+ Non-human nouns are variably assigned either to feminine (e.g. *!nabas* 'rhinoceros') or to masculine gender (e.g. *≠Khoa-b* 'elephant').

9. Conclusion

+ As stipulated by Meinhof, it is likely that *-i* used for marking mass nouns results from an indefinitely article which has been used to refer to nouns that refer to entities which cannot be counted.

+ This gender may have synchronically been inflated by further nouns that have referred to entities whose genders were underspecified or unknown (gender IV above) leading to a singular-plural (*-s, -n*) agreement in the gender.

+ However, the further claim made by Meinhof that this indefinite marker is responsible for the creation of the so-called *common gender* – a gender that implies duality - cannot be proven beyond doubt, since this marker is not used in dual at all.

10. References:

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11. Abbreviations

1	first person	N	neuter
2	second person	OBJ	object
3	third person	OBL	oblique
ADV	adverb	PFV	perfective aspect marker
C	common gender	P	plural
CONJ	conjunction	PP	postposition
D	dual	PGN	person-gender-number marker
DEM	demonstrative	PRS	present
DIM	diminutive	PROG	progressive
DISC	(the one just being) discussed	PRON	pronoun/pronominal
E	exclusive (of addressee)	REC.	recent
F	feminine	S	single
FUT	future tense particle	STAT	stative
IND	indicative sentence type marker	TAM	tense and aspect marker
IAV	immediately after the verb	V	verb
M	masculine	V.EXT	verbal extension