Abstract Title: Gender in Walman
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The goal of this paper is to discuss how many genders there are in Walman, a language in the Torricelli family spoken in Papua New Guinea. This is not a straightforward question. There are two uncontroversial genders in Walman, masculine and feminine, and the majority of nouns belong to one of these two genders. But there are two other categories that might or might not be considered genders. One is diminutive, the other is pluralia tantum. In this paper we discuss possible reasons for considering or not considering each of these to be a gender.

The assignment of nouns to masculine and feminine follows a number of principles. First, all nouns denoting inanimate objects are feminine (except for the nouns for 'sun' and 'moon', which might traditionally have been considered animate by the Walman). Second, for humans and higher animals, gender is determined semantically. Only for lower animals are the factors determining the assignment of gender less clear. Masculine and feminine genders are distinguished in Walman only in the third person singular.

Walman also has an inflectional diminutive, which, like masculine and feminine gender, manifests itself not on the noun but on words agreeing with the noun, namely a number of nominal modifiers and both subject and object agreement on verbs. Corbett (2011) argues that the Walman diminutive is a gender (albeit an aberrant one), but the issue of whether it is a gender is partly if not entirely a matter of definition. If one defines gender as a feature associated with nouns as lexical items, such that some nouns are diminutive while other nouns are not, the Walman diminutive is not a gender: in principle any noun in Walman can be associated with diminutive agreement. For example, the noun *pirinyue* 'cockroach' is grammatically feminine and never masculine, but can optionally be associated with diminutive agreement, as in (1) below.

Another category which might be considered a gender in Walman is pluralia tantum. Unlike pluralia tantum in many languages, pluralia tantum in Walman do not bear plural inflection, but always trigger plural agreement, as in (2) below, where *chrikiel* 'net' is associated with plural agreement and can never be associated with feminine or masculine agreement. There are four ways in which pluralia tantum is like a gender in Walman. First, there are a large number of pluralia tantum nouns; in fact, they outnumber masculine nouns considerably. Second, apart from nouns denoting higher animals, which are associated with masculine or feminine agreement depending on their inherent gender, all nouns in Walman must belong to one of three classes of nouns: masculine, feminine, or pluralia tantum. Third, pluralia tantum noun phrases behave like singular masculine and feminine noun phrases in that they are optionally associated with diminutive agreement, something that is not possible with ordinary plural noun phrases (example (1) cannot mean 'I saw a number of small cockroaches'). And fourth, there is an irregular form *ngony* of the word *ngo* 'one' that occurs only with pluralia tantum nouns, as in (4) (where *tokun* 'knot' is pluralia tantum), something we might not expect if pluralia tantum nouns were simply grammatically plural.

(1) Kum m-etere-**l**   pirinyue.
     1SG   1SG-see-**3SG.DIM**   cockroach
     'I saw a small cockroach.'

(2) Chrikiel **y-o**   lapo-**y**.
     net   **3PL**-be big-**PL**
     'The net is large.'

(3) Chrikiel pa<**l**>ten   **l**-o   nyopu-**l**.
     net   that<**DIM**> **3SG.DIM**-be good-**DIM**
     'That tiny net is good (useful).'

(4) N-optu-**y**   tokun **ngo-ny**!
     3SG.MASC-tie-**3PL**   knot   **one-PL**
     'Tie one knot!'