

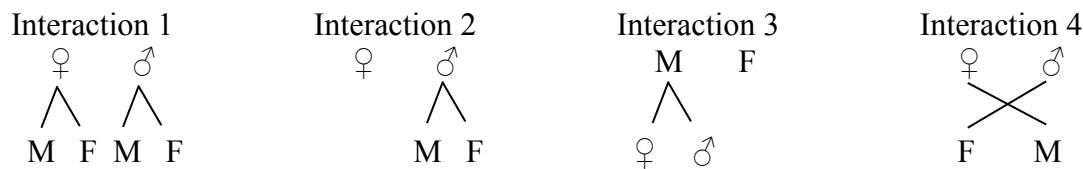
The interaction of indexical gender with grammatical gender

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Grammatical gender is a well-known common category (Corbett 1991). A much rarer and less studied phenomenon is that of indexical gender, whereby the gender of the speaker and/or the hearer is indexed in utterances that do not necessarily refer to the speech act participants (Bodine 1975, Fleming 2012, Dunn in press). Gender can be indexicalized at several levels: phonological (1), morphological (2), lexical (3).¹

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| (1) <i>otso</i>
'(s)he went away ♂ | / <i>oso</i>
/ (s)he went away ♀ | <i>Guarayo</i> (<i>Höller</i> 1932: 2) |
| (2) <i>-oʔre</i>
'indicative (hearer ♂) | / <i>-oʔs</i>
/ indicative (hearer ♀)' | <i>Mandan</i> (<i>Mithun</i> 1999) |
| (3) <i>würinauga</i>
'yesterday ♀ | / <i>gúñaru</i>
/ yesterday ♂' | <i>Garifuna</i> (<i>de Pury</i> 2003) |

Gender indexicality at the morphological level most often occur within the domain of (pro)nominal reference (Rose 2013). Gender indexicality may interact with grammatical gender in complex ways. This paper aims at presenting the four types of interactions attested in our cross-linguistic survey of gender indexicality (Rose & colleague in preparation).



In the first situation, each genderlect (male/female speech) has different markers for masculine and feminine. This can be illustrated with a selection of Kaya pronouns (Dobson 1997): *kiā* 3SG.M♀, *‘ga* 3SG.M♂, *kyna* 3SG.F♀, *ēē* 3SG.F♂.

In the second situation, grammatical gender is restricted to the speech of only one gender of speaker. This is the case in bésiro/chiquitano (Sans, in preparation), where only male speakers have a special marker for masculine agreement (feminine is unmarked and corresponds to the gender-neutral form always used by female speakers).

In the third situation, only one grammatical gender is distinct for male and female speakers. This is the case in Mojeño (Author 2013), where only the masculine (in pronouns, articles, possessive prefixes, agreement prefixes) is distinct for males and females: *ni* 3SG.M♀, *ma* 3SG.M♂, *su* 3SG.F♀/♂.

The fourth situation is the most unexpected: in the same context, male and female speakers use a different gender. For instance, Garifuna males use feminine agreement with abstract nouns, where females use male agreement (de Pury 2003, Munro 2013).

¹ The gender of the speaker is represented in the glosses and translations with ♂ and ♀, not to be confused with M and F for grammatical gender.

In these four types of interactions of grammatical gender and indexical gender, grammatical gender is non-canonical in that the same gender is not marked consistently in all utterances : the selection of the grammatical gender marker depends on the gender of the speaker.

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