

A comparative study of genderlects in the Tupi family

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What are genderlects?

- distinctions based on the gender of the speaker and/or addressee
- pragmatic phenomenon, distinct from grammatical gender
- can be categorical (exclusive) or statistical (tendencies)
- can be found in various domains (phonology, lexicon, morphology)

○ *s* ♀ ~ *ts* ♂
oso / *otso*

'(s)he is gone' ♀ / ♂

Guarayo (Höller 1932, Crowhurst p.c.)

○ *kiracha* ♀ ~ *tendi* ♂ 'Venezuelan red howler'
isaa ♀ ~ *ngi* ♂ 'black-capped squirrel monkey'
kiáí ♀ ~ *kiéĩ* ♂ 'tufted capuchin'

Siriono (Gasparini 2015)

♀

♂

tša, etše

ta

1SG

penu

tana

1EXCL

ay

uri

3SG

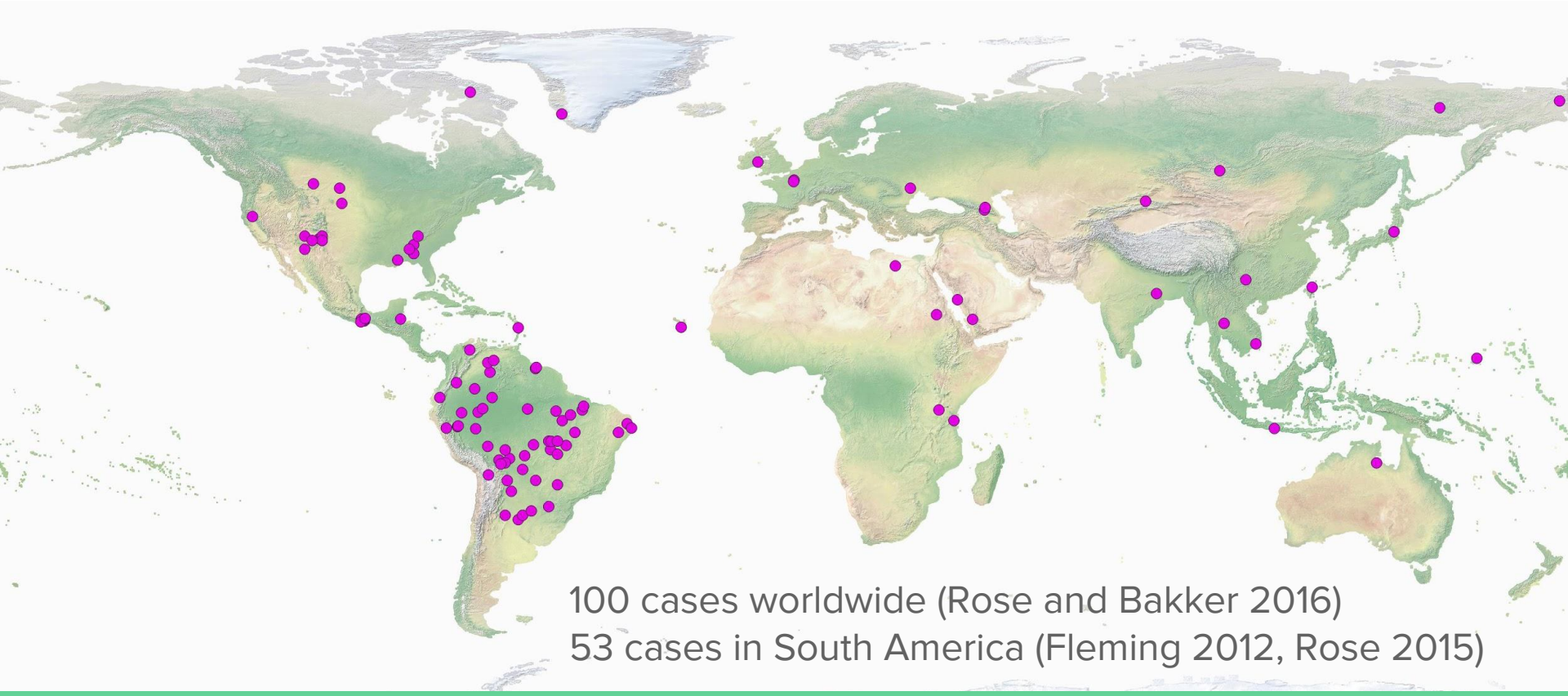
inu

rana

3PL

Kokama (Vallejos 2015)

Categorical genderlects in the world's languages



How do genderlects emerge?

Very few diachronic studies

- Only one comparative study at family-level (Li 1982 on Atayalic dialects)
- Never reconstructed at the proto-stage of a family
- Dunn (2014) posits that genderlects are diachronically unstable.

How have these systems developed?

- Internal change (Alberdi 1995 on Basque; Dunn 2000 on Chukchi; Ribeiro 2012 on Karajá)
- Language mixing (Taylor 1956 on Island Carib)
- Diffusion (Kroskirty 1983 on Pueblo Southwest)
- Through taboo words or secret languages (Li 1983 on Atayal)

