The two faces of animacy

Ekaitz Santazilia

Public University of Navarre (UPNA/NUP)

As pointed out by Corbett (2006, 2012), animacy manifests itself in the grammar of languages in two ways: as a feature and as a condition for the realization of other features. In this work I explore this dual behavior by adding further crosslinguistic evidence. I provide examples affecting number, person, case, and gender, and show that, regarding this distinction, they cannot be analyzed in the same way. Moreover, I examine more closely the relation between these manifestations of animacy and show that they can operate simultaneously not only within the same language but also in the same phenomenon. For these cases, I establish a hierarchy between them that can be crossed with the equally hierarchical relation between the animate/inanimate and the human/nonhuman distinction.

Keywords: animacy; condition; feature; hierarchy.

1   Introduction: Animacy effects

The effects of animacy, or the formal distinction between animates and inanimates or humans and nonhumans, are widely attested in languages all over the world, and trigger asymmetries that may affect different grammatical levels.[1] Animacy is crucial, for instance, in the paradigmatic configuration of some categories such as the pronouns in Table 1 from the Niger-Congo language Grebo (Marchese *apud* Corbett 1991: 200), and it can also affect case syncretisms as in

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[1] For some authors such as Jespersen (1924), Dahl & Fraurud (1996), and Whaley (1997) among others, animacy is a linguistically relevant category for all languages and, therefore, it can be claimed to be universal, although its effects are diverse.

many Slavic Languages (Igartua 2005) as well as in the Dravidian language Telugu shown in Table 2 (Krishnamurti & Gwynn 1985: 88-9; Baerman et al. 2005: 42).[2] It also blocks number and person agreement, as in example 1 from the Otomanguean language Me'phaa (Marlett 2010: 4).

Table 1. 3rd person personal pronoun in Grebo (old system)

	Human	Nonhuman
SG	ɔ	ɛ
PL	o	e

Table 2. Plural noun declension in Telugu

	Inanimate 'houses'	Animate 'dogs'
NOM	*iḷḷu*	*kukkalu*
ACC	*iḷḷu*	*kukkalani*
GEN	*iḷḷa*	*kukkala*
DAT	*iḷḷaki*	*kukkalaki*

ME'PHAA. OTOMANGUEAN.

(1)   a. *dígá   mbóó*

be.STA   one

'There is one (e.g., omelet).'

b. *tea   mbáwīī*

live.STA.3SG   one.3SG

'There is one (e.g., dog).'

Animacy has proved to be crucial for some languages in the configuration of case (Silverstein 1976; Blake 2004 [1994]; Aissen 2003; Filimonova 2005) and gender systems (Corbett 1991), as

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[2] In the singular, nonhuman animates (dogs, horses, and so on) have, moreover, a nominative/genitive syncretism (Krishnamurti & Gwynn 1985: 88-9).

well as in the expression of number (Smith-Stark 1974; Corbett 2000) and person (Forchheimer 1953; Siewierska 2004), but also in phenomena related to focalization/topicalization, referentiality, and so on, as shown by the typological descriptions devoted to animacy effects (see Comrie 1989 [1981]; Croft 1990; Ortmann 1998; Swart et al. 2008; Santazilia 2019).

It is commonly accepted that the cut-off point between animates and inanimates or between humans and nonhumans is not always sharp and purely dependent on biological criteria. Biologically inanimate entities may be considered animate or vice versa, depending on cultural, discursive, and pragmatic/transitory factors (Becker & Oka 1974; Lakoff 1987; Yamamoto 1999; Kittilä et al. 2011; Swart & de Hoop 2018; Sorlin & Gardelle 2018; Santazilia 2019). Moreover, there is general agreement that the representation of animacy as a hierarchical continuum, namely human > animate > inanimate instead of as a pure bipartite split,[3] gives a better account of linguistic phenomena (Comrie 1989 [1981]; Croft 1990, but cf. now Swart & de Hoop 2018, and Santazilia 2019). The **ego** or oneself would always lead the hierarchy, classifying the remaining entities according to the empathy or proximity this **ego** feels toward them (Kuno & Kaburaki 1975; Cooper & Ross 1975; Ross 1982; Langacker 1991; Dahl & Fraurud 1996).

