The chapter begins by discussing the role of nominal classification systems in understanding various linguistic phenomena. It highlights the importance of nominal classes in organizing language, where each nominal class represents a category of entities that share certain properties.

### General Observations

The general observations section introduces the concept of nominal classes and their significance in linguistic theory. It explains how nominal classes are used to categorize entities in the world, and how these categories inform our understanding of language use and structure.

### Nominal Classifiers

The nominal classifiers section delves into the specifics of how classifiers are used in different languages. It explores the variety of systems of nominal classifiers, focusing on how they are used to distinguish different types of entities (e.g., animate vs. inanimate, food vs. non-food).

### Example Systems

Examples are provided to illustrate the use of nominal classifiers in various languages. These examples highlight the diversity and complexity of nominal classification systems across different linguistic communities.
shape, and sometimes also position of the referent noun. There are languages which have just one set of classifiers found in this context only, e.g. Toba and Pilagá (Guaicuruan languages from Argentina; see Klein 1979 and Vidal 1994); Teop (Austronesian, Bougainville: Mosel and Spriggs n.d.), and Mandan (Siouan: Barron and Serzisko 1982). In a number of languages the same, or almost the same, set of classifier morphemes occurs in quantitative expressions, as numeral classifiers, and with demonstratives; classifiers in different contexts often display distinct morphosyntactic properties (see Goral 1978, for Vietnamese, and the discussion in Aikhenvald forthcoming).

A number of languages have multiple classifier systems – there may be either more than one set of classifier morphemes in different functions, or the same classifier morphemes can be used in distinct morphosyntactic contexts. The first possibility can be illustrated with Akatek (Mayan) (Zavala, this volume). (Bantu languages, e.g. Swahili, also use the same prefixes as noun class markers (indicating agreement) and as noun classifiers, on head nouns.) The second type is typical of classifier languages of South America, especially those of Northwest Amazonia – see the discussion of Tariana in sections 2–4 of this chapter.

The existence of multiple classifier systems in which the same, or almost the same, set of morphemes is used in different morphosyntactic loci is instructive from the point of view of the criteria to be used for distinguishing types of classifiers. They may be crucial for providing further evidence in favour of ‘marginal’ types and subtypes – such as ‘demonstrative’ and ‘article’ classifiers.

This chapter considers such a multiple classifier system in Tariana, a North Arawak language from Northwest Amazonia. In section 2 I give a brief description of classifiers in Tariana (more details are found in Aikhenvald 1994b). Classifiers with demonstratives and articles are described in section 3. In section 4, areal properties of the classifier system in Tariana are considered. The status of demonstrative and article classifiers in Tariana and their implications for the typology of classifiers are briefly discussed in section 5.

2 AN OVERVIEW OF THE MULTIPLE CLASSIFIER SYSTEM IN TARIANA

2.1 Classifiers and gender

Like the majority of Arawak languages (Aikhenvald 1996), Tariana distinguishes two genders, feminine animate vs the rest, in prefixes which cross-reference subjects and possessors (see examples (1), (2), (3)). This gender opposition is neutralized in plural. There is also a large set of suffixed morphemes each used in several classifier functions.

Every noun in Tariana requires a classifier. All animate nouns are classified in terms of their shape; animate nouns divide into feminine and non-feminine.

Inanimate nouns can be classified in several different ways depending on the aspect of the referent which the speaker wants to focus on. There are over fifty established classifiers; ‘repeaters’ are used for new or previously unclassified items, as well as for nouns in focus (see Aikhenvald 1994b). Thus, classifiers constitute a potentially open system. A sample list of established classifiers is given in table 3.1.

Subdivision (‘superclassing’; see Sands 1995, for this term) of all nouns into animates and inanimates, with a special generic ‘animate’ classifier, is characteristic of numeral classifiers, and of noun classes. Noun classifiers are used differently with animate and with inanimate nouns. All classifiers except noun classifiers can be used anaphorically.