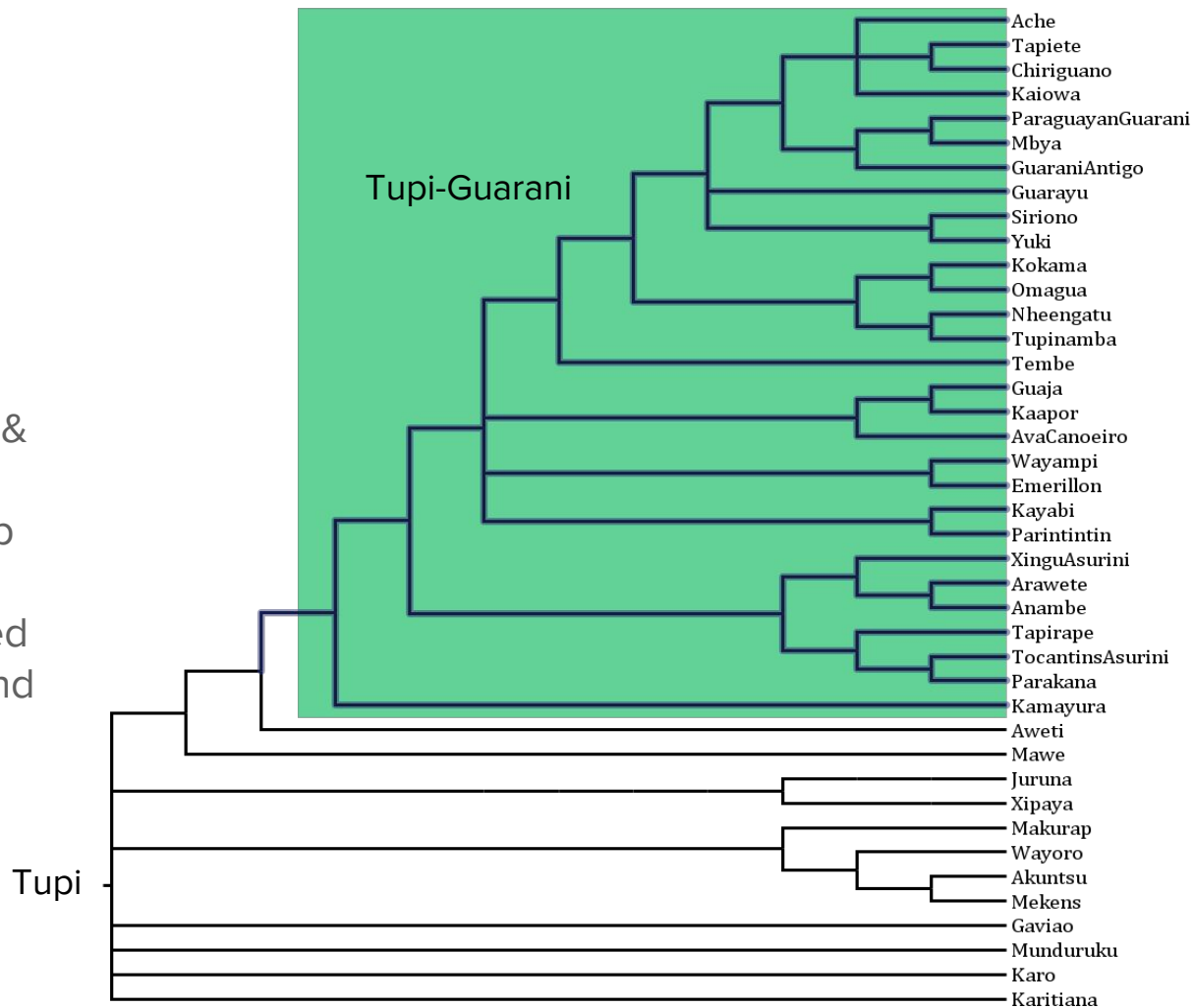
Goals and framework

- survey genderlect distinctions within the Tupi family
- investigate the emergence and evolution of these distinctions

- diachronic pragmatics (Jucker 2006):
 - function-to-form mapping
 - form-to-function mapping
- phylogenetic method: parsimony ancestral state reconstructions

Tupi languages

- South America
- 64 languages
- 10 groups (Rodrigues & Cabral 2012) now 8 (Meira & Drude 2015)
- Tupi-Guarani = major group with 40 languages
- Phylogenetic tree combined from Galucio et al (2015) and Michael et al. (2015)
- added Nheengatu and Old Guarani



Data collection

Data collected on 41 languages (29 Tupi-Guarani + 12 of other branches)

Gender-indexing forms & non-gender-indexing cognates of these forms

Sources:

- a few studies specifically on the topic: Aweti (Drude 2002), Kokama (Faust 1959, Pottier 1972, Vallejos 2015)
- dictionaries and grammars
- unpublished data from collaborators (Crowhurst, O'Hagan)
- data often fragmentary, no discussion on origin

A LINGUAGEM DOS HOMENS E A DAS MULHERES

1068. Já nos referimos à existência de palavras que são empregadas só pelos homens, ao lado de outras que o são só pelas mulheres.

Cabe aqui uma resenha dessas partículas e interjeições:

<i>pá</i> : sim (só de h.) (n. 44)	<i>eē</i> (h. e principalmente m.)
<i>aan</i> : não (h. e m.) (n. 44)	<i>eam, eama, eamaē</i> (só de m.)
<i>reá</i> : part. afirm. (h.) (n. 1074)	<i>reĩ</i> (m.)
<i>rá</i> : em verdade (afetiva) (h.)	<i>raré</i> (m.)

e-ra-só ké raré! (VLB 316): olha, te digo, que o leves

é: deve de ser (afirm. duv.) (h.) *rí* (m.)

abá-p' akó é? (VLB 319): quem seria aquê?

a-só-p' ixé-ne rí? (VLB 319): não sei se me vá

emonã ruã-pe é (VLB 190): assim deve de ser

<i>akâ</i> : oh!; ai! (dó, dor, mêdo, zombaria) (h.)	<i>aké, aký</i> (m.)
<i>kué, ahē</i> : oh! upa! (espanto) (h.)	<i>ió</i> (m.)
<i>gûí, gûé, gûey</i> : ó (vocat., n. 448) (h.)	<i>úú</i> ou <i>íó</i> (m.) (não tem correspondente para m.)
<i>hē!</i> : olá! oh! (só de h. para h.)	<i>úú</i> ou <i>íó</i> (m.)
<i>hē gûé</i> ou <i>hē gûí</i> : oh!, olá (h.)	

<i>ahē!</i> ou <i>gûé</i> } <i>segûé, tí, eti</i> }	veja isso! (espanto ou zombaria) (h.)	<i>eá</i> (m.)
<i>apá gûé</i> ou <i>apá gûí</i> :	ui! (coitado!) (h.)	{ <i>eá!</i> (escárneo) <i>eumaē!</i> (dó) } (m.)
<i>aká!</i> :	oh! (dó ou dor) (m.)	<i>eumaē!</i> <i>amaē úú!</i> (m.)
<i>agi'y!</i> :	oh! (perda, esquecimento) (h.)	<i>amaē úú!</i> (m.)

Acrescentem-se *pá* (h.) e *maē* (m.) (VLB 175), cujo sentido não é claro.