Whatever the representation and behavior of animacy may be, in this paper I contend that it actually operates in two different ways and that, therefore, all the linguistic phenomena related to it are always affected by one of these two different manifestations. To put it another way, I recover a concept already employed by Corbett (2006: Chapter 6; 2012: 91-93), namely the difference between features and conditions, and provide further evidence to show that animacy can also operate as a feature (AnimF) such as gender, number, case, and so on, and as a condition (AnimC). Moreover, I provide evidence to support Corbett's idea that both kinds of animacies

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[3] There may be additional subdivisions inside these main slots, like dividing animates into higher and lower, or humans according to sex, and even gradation among inanimates (Ji & Liang 2018).

may operate within the same language. I addition, I go one step further by showing that AnimC and AnimF may appear even within the same linguistic phenomenon. I then show that the same language may have two types of splits simultaneously: human/nonhuman and animate/inanimate. Finally, I establish a typology capturing the fact that when both manifestations of animacy and/or both types of splits operate within the same phenomenon they always do it in a hierarchical order.

2   Feature and condition

As pointed out above, the difference between features and conditions has been addressed in detail by Corbett in some sections of his book about features (Corbett 2012: Section 4.2, 5.7.1 ff.), but especially in his work devoted to agreement (Corbett 2006). According to him, a feature must be overtly traceable due to its morphosyntactic implications and presence in agreement as a value, unlike conditions, which just govern them by causing a deviation from their canonical behavior, without leaving any formal trait.

Thus, if we look at Table 3 (van den Berg 1989: 51; Corbett 2012: 141), we can see that politeness is a feature in the Austronesian language Muna, as it has morphologically traceable implications (*o-* vs. *to-*) showing agreement in politeness with the subject, provided it is 2nd person. On the other hand, in many languages (Corbett 2000: 224 ff.) the plural is employed with singular references to show politeness. Here, politeness is not a feature, but instead conditions the feature of number.

Table 3. Number and politeness markers in Muna in the verb *kala* 'to go'

	SG	PL
2nd person neutral	*o-kala*	*o-kala-amu*
2nd person polite	*to-kala*	*to-kala-amu*

As shown by Corbett (2012: Section 4.2), animacy, like politeness and other elements, may also operate as a condition for expressing some features and their values.

For Corbett (2006: Sections 3.3, 6.3.1), there is a difference between conditions and prerequisites. The latter are necessary for agreement to take place; they may allow or block agreement, whereas conditions operate once these prerequisites are fulfilled; that is to say, once agreement is realized, by controlling the value a feature must take in this agreement. In this work, however, I have included both under the label of **condition**.

3   Examples of animacy effects

Animacy surfaces in phenomena related to many features, such as person, number, case, and gender. In this section, I provide some examples regarding each of these features (grouped in triads). Thereafter, I contend that these examples cannot actually be put together, since animacy operates as a feature (AnimF) for some of them, and as a condition (AnimC) for the others.

3.1   Person

In Bunak (Schapper 2009: 122), as shown in example (2), person is affected by animacy as it goes from not being marked to being overtly marked on the verb. In Yagaria (cf. 3), the direct objects do not allow semantic third person marking and must agree in the 1st person if they are not human (Haiman 1980: 371, adapted by Siewierska 2004: 155).[4] Finally, observe in Table 4 how in Southern Dagaare (Bodomo 1997: 71), a Niger-Congo language, personal pronouns in the plural show a human/nonhuman distinction in the third person.[5]

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[4] Notice that, in this case, the 1st person has no overt marking.
[5] The difference between the weak and the strong paradigm lies in syntactic independence, such as in French *je* vs. *moi*.

BUNAK. TRANS-NEW GUINEAN.

(2)   a. *Markus   zo   poi*

Marcus   mango   choose

'Marcus chose a mango.'

b. *Markus   zap **go**-poi*

Marcus   dog **3**-choose

'Marcus chose a dog.'   (Schapper 2009: 122)

YAGARIA. TRANS-NEW GUINEAN.