The same set of classifier morphemes is used in possessive constructions, and as verbal classifiers (section 2.2). These morphemes have a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal, possessive and noun classifiers</th>
<th>Numeral classifiers</th>
<th>Noun class markers</th>
<th>Semantics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ita</td>
<td>-ita; -hta; -ita</td>
<td>-ita</td>
<td>female; non feminine animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>feminine (with numeral classifiers and noun classes only if sex is in focus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>round objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dapa</td>
<td>-dapa; -dapa</td>
<td>-dapa</td>
<td>habitat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ipa</td>
<td>-ipa</td>
<td>-ipa</td>
<td>big open space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>extended cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kewa</td>
<td>-kewa; -kewa</td>
<td>-kewa</td>
<td>flat and round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kha</td>
<td>-kha</td>
<td>-kha</td>
<td>curved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mak</td>
<td>-mak; -mak</td>
<td>-mak</td>
<td>clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>long vertical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>large and long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pi</td>
<td>-pi</td>
<td>-pi</td>
<td>long, thin, vertical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pu</td>
<td>-pu</td>
<td>-pu</td>
<td>long, hollow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pukari</td>
<td>-pukari</td>
<td>-pukari</td>
<td>round, hollow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Numerical classifiers for animals and humans differ from verbal, possessive and noun classifiers in the following ways.

Numerical classifiers divide into animate and inanimate. The animate classifier -ita is used for all sex-differentiable referents, if their sex is not in focus:

(8) pa-ita
    one-CL:AN    woman
    ‘one woman’

(9) pa-ita
    one-NUM.CL:AN    snake
    ‘one snake’

The feminine animate classifier -ma can be used if the sex of the referent is being focused on, as in (10). For the types described above -ma is always used with feminine referents, and cannot be replaced with -ita ‘animate’ (cf. (4)).

(10) pa-ma
    one-CL:FEM    woman
    ‘one woman’

There is a special numerical classifier -hipa ‘non-feminine human’, used just in this and no other meaning. This classifier is interchangeable with -ita ‘animate’; there is a mild preference to use -hipa for human male referents, as in (11), (12).

(11) phupa (< pa + -hipa)
    one+NUM.CL:AN    man
    ‘one man’

or

(12) pa-ita
    one-CL:AN    man
    ‘one man’

The ‘animate’ classifier, -ita, is always used with a non-human animate referent, such as api ‘snake’ in (9). The classifier -hipa is acceptable with a non-human referent only if it is personified, for instance, in a traditional legend (13).

(13) phupa
    one+NUM.CL:AN    snake
    ‘one snake (acceptable only if personified)’

The semantics of numerical classifiers is shown in figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1. Semantics of numeral classifiers

(14) illustrates an anaphoric use of numeral classifier -da ‘round objects’. The full noun, pipiri ‘pupunha fruit’, is introduced in the first line, and then this object is referred to with the classifier attached to numeral ‘one’ (both occurrences are underlined).

(14) naha pipiri na-yona-ri-se-nuku
    they pupunha fruit 3pl-cook-REL-LOC-TOP.NOA/S
    na-mana-ka-de-pidana
    NEG-NEG+order-TH-NEG-REM.P.INFR 3pl-enter 3sgnf-OBJ
    na-na
    pa-di
    phila
    pi-nu
    3sg-OBJ    one-CL:ROUND 2sg+bring 2sg-come
di-a-pidana
    di-sa-de-nuku
    3sgnf-say-REM.P.INFR 3sgnf-spouse-FEM-TOP.NOA/S

‘They ordered him not to come to the place where they were cooking pupunha fruit. “Bring me one”, he said to his wife.’

2.5 Noun class markers

Classifiers are also used in the function of noun class markers. Noun class markers obligatorily mark agreement on adjectives.

As with numerical classifiers, there is a generic ‘animate’ noun class, marked with -ita. This is the only case of a noun class marker being formally distinct from the corresponding classifier, -ita.3 This is illustrated in (15) and in (16) (the classifier -ita and the noun class marker -ite are underlined).