Page of Barbosa (1953) on Tupinambá genderlects - one of the best documented cases...

Survey results

Genderlects in the Tupi family

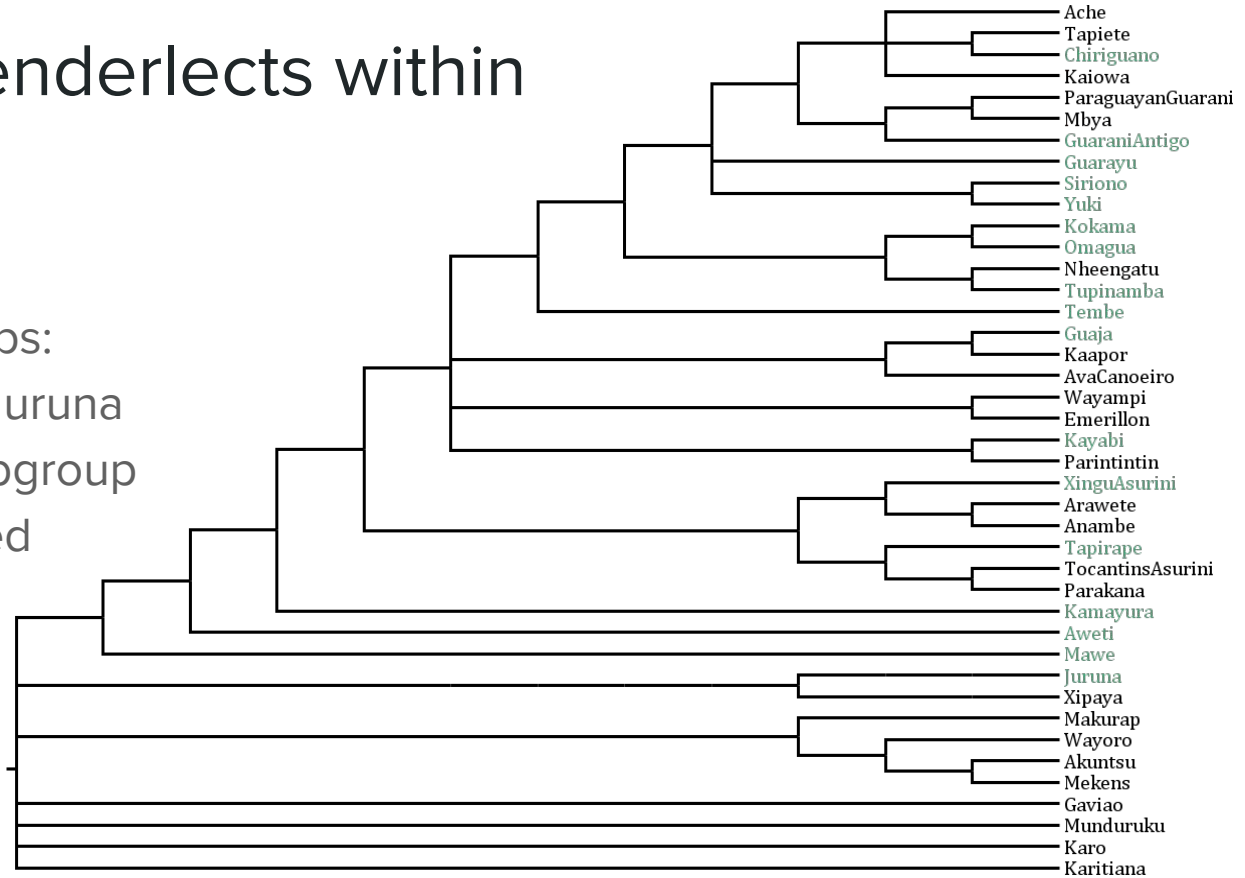
11 Tupi languages with genderlects in Rose (2015)

4 more detected since

- 15 Tupi languages where the phenomenon is attested
- highest known proportion of genderlects within a large family

Distribution of genderlects within the Tupi family

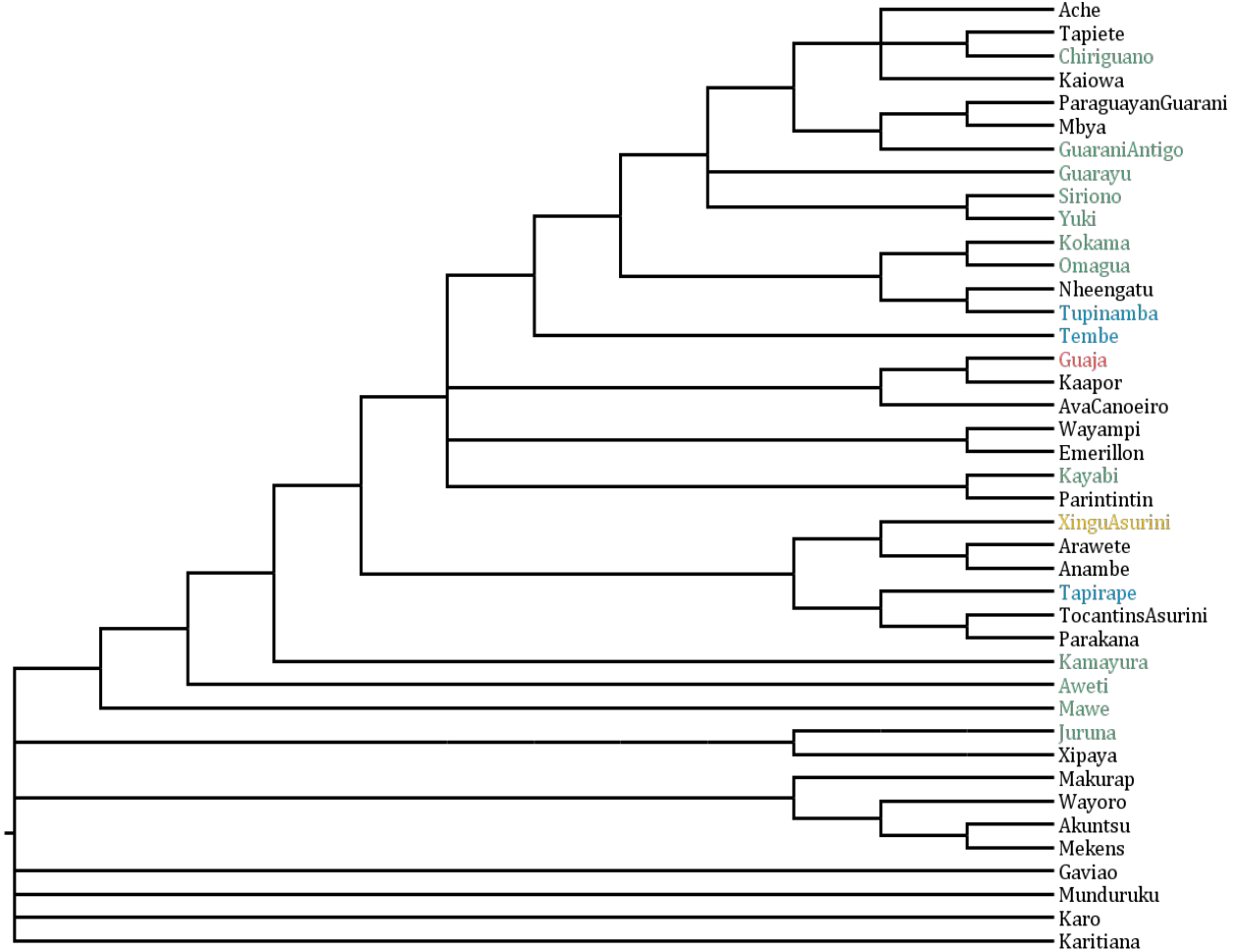
- in 2 higher level groups:
Maweti-Guarani and Juruna
- 12 in Tupi-Guarani subgroup
- seems like an inherited feature