(3)   a. *mna-vrza-mo   ko-e/*p-go-e*

bird-COLL-PL   see-1SG/*2/3PL-see-1SG

'I saw the birds.'

b. *vedemo   **p**-go-e*

men   **2/3**PL-see-1SG

'I saw the men.'   (Haiman 1980: 371, adapted by Siewierska 2004: 155)

Table 4. Plural personal pronouns in Southern Dagaare

	Weak	Strong
1	*te*	*tenee*
2	*yɛ*	*yɛnee*
3 Nonhuman	*a*	*ana*
3 Human	*ba*	*bana*

3.2   Number

The next triad of phenomena is related to number. In Tepehua, from Tlachichilco (Watters 1988: 460-461), number can only be overtly marked in animate entities, as shown in (4). In Afar, inanimate plural (or conjoined) entities must trigger singular (feminine) agreement on the verb,

whereas animate and especially human beings can optionally trigger plural agreement as well (see example 5 from Hayward & Corbett 1988: 273; Corbett 2000: 205). Finally, in Breton (cf. 6) the plural number markers have different forms depending on the animacy of the noun they are attached to (Press 1986: 67).[6]

TEPEHUA, TLACHICHILCO. TOTONACAN.

(4)   a. *ma:ti:*

        door

        'door(s)'

    a'. **ma:ti:-n*

        door-PL

        'doors'

    b. *capul*

        snake

        'snake(s)'

    b'. *capul-in*

        snake-PL

        'snakes'   (Watters 1988: 460-461)

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[6] However, the plural formation in Breton and other Celtic languages is complex, and there are some deviations (Press 1986: 66-7).

AFAR. AFRO-ASIATIC.

(5) *daròo-kee   kadò   tummurruqe/*yummurruqen*

grain.M.SG-and   meat.F.SG   have.finished.F.SG/have.finished.PL

'The grain and the meat have run out.'   (Hayward & Corbett 1988: 273 ex5)

BRETON. INDO-EUROPEAN.

(6) a. *bag-où*

boat-PL

'boats'

b. *paotr-ed*

boy-PL

'boys'   (Press 1986: 67)

3.3   Case

Regarding the relation between animacy and case, in the Dravidian language Badaga (Kittilä 2008: 246) the accusative case marker is always attached overtly to the NP if it is inanimate; otherwise, it is optional and little used (cf. 7). The example of Russian in (8) shows that inanimate entities have a nominative/accusative syncretism pattern, whereas animates follow an accusative/genitive one (Comrie 1979: 14). Finally, examples from Basque in (9) show that local cases take a morpheme -*ga*(*n*)- when attached to an animate entity (Santazilia 2013: 227).[7]

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[7] And optionally, also the genitive marker.

BADAGA. DRAVIDIAN.

(7)   a. *ama ondu   manusa-**na**   nooDida*

he   a   man-ACC   see.PST.3SG

'He saw a man.'

b. *ama ondu   kaTTe   baNDi**(-ya)**   nooDida*

he   a   wood   vehicle**(-ACC)**   see.PST.3SG

'He saw a wagon.'   (Kittilä 2008: 246)

RUSSIAN. INDO-EUROPEAN.

(8)   a. *begemot   ljubit   il-Ø*

hippopotamus   loves   slime-NOM/ACC

'The hippopotamus loves (the) slime.'

b. *begemot   ljubit   nosorog-a*

hippopotamus   loves   rhinoceros-ACC/GEN

'The hippopotamus loves the rhinoceros.'   (Comrie 1979: 14)

BASQUE. LANGUAGE ISOLATE.

(9)   a. *Iran-dik*

Iran-ABL

'from Iran'

b. *lagun-a(-ren)-gan-dik*

friend-ART-GEN-ANIM-ABL

'from a/the friend'   (Santazilia 2013: 227)

3.4   Gender

The last triad of examples is related to gender. In the case of Bhojpuri (Verma 2003: 525), gender (masculine/feminine) can be overtly expressed by derivational means only in animate entities, as shown in (10). Inanimates cannot take such derivational affixes. The example of Bemba in (11) shows that when entities belonging to different genders must agree in a verb, animacy determines which gender value must be used: in this case, gender 2 is used for animates and 8 for inanimates (Givón 1972: 82, adapted by Corbett 1991: 275). In Pirahã, 3rd person singular pronouns distinguish genders for humans, animates, and inanimates, as can be seen in Table 5 (Sheldon *apud* Aikhenvald & Dixon 1999: 355). Moreover, there are further distinctions based on sex and the quality of being aquatic animals.