(15) apa-ita
    one-CL:AN    man big-NOUN.CL:AN
    ‘one big man’

(16) inaru matzite
    woman good+NOUN.CL:AN
    ‘good woman’
Chapter 3: Classes with demonstratives

3.4 Classifier with demonstratives

3.4.3 Sentence of noun class

- Classifier 1
- Demonstrative
- Noun
- Preposition

Figure 3.4: Sentence of noun class

Figure 3.4 shows how classifiers are used with demonstratives.

Example:

 Classifier + Demonstrative + Noun

4.2 Classifiers with demonstratives

- Classifier 2
- Demonstrative
- Noun
- Preposition

Figure 4.2: Sentence of noun class

Figure 4.2 shows how classifiers are used with demonstratives.

Example:

 Classifier + Demonstrative + Noun

Additional notes on classification and use of classifiers:

- Some classifiers are used with articles, while others are used with demonstratives.
- Classifiers with demonstratives are considered in section 3.4.
- Demonstratives with classifiers are considered in section 3.4.3.

Example:

 Classifier + Demonstrative + Noun

Further reading and additional notes:

- In some cases, classifiers are used with demonstratives, and in other cases, they are used with articles.
- The use of classifiers with demonstratives is optional, and the choice depends on the context and the speaker's preference.

Acknowledgments:

The authors would like to thank the reviewers and editors for their valuable feedback and suggestions.

References:

1. ALEXANDRA V. ARKIVAN

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Demonstratives can be specified for shape and form (with inanimate nouns), and for sex (animate nouns); this is done with the same set of classifiers as the one used for noun, verbal and possessive classification. As said before, the use of classifier -ma 'feminine' and of shape classifiers depends on the role of the noun in the discourse.

The generic form of demonstratives (hi and hane) is used with a noun that has an animate referent (20).

(20) hi phenisi hane Tariana na-nu DEM:AN brothers DEM:AN Tariana 3pl-come
'These brothers, these Tarianas came.'

(21) di-giya-ka-pidana hane ifiiri 3sgnf-swim-DECL-REM.P.INFR that animal
'Ve that animal is swimming.'

The animate demonstrative hi can be used anaphorically only if it refers to an animate noun. See (22).

(22) hi puuya-sina waa-na di-dia DEM:AN different-REM.P.NON.VIS. 1pl-OBJ 3sgnf-return
waku 1pl+speaker
'This one (Creator) made our speech (languages) different.'

Hi can be used with a noun with an inanimate or female referent if the noun is not in focus. In (23) hi ina: means 'these women' as a class; ha-ma inar would mean 'this very woman'.

(23) hi ina: ma-nihka-ka-de DEM:AN women NEG-think-TH-NEG
'These women (as a class) do not think.'

Demonstrative ha + classifier is used to refer to inanimate objects if the noun itself, or its shape, is in focus. In (24), classifier -na 'CL:VERT' is used with proximate demonstrative (underlined) because the noun it modifies ('hill') is in focus.

(24) kuwa ha-na who DEM:AN-CL:VERT yapa-na hill-CL:VERT
hane-tu-me-se khetu that-PLACE-ONE.OF.PAIR-LOC REL+bring REL-cross+CAUS
kemeta nu-tu-konape-naka REL+get+CAUS 1sg-daughter-PL-TOP.NON.A/S
ka-su-di-nhade REL-spouse-FEM-PUT.PROB
'Who takes this very mountain across to the other side of the river (lit. that one place of a pair) will marry my daughter.'

(25) shows a similar use of -na 'CL:VERT' with distal demonstrative hane.

'It (the baby) is under that very tree (over there).'

(26) and (27) illustrate the contrast between the generic demonstrative and a demonstrative with a classifier. In (26) a classifier of the 'repeater' type, -idaki 'CL:HUMAN BODY', is used anaphorically with a proximate demonstrative (underlined). Here it refers to the superficial shape assumed by a spirit who had just taken off its snake appearance, and taken the shape ('human body'-like) of a man:

(26) diha-maaka-naka di-wo 3sgnf-start di-a
he-CL:CLOTH LIKE-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-go
di-soleta
3sgnf-take off+CAUS
ha-idaki-ne-pidana DEM:INAN-CL:HUMAN BODY-INS-REM.P.INFR
dinu di-sata-pidana 3sgnf-come 3sgnf-greet-REM.P.INFR
'He (spirit) took off his cloth-like one (snake's looks), came in this human body-like one and greeted (his son-in-law).'