Typological results

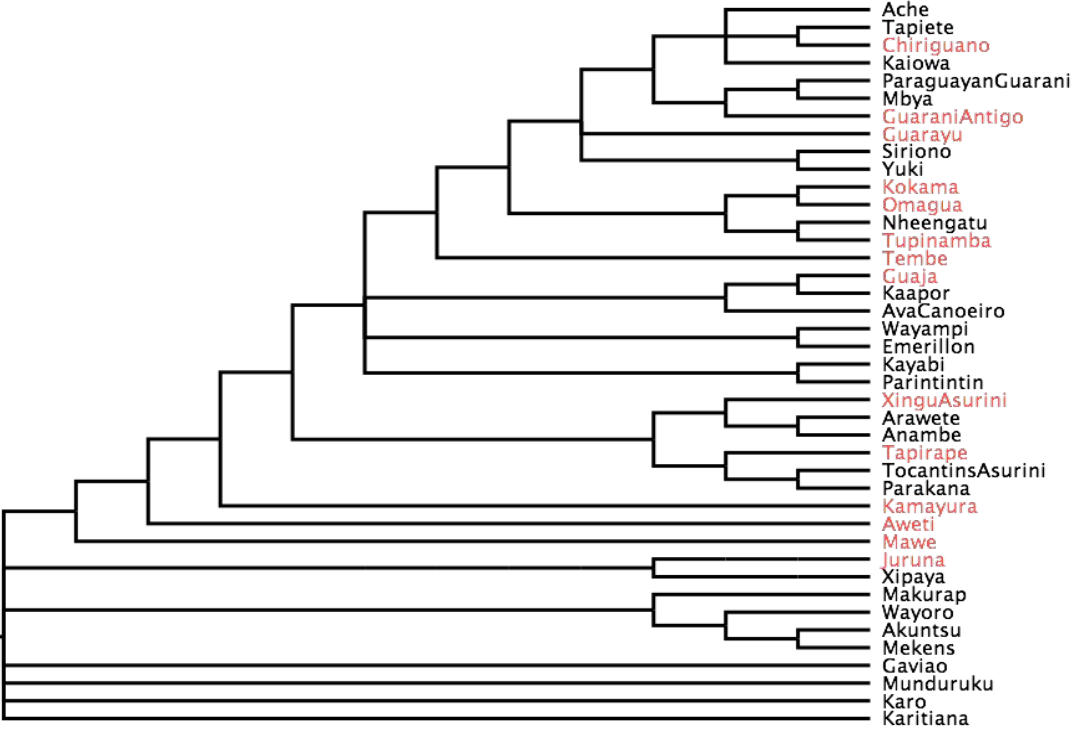
Genderlect types

- Type 1 (speaker gender)
- Type 2 (addressee gender)
- Type 3 (speaker and addressee gender)
- Type 1+3



Domains

- phonology: 1 language
- morphology (person markers and demonstratives): 4 languages
- lexicon: 4 languages
- various discourse markers (yes, no, interjections, vocatives etc): 14 languages
- some languages have genderlects in multiple domains: e.g. Aweti, Kokama, Omagua



Scope

rather marginal in general, affects only a few elements within a domain

7 lexical meanings in Siriono

5 discourse-marking functions in Temb 

3 pronominal categories in Kayabi

However, the affected elements can be more or less salient

Variation within domains

- In general, similar meanings/functions are affected across languages
- 1st and 3rd person pronouns
- Among discourse markers, the most commonly affected are:
 - vocatives
 - words for “yes”
 - pain interjections
 - fear interjections
 - surprise interjections
- Some words/functions are only affected in one or two language(s), e.g.
 - monkey species names (Siriono, Yuki)
 - plural marker (Omagua, Kokama)
- However, for particular meanings/functions, the forms generally do not appear to be cognate across languages

Relationship between the members of a pair

The forms of a gender-indexing pair can be:

- suppletive (most common)
 - Kokama (Vallejos 2015): 1 exclusive pronoun *penu* ♀ / *tana* ♂
 - Kamaiurá (Seki 2000): particle for self-evidence (he) *kyn* ♀ / *ja* ♂
- phonetically different
 - Juruna (Fargetti 2001) interjection of pity “poor him/her” *himã* ♀ / *hiba* ♂
- morphologically different
 - Aweti deictics (Reiter 2011)

♀	♂	
<i>uja</i>	<i>jatã</i>	near speaker sg.
<i>akyj</i>	<i>kitã</i>	near addressee sg.
<i>akoj</i>	<i>kujtã</i>	away from both sg.