BHOJPURI. INDO-EUROPEAN.

(10) a. *dādā*

grandparent.M

'grandfather'

b. *dādi*

grandparent.F

'grandmother'   (Verma 2003: 525)

BEMBA. NIGER-CONGO.

(11) a. *im-fumu   na   i-shilu   **ba**-aliile*

9-chief   and 5-lunatic **2**-left

'The chief and the lunatic left.'

b. *ici-tabo,   ubu-sanshi   na   ulu-balala   **fi**-li   kuno*

7-book   14-bed   and   11-peanut   **8**-be   here

'The book, the bed, and the peanut are here.'   (Givón 1972: 82)

Table 5. 3rd person singular pronouns in Pirahã

Human		Animate		Inanimate
General	Feminine	Nonaquatic	Aquatic	
hi^3	χi^3	$\chi i^1 k$	si^3	χa^3

4   Animacy: condition or feature

In this section I argue that the examples presented above within each triad illustrating the features of person, number, case, and gender cannot be put together in the same way. These are the reasons:

A.   In all the first examples in each triad, the feature goes from not being marked to being overtly marked, due to animacy (the value it takes is not important).

B.   In all the second examples in each triad, the feature was already present, but animacy changes the value this feature formerly had.

C.   In all the third examples in each triad, neither the feature nor the value it has is affected. Put simply, an animate/inanimate distinction is made.

Thus, in examples in A and B, animacy conditions respectively the overt marking of a feature or the value this category must have; that is to say, animacy is a **condition** (AnimC). In C, the feature and its value are in no way affected by animacy. In short, a grammatical category – whether a pronoun, a pluralizer, or a case-marker in the examples provided – makes a semantic distinction based on animacy, by changing its shape, or by adding further morphological material. Therefore, in that case animacy is just a **feature** (AnimF), affecting semantically a grammatical category employed to encode a person, number, case, or gender value.

Thus, from a theoretical point of view, animacy may operate as a **condition** (AnimC) or as a **feature** (AnimF). See Figure 1.

The first example in each triad is determined by animacy as a condition (AnimC). In these cases, animacy controls the overt marking of the feature.[8] Remember that in Bunak the feature of person is only overtly expressed in agreement with animate entities. The same applies to the feature of number in Tepehua Tlachichilco, case in Badaga, and gender (masculine/feminine) in Bhojpuri. All these examples would be located in the slot called **Overt marking**, within each feature in Figure 1.

AnimC determines the second example in each triad as well, which conditions the value each feature will have. The first person is imposed in Yagaria, while it is the singular number in Afar, the syncretism pattern of case markers in Russian, and gender value 2 for animates and 8 for inanimates in Bemba. Notice that in this case, AnimC does not condition the overt realization of the feature, but just its value. All these examples would be in their respective **value definition** slot in Figure 1.[9]

Finally, in all the third examples in each triad, animacy operates as a feature (AnimF in Figure 1), since neither the overt realization of a feature (person, number, and so on) nor the value it must take is directly affected by animacy. In Southern Dagaare the third person value in the pronoun is overtly expressed irrespective of animacy, as is plurality in the pluralizer in Breton, and the locative value in the case marker in Basque. In Pirahã pronouns, gender is always instantiated (therefore, AnimC does not condition its overt appearance): animacy as a

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[8] These would be prerequisites in Corbett's terms.
[9] There are actually more ways in which animacy operates as a condition, which should be added at the same level as overt marking and value definition. One can be termed **Controller definition**, and happens when animacy determines what the agreement controller of a given feature must be. Another can be labeled **Morphological structure** and includes cases in which animacy determines the possibility of incorporation of a pronoun, or the relative order of morphemes in the phrase. Here, the way the features appear is affected by animacy, but not their overt marking or their values.

feature (AnimF) plays a role in the configuration of the gender system and its values in this language, in the case of Pirahã, together with other features like sex, or the property of being an aquatic animal.[10] The point is that all these categories, whose function is that of encoding the values of each feature, also have the animacy-based semantic distinction, by changing the shape of the morpheme or by adding further morphological substance, as in Basque.

