Gender, Nominalizing Heads, and Locality

Luke James Adamson
Leibniz-Zentrum Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft

adamson@leibniz-zas.de

BCGL 17: Categories and Categorization – December 12th, 2024

Defining Gender

Descriptively, grammatical gender is the sorting of nouns into two or more classes, where:[1]

[1] This is a modified definition from Kramer 2015:70; see also Hockett 1958 and Corbett 1991 for related definitions.

Defining Gender

Descriptively, grammatical gender is the sorting of nouns into two or more classes, where:[1]

1. Sorting correlates with interpretation for at least some members (based on e.g. animacy, sociocultural gender).

[1] This is a modified definition from Kramer 2015:70; see also Hockett 1958 and Corbett 1991 for related definitions.

Defining Gender

Descriptively, grammatical gender is the sorting of nouns into two or more classes, where:[1]

1. Sorting correlates with interpretation for at least some members (based on e.g. animacy, sociocultural gender).

2. Classes reflected by agreement patterns on other elements.

[1] This is a modified definition from Kramer 2015:70; see also Hockett 1958 and Corbett 1991 for related definitions.

Defining Gender

Descriptively, grammatical gender is the sorting of nouns into two or more classes, where:[1]

1. Sorting correlates with interpretation for at least some members (based on e.g. animacy, sociocultural gender).

2. Classes reflected by agreement patterns on other elements.

(1) la donna
the.F.SG woman
'