Tupi genderlects in a typological perspective

Within the family, there is diversity in

- type (speech act participant(s) whose gender is indexed)
- domain affected (phonology, pronominal morphology, lexicon, discourse markers - or several of them)
- functions/meanings affected within a domain
- scope and saliency of genderlect distinction
- type of relationship between the forms of a pair

Genderlects in the Tupi family are

- not a homogeneous phenomenon
- not very favorable to a hypothesis in terms of inherited patterns

Comparative results

Pronouns

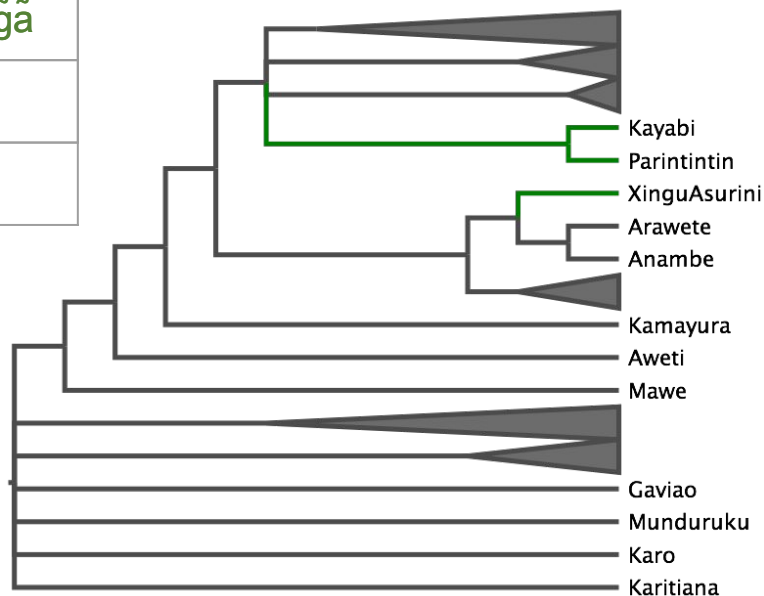
4 languages with genderlect distinction in pronouns

3 independent developments:

- Omagua and Kokama: distinction reconstructable to Proto-Omagua-Kokama, male speech forms are innovations (O'Hagan 2011)
- Aweti: male speech forms are innovations
- Kayabi: relatively “heavy” 3rd person system for a TG language, including singular-plural distinction, masculine-feminine distinction (only in singular), and genderlect distinction

3rd person pronouns in Kayabi

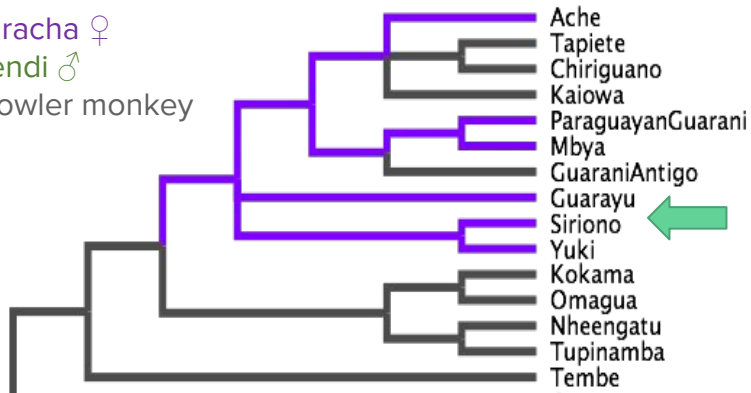
Language	3sg masculine		3sg feminine		3pl	
	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂
Kayabi	kĩã	'gã	kyna	ẽẽ	wã	'gã
Parintintin	ga		hẽ		gã	
Xingu Asurini	ga		ẽ		gy	



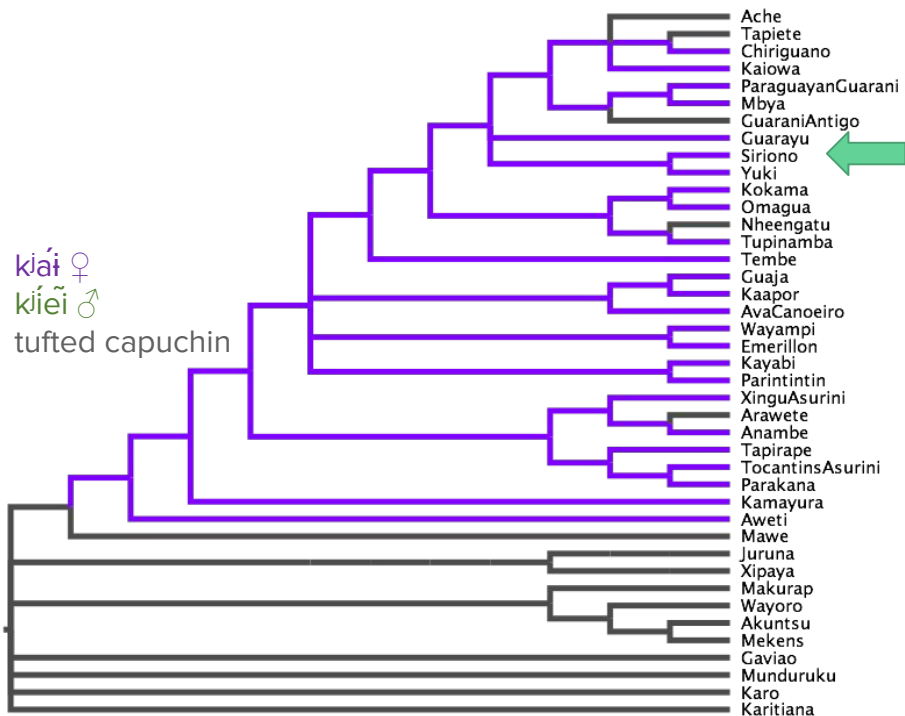
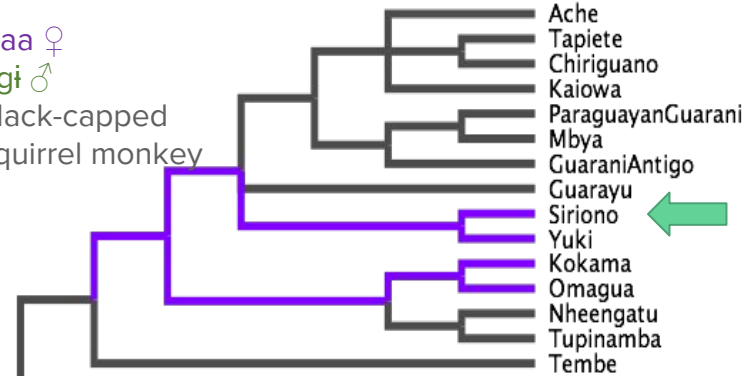
- Innovation of masculine-feminine distinction in Proto-Parintintin-Kayabi
- Genderlects are a subsequent development in Kayabi
- female forms are innovations
- parallel innovation in Asurini do Xingu (contact?)