In summary, animacy operates as a condition when it determines the overt appearance of a feature or its value, and as a feature when it adds a human/nonhuman or animate/inanimate distinction, not affecting other features.

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[10] It is important to show that animacy lies at the basis of gender systems as a feature (AnimF) – whether together with other features and factors or not – and not as a condition (AnimC) determining the values (that might be those of animate/inanimate or not), since AnimC can in some cases override the configuration of gender systems, whatever they may be (even affected by AnimF), and impose its own gender agreement. This is the case of Bemba, for instance. In this language, AnimF establishes that 1/2 is the canonical gender for humans; however, there are human entities that do not belong to this gender. Thus, when two of these "non-canonical" human entities are conjoined, verbal gender agreement does not take place in the gender assigned to them. AnimC conditions agreement in gender 2, which is the canonical one for humans (Corbett 1991: 275).
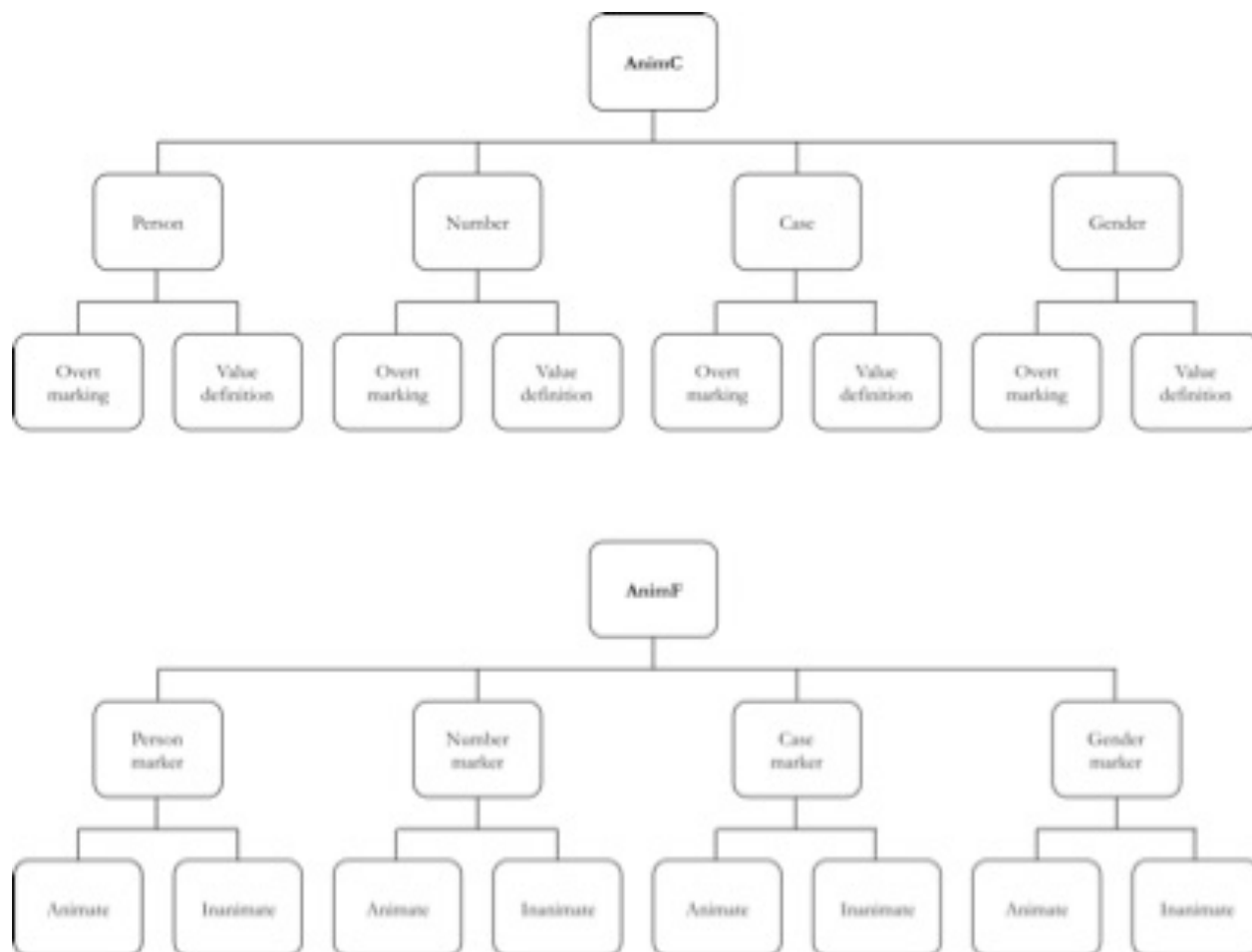
Figure 1. Two manifestations of animacy: as a condition (AnimC) and as a feature (AnimF)