In (27) the shape of -idaki 'body' is not in focus; and so the generic proximate form hi is used:

(27) namu-pidana hi 3pl+look for-REM.P.INFR DEM:AN:GENERIC
idaki-naka
3sgnf-body-TOP.NON.A/S
'They were looking for his body.'
The main difference between adjectives and adverbs is that adjectives modify nouns or pronouns, while adverbs modify verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs. Adjectives describe or give more information about nouns or pronouns, whereas adverbs provide information about verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs.

In terms of their form, adjectives often end with -y for positive, -y for comparative, and -y for superlative, whereas adverbs do not usually follow this pattern. Adjectives can also be used as adverbs by adding -ly to the end.

There are also specific adjectives that can be used as adverbs, such as "fortunately" or "unfortunately." These adjectives are often used to express the speaker's feelings or attitude about something.

In the sentence "She spoke slowly," "slowly" is an adverb modifying the verb "spoke." It provides information about how the verb was performed.

Another example is "The food was delicious." Here, "delicious" is an adjective modifying the noun "food." It gives information about the quality or nature of the food.

In summary, adjectives and adverbs serve different functions in a sentence. Adjectives modify nouns or pronouns, while adverbs modify verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs. Understanding these differences can help improve writing and communication skills.
ALEXANDRA Y. AIKHENVALD

(33) dula
inaru. du-yu-khe
ART:FEM woman 3sgf-cry-REL:SPITE
du-a-ke-pidana
3sgf-say-DECL:REM:P.PL

‘In spite of her crying, the woman was speaking.’

If the inanimate noun, or its shape, is not in focus, the generic form of the article is used:

(34) kay-Rani diha pani-si-se
so-AFTER ART:GENERIC house-NPOSS-LOC
hiwa kasi madre-peni nihi-pidana
cat-NOM good-COLL appear-REM:P.INFR

‘After that, good food appeared in the house.’

Articles are often used anaphorically. Like generic animate demonstratives, diha is not used anaphorically with inanimates; diha + classifier is used instead, cf. diha-tapana (ART:CL:HAB) ‘the house’ in (19). If used anaphorically, diha automatically acquires a ‘masculine animate’ reading, as in (5) where diha means ‘he’.

Classifiers are used when the shape of an inanimate referent is in focus. This is illustrated with (35), from a story about the exploits of the Tariana’s ancestors who had managed to kill a powerful snake. The site where it happened is still visible, and there is a stone that has the shape of a snake’s head. The shape of the stone is important; this is why ‘the head’ is referred to with diha-da diwhida (ART:CL:ROUND 3sgfN+head) ‘the-round one head’, and not diha diwhida (ART:GENERIC 3sgfN+head) ‘the head’.

(35) na-ka-mi-sa deru-naka
3pl-break-LOC-TIGHTLY 3sgfN-hang-PRES:VIS

‘In the place where they broke (the snake’s head), this round head is still hanging.’

Unlike classifiers with demonstratives, classifiers with articles do not have the semantic effect of individuating a noun (cf. (29), (30)).

3.3 Classifiers with demonstratives and with articles: a comparison

The ways animacy and feminine vs non-feminine gender are expressed with demonstratives and with articles are shown in figures 3.3 and 3.4.

Unusual classifiers in Tariana

Table 3.2. Properties of classifiers with demonstratives and with articles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>with demonstratives</th>
<th>with articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animate vs inanimate</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distinction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generic vs specific</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>form</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pragmatic effect of</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shape classifiers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with inanimates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obligatory use of</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pragmatic effect of</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine classifier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuating semantic</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>effect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 3.2 semantic and pragmatic properties of classifiers with demonstratives and with articles, are compared.