Monkey names in Siriono

kiracha ♀
tendi ♂
howler monkey



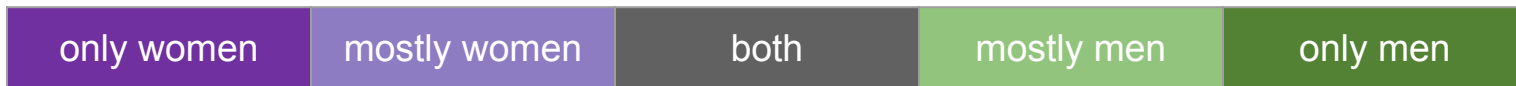
isaa ♀
ngi ♂
black-capped squirrel monkey

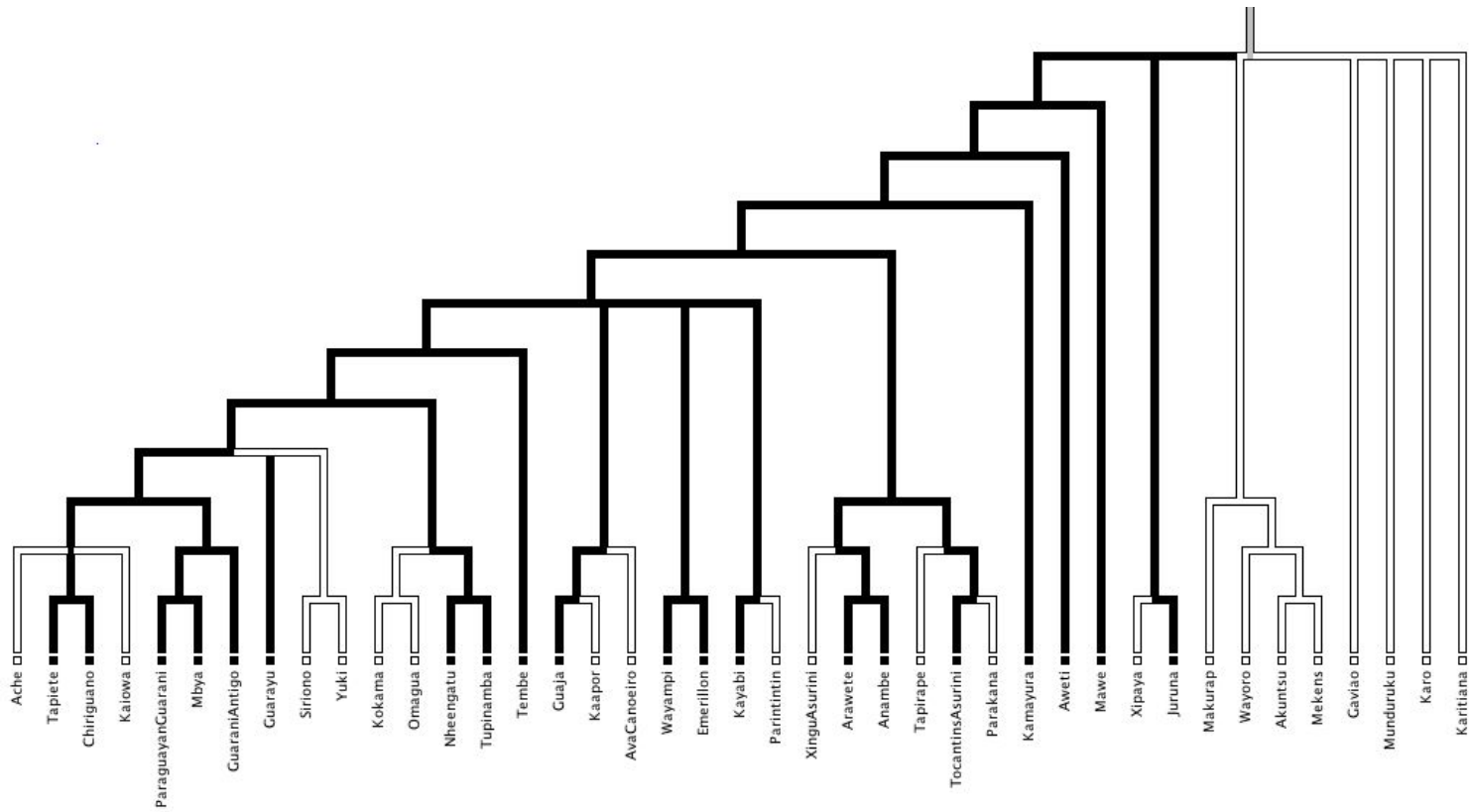


- 3:1 gain:loss cost parsimony reconstruction
- female forms have cognates in other TG languages
- male forms are innovations

“Yes” gender-indexing forms

- “yes” genderlect distinction common in Tupi languages - 7 cases
- 6 of them have *eʔe* as the female genderlect form
- corresponding male forms: *ta*, *pa*, *ʔũba*
- *eʔe* is the word for “yes” in many TG languages
- pragmatic usage coded as an ordered character
- no information on relative use by women and men, when more than one word for yes are recorded, with the exception of Tupinamba