5   The relation of AnimF and AnimC

After having shown that animacy behaves in two different ways or that, categorically, there are "two animacies," I will offer some reflections on the relation between them.

5.1   One language, two animacies

Based on Russian data, Corbett (2006: 120 fn.6) has already demonstrated that both AnimF and AnimC may appear within the same language. Here I provide further linguistic evidence of this.

Let us consider first two examples from Basque. Locative cases distinguish animacy by means of a morpheme, as shown in the previous example (9). Thus, animacy operates as a feature in this case. Examples in (12), adapted from Igartua & Santazilia (2018: 383-384), show a different phenomenon, in which animacy operates as a condition. In Basque transitive sentences, the subject is marked with the ergative case, and the direct object with the absolutive. Both arguments agree on the verb in person, number, and case, as can be seen in (12a). However, in some Basque dialects, if the direct object is animate, it can be marked with the dative and show dative agreement, which makes the verb have ditransitive morphology, even if there is no absolutive argument in the sentence, as shown in (12b).[11] Therefore, animacy operates as a condition for case agreement, determining whether the direct object must be in the absolutive case, or can be either absolutive or dative. This is an example of the co-existence of both AnimC and AnimF within the same language, which demonstrates that the manifestation of animacy is dependent on specific grammatical constructions, and that does not necessarily cover the whole language.

BASQUE. LANGUAGE ISOLATE.

(12) a. *nik   zu   ikusi z-a-it-u-t*

        I.ERG   you.ABS   seen 2.ABS-vowel-PL-root-1SG.ERG

        'I have seen you.'

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[11] In ditransitive sentences, the direct object must be compulsorily a third person. In Basque, third persons are always zero-marked on the verb, but there is indirect evidence showing that in ditransitive forms like *dizut* the direct object is covertly encoded. On the one hand, the subject in the sentence is marked with the ergative case. On the other, whereas the third person singular is not overtly encoded, the plurality of the direct object must be signaled by a morpheme -*zki*- (*di-zki-zut*).

   b. nik   zuri   ikusi d-i-zu-t

   I.ERG   you.DAT   seen PRS-root-2.DAT-1SG.ERG

   'I have seen you.'   (Igartua & Santazilia 2018: 383-384)

5.2   One language, two animacy splits

Moreover, we could ask whether a language that employs a human/nonhuman distinction can show an animate/inanimate one or vice versa in other parts of its grammar, or must, on the contrary, always establish the same cut-off point.

Negativizers in Sentani, which show the effects of AnimF, demonstrate that different types of splits may coexist in the same language, and even in the same paradigm, as existent negativizers follow a human/nonhuman pattern, whereas nonexistent ones show an animate/inanimate split, as can be seen in Table 6, adapted from Hartzler (1994: 63).[12]

Table 6. Negativizer adverb in Sentani

	Existent	Nonexistent
Human	*olo*	*ban*
Animate	*an*	*ban*
Inanimate	*an*	*u*

5.3   Two animacies within the same construction

However, the most interesting cases are those in which AnimC and AnimF coexist not only within the same language, but also even within the same phenomenon. In these cases, a hierarchy on   the   type   of   animacy   (AnimC > AnimF)   and   on   the   type   of   split

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[12] The existent/nonexistent distinction makes reference to the real existence of an entity in the universe. Thus, if we had to answer "no" to a question such as *Is Eli at home?* we would use *olo*, since Eli is an existent human entity, even if it is not present at that moment. However, the negative answer to a question like *Do you have any children?* would be *ban*, since the children just mentioned do not exist (see Hartzler (1994: 60-61).