Our preliminary conclusion is that in Tariana classifiers with demonstratives and classifiers with articles must be considered distinct subtypes – formally, semantically and pragmatically. Further conclusions will be drawn in section 5, where we compare classifiers used with demonstratives and with articles in other morphosyntactic loci.

4 AREAL PROPERTIES OF MULTIPLE CLASSIFIER SYSTEMS IN TARIANA

Multiple classifier systems are an areal feature of the region of Northwest Amazonia which includes the basin of the Upper Rio Negro and the Vaupés in Brazil and Colombia, and the adjacent regions of northeastern Peru. All these languages typically have the same set of classifier morphemes used in possessive constructions to refer to the possessed noun, and with nouns, numerals and adjectives; some also use classifiers with verbs.

The main difference between the North-Arawak languages spoken on the Upper Rio Negro, and Tariana and Tucano, is that in the former classifiers are not used with demonstratives and articles. Compare the following examples from Tariana (36), (37), Tucano (East-Tucanoan (38)), and Baniwa of Ícana, a North-Arawak language from the Upper Rio Negro (39), (40). Unlike Tucanoan languages, Tariana and Baniwa have articles. However, Tariana uses classifiers with articles in the way described in section 3.2, and Baniwa does not: feminine vs non-feminine gender distinction is used instead.
The properties of the six classifier pairs in Ternua, based on the base of non-noun phrase contexts, summates and pronouns, are summarized in table 3.9. The properties of the six classifier pairs in Ternua, based on the base of non-noun phrase contexts, summates and pronouns, are summarized in table 3.9.

### Table 3.9: Properties of classifier pairs in Ternua

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier Pair</th>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Denominative</th>
<th>Adjectival</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
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<td>yes</td>
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<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following conclusions concern the status and function of demonstratives and articles classes in the multiple classifier system of Ternua.
and classifiers in other contexts (within a possessive NP, and in a clause, i.e. possessive and verbal classifiers).

(iii) The existence of a generic and a specific form, and the pragmatic effect of shape classifiers with inanimate nouns, are the only properties which are common to demonstrative classifiers and article classifiers, but not to classifiers of any other type. Classifiers with demonstratives and with articles are used to focus on the referent, and/or on its shape. That the context of demonstratives and articles is chosen for this purpose follows from pragmatic and functional properties of demonstratives and articles as correlated with individuation and with focusing.

(iv) Three properties distinguish demonstrative and article classifiers from each other. Like noun class markers, but unlike classifiers with demonstratives, articles have a plural animate form. There may be a historical explanation for this. Articles originated in a combination of cross-referencing personal prefixes with an emphatic particle -h4, and personal prefixes display a neutralization of +feminine/-feminine opposition in the plural (see section 2.1). For the same reason, feminine marking, obligatory with cross-referencing prefixes, is also obligatory for articles, but not for demonstratives.

Inanimate classifiers have the semantic effect of individuation with demonstrative but not with article classifiers. This property is shared with noun classifiers. This semantic effect seems to be related to the pragmatics of shape classifiers with demonstratives, the major function of which is pointing at and individuating referent nouns.

This effect has not developed with articles, possibly due to their semantics and function. Articles in Tariana are used to identify and draw attention to a previously mentioned or otherwise known participant, and not to individuate it. This provides a functional explanation for a semantic difference in the use of classifiers with demonstratives, and with articles.

(v) Unlike other languages with demonstrative classifiers (see section 1), demonstrative and article classifiers in Tariana overlap with classifiers of other types. Demonstrative and article classifiers differ from other types in their form, and in their pragmatics. These facts favour the inclusion of demonstrative classifiers as a separate type within an overall morphosyntactic typology of classifiers.8
REFERENCES

and now for names in cadet's room is preceded by P scalp. The study of histological structure of the nervous system, and collaborating laboratories. The experience of those who serve, for instance, in different parts of the world.

6 Documentaries and companion articles explore a different set of lessons in which are not in room. Of course, if the viewer would like, using 'brain' videos without a brain, or even without a body, or even with no body, it can be classified as an intervention (1994).

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