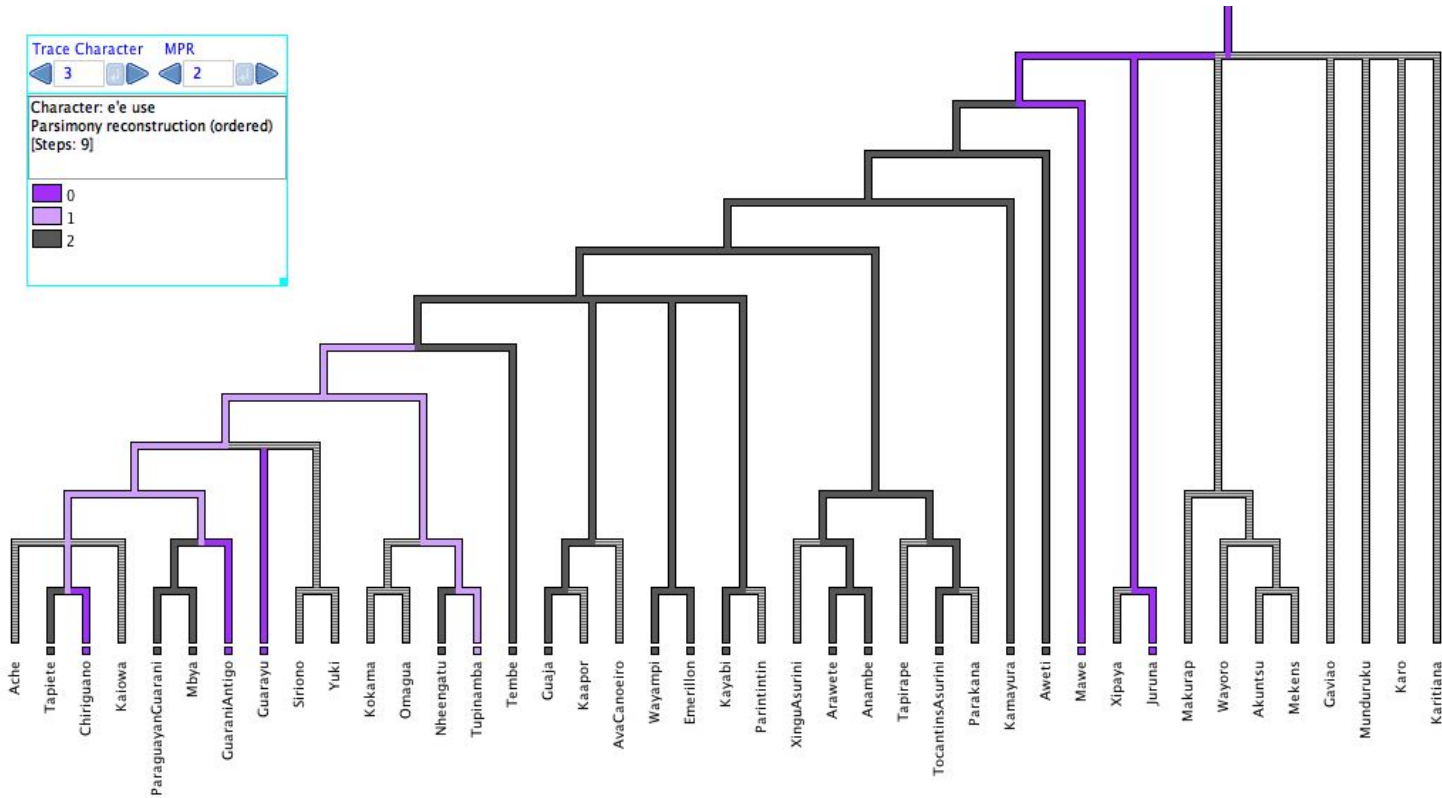
reconstruction of presence of eʔe “yes”

Trace Character MPR

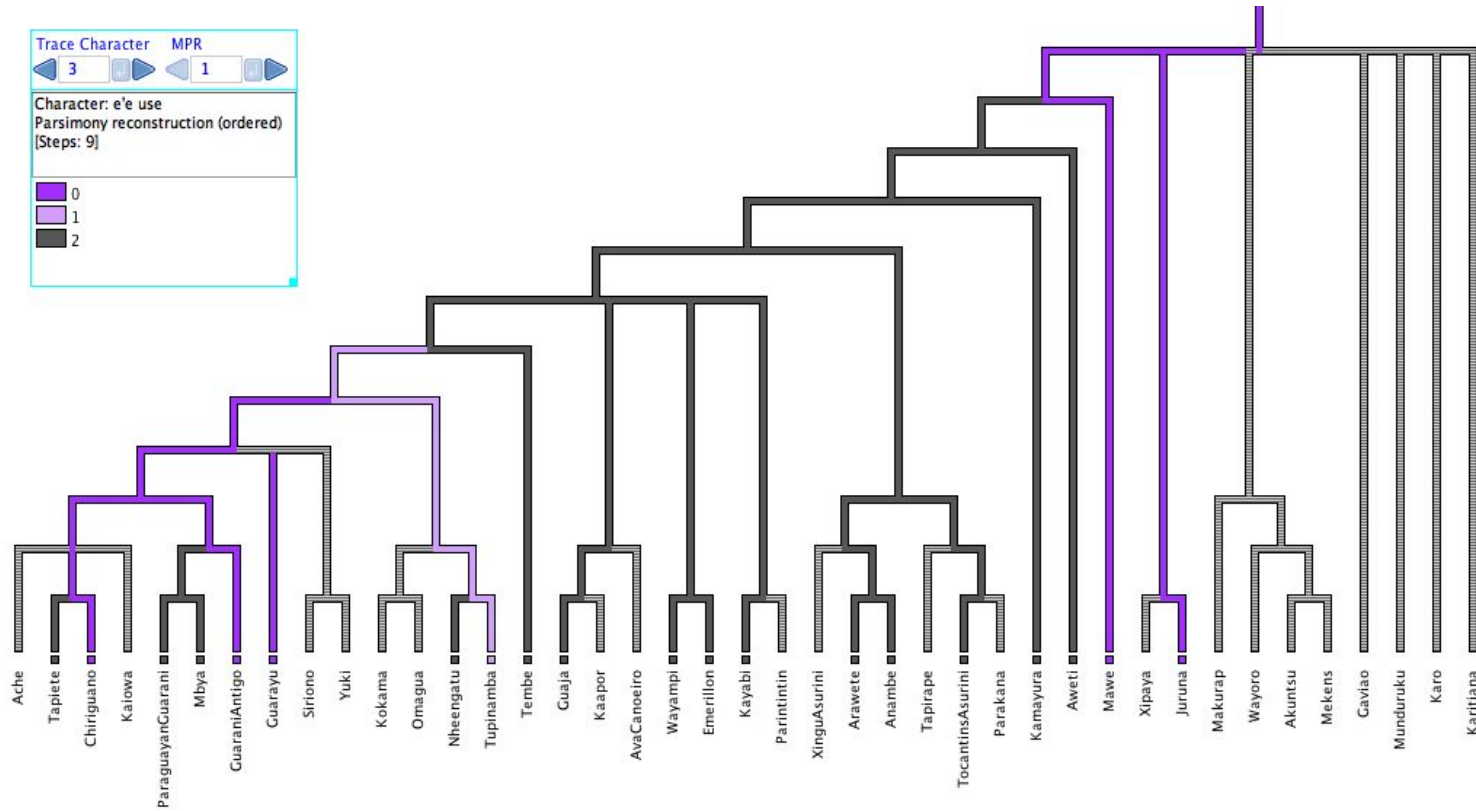
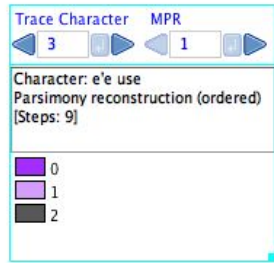
3 2