(animate/inanimate > human/nonhuman) can be established, and even a hierarchy between them (type of animacy > type of split). Let us pay attention to the following examples.

In the Gudandji dialect of Wambaya (Aguas 1968: 5-6), number is only marked on animate entities, as can be seen in Table 7. Therefore, animacy operates as a condition for the feature of number. However, once number is marked, the number marker makes a human/nonhuman distinction. Consequently, we can see how animacy operates first as a condition for number marking, and then as a feature among animates. Notice, moreover, that each manifestation of animacy employs a different cut-off point: AnimC has an animate/inanimate split, whereas AnimF makes a human/nonhuman distinction.

Table 7. Plural markers in the Gudandji dialect of Wambaya

Animate		Inanimate
Human	Nonhuman	
-man	*-ma*	-

Bound pronouns in Abui provide us with another example. As summarized in Table 8 including 3rd person singular bound pronouns (adapted from Klamer & Kratochvíl 2006: 64), only verbs that can have either animate or inanimate objects are overtly marked with a prefixed pronoun that agrees with the object. Furthermore, among these bound pronouns, three alternative forms are available, depending on affectedness and animacy again. Thus, animacy operates as a condition for overt agreement of the bound pronoun. Once the pronoun is present, the pronoun agrees in affectedness, but also in animacy as a feature (*ho-* vs. *ha-*). We can establish an ordering of operating rules such as the following: AnimC > Affectedness > AnimF.

Table 8. Singular bound pronouns in Abui

Inanimate objects only	Animate and inanimate objects		
	Affected	Unaffected	
		Animate	Inanimate
-	*ha-*	*ho-*	*he-*

Thus, when both animacies appear in the same phenomenon, AnimC must compulsorily operate before AnimF, and the animate/inanimate distinction, before that of human/nonhuman. Moreover, there is an arrangement between both hierarchies, AnimC > AnimF overriding that of Animate/Inanimate > Human/Nonhuman. This has been summarized in Table 9.

Table 9. Hierarchical arrangement of operation rules

Scenario	TA <> TS	Type of animacy (TA)	Type of split (TS)	Example
I	TS > TA	*		
II	TA > TS	AnimF > AnimC	*	
III	TA > TS	AnimC > AnimF	Hum/nhum > Anim/inan	*
IV	TA > TS	AnimC > AnimF	Anim/inan > Hum/nhum	Wambaya
V	TA > TS	AnimC > AnimF	Anim/inan > Anim/inan	Abui
VI	TA > TS	AnimC > AnimF	Hum/nhum > Hum/nhum	?

All of this has several implications. We will not find a phenomenon in which we can determine first whether we have an animate/inanimate or a human/nonhuman distinction, before we know whether animacy is operating as a feature or as a condition, since this would block the possibility of having different types of splits for each type of animacy, as happens in Wambaya. Thus, a situation like that in Scenario I of Table 9 is impossible: we must first determine whether animacy operates as a feature or as a condition.

Moreover, it is inconceivable to come across a situation in which AnimF establishes first a split, and then AnimC conditions it, blocking the path AnimF > AnimC in Scenario II. This is so because an AnimF split (with contrasting forms for humans/nonhumans and

animates/inanimates) would be illogical if then AnimC were to condition, for instance, the overt manifestation of AnimF, restricting it to animates or humans. Consequently, animacy must first operate as a condition, and then AnimF can introduce a distinction in the elements previously overtly marked according to AnimC.

Similarly, if AnimC establishes a split based on a human/nonhuman distinction, it is impossible for AnimF to make a more general animate/inanimate distinction, as AnimF operates later, and cannot, therefore, function by establishing a wider split than that defined before by AnimC, as shown in Scenario III.

