Concurrent gender systems in Europe:
a new look at the Asturian neuter

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Recent work in Canonical Typology (Fedden & Corbett 2016) pursues a quest, started in Corbett (1991: 184–188), for languages with more than one gender system, with examples mostly found in languages that have been maintained to possess gender alongside classifiers, since “the traditional division between gender and classifiers as fulfilling similar functions in languages of different types is ever harder to maintain” (p. 1). Languages with concurrent systems occur in Australia, Papua New Guinea and the Americas. The closest one gets to Romance so far is Michif, a French/Cree mixed language of Ontario (cf. Bakker 1997: 109 for the data and Corbett 2012: 176 for discussion), while no Romance language has been analyzed as featuring two gender systems: thus, implicitly, the room for variation in time and space in Romance has been held to be constrained by the (unitary) three-valued gender system inherited from Latin. In this paper, I argue that Central Asturian has changed in a more radical way, becoming a language with two concurrent gender systems. This language famously has a kind of neuter agreement (marked with an o-ending on non-prenominal adjectives) that stirred an unrelenting debate, with traditional analyses – which called it a (neuter) gender value – rightly criticized, by proponents of alternative analyses because of the mismatch with the common Romance binary gender agreement seen on determiners: e.g. *el café frio* vs. *la tishe frio* ‘cold coffee/milk’. Linking theory (i.e., recent research in Canonical Typology) with empirical evidence, here, automatically yields the best analysis, leading to the conclusion that a) the Asturian neuter is a gender value, but b) within a second gender system, concurrent with the binary common Romance one.

**References:**  