Character: e?e use
Parsimony reconstruction (ordered)
[Steps: 9]

0
1
2



6 equally parsimonious scenarios
e?e has specialized as a female speech form 3 times



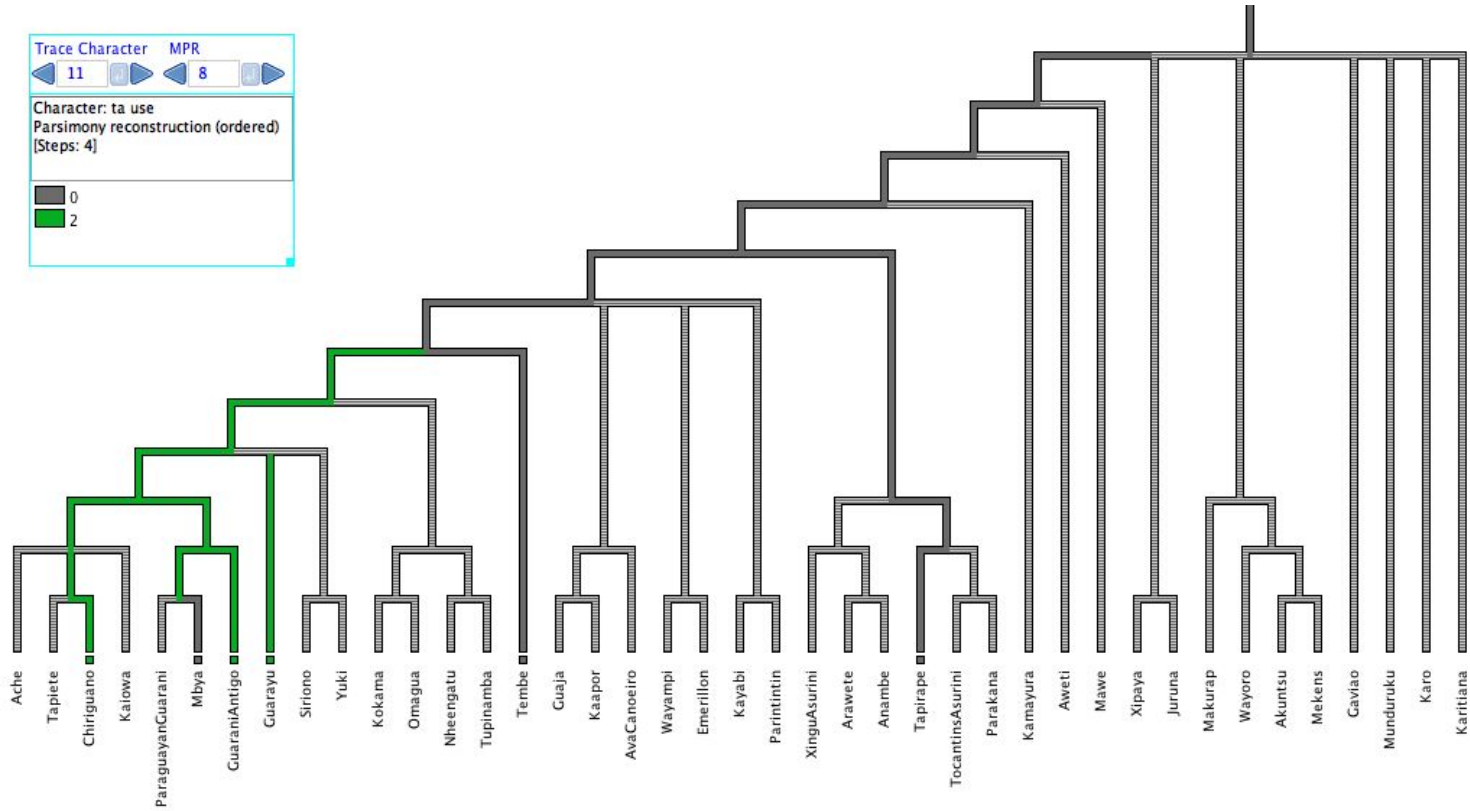
eʔe used mostly by women at the Proto-GroupIII-Southern node and at least mostly by women at the Proto-Southern node

Trace Character MPR

11 8

Character: ta use
 Parsimony reconstruction (ordered)
 [Steps: 4]

0
 2



ta “yes” becomes at least mostly used by men at the Proto-GroupIII-Southern node

Conclusions

Summary

- Tupi: language family with most genderlects attested
- Typological diversity in the realization of genderlects
- Genderlect distinctions cannot be reconstructed except for shallow nodes (such as Proto-Omagua-Kokama), but
- genderlect distinction for “yes” (*eʔe* ♀ / *ta* ♂) reconstructable to the Proto-GroupIII-Southern node
- lots of data about interjections and other discourse markers that we need to explore more!

Thank you!

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Christian Fressard for the maps

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