The remaining options are, at least in theory, possible: cases in which AnimC makes an animate/inanimate distinction and then AnimF either a human/nonhuman (Scenario IV) or an animate/inanimate (Scenario V) one, or cases in which AnimC follows a human/nonhuman split, and then AnimF makes the same distinction (Scenario VI).

Scenarios IV and V are represented, respectively, by the examples of Wambaya and Abui. Plural markers in Wambaya are affected first by AnimC, as their overt marking depends on an animate/inanimate split. Thereafter, AnimF operates by giving specific forms to animates, according to a human/nonhuman split. In Abui, AnimC determines that only verbs that can have both animate and inanimate objects will be overtly marked, and it is precisely this same animate/inanimate distinction that is employed by AnimF to distinguish two different forms. Although there is no reason to believe that it is not theoretically possible, I have not found any example for Scenario VI, which would be similar to that of Abui, but with a human/nonhuman distinction both for AnimC and AnimF, instead of that of animate/inanimate that we find in Abui.

6   Conclusions

As pointed out by Corbett (2006, 2012), animacy may operate as a feature and as a condition. In the first case (AnimF), a value of animacy (human, nonhuman, animate, or inanimate) is traceable in the grammar of a language, since it has a morphological representation and triggers agreement in different targets. The other type of animacy (AnimC), on the other hand, influences the overt realization and values of other features. In this paper, I have given further linguistic evidence of this.

Hence, I have provided examples of animacy effects related to the features of number, person, case, and gender, and argued that these should be analyzed in a different way, depending on whether animacy operates as a feature or as a condition.

The way animacy operates (AnimC or AnimF) is phenomenon-dependent, and not language-dependent. Therefore, a language may show instantiations of both AnimC and AnimF. Equally, the human/nonhuman or animate/inanimate distinction depends on each phenomenon, it being possible for a language to show both splits in different animacy-affected constructions.

But the most interesting manifestations of animacy are those that combine both types of animacy (AnimC and AnimF), and even both types of split, namely human/nonhuman and animate/inanimate split. For these I have established some operation rules, which show the following patterns.

- First, it must be determined which type of animacy is operating, and then which type of split, with the opposite order being impossible.
- When both types of animacy operate within the same phenomenon, AnimC operates before AnimF, with the opposite way being impossible.

- In such a case, the animacy split employed by AnimC will be as wide as that employed by AnimF, or more. Therefore, a situation in which AnimC follows a human/nonhuman split and AnimF a wider animate/inanimate one is not possible.

- A situation in which AnimC follows an animate/inanimate split whereas AnimF has a human/nonhuman one can be found in Wambaya. Abui shows a case in which both types of animacy follow the same pattern (animate/inanimate). I have not found any example in which both animacies follow a human/nonhuman pattern, although it seems to be theoretically possible.

Thus, the separation of both manifestations of animacy is, as already contended by Corbett, crucial for any typological work devoted to animacy. Currently, the universality of animacy suggested by several authors (see footnote 1) should be claimed only for AnimC. Obviously, not all languages have animacy as a feature, whereas animacy conditions several phenomena and tendencies in different ways all over the world (cf. Santazilia 2019). Keeping this distinction in mind in subsequent typological works would in future provide additional information on the different behavior they might have, and on the relevance of these differences in the grammar of languages.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

1	1st person	DAT	dative
2	2nd person/gender 2	ERG	ergative
3	3rd person	F	feminine
5	gender 5	GEN	genitive
7	gender 7	HUM	human
8	gender 8	INAN	inanimate
9	gender 9	M	masculine
11	gender 11	NOM	nominative
14	gender 14	NHUM	nonhuman
ABL	ablative	PL	plural
ABS	absolutive	PRS	present tense
ACC	accusative	PST	past tense
ANIM	animate	SG	singular
ANIMC	animacy as a condition	STA	stative
ANIMF	animacy as a feature	TA	type of animacy
ART	article	TS	type of split
COLL	collective		

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Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Address for correspondence

Ekaitz Santazilia

Department of Human Sciences and Education

Public University of Navarre (UPNA/NUP)

Campus Arrosadia s/n

31006. Pamplona, Navarre

SPAIN

ekaitz.santazilia@unavarra.es

'https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1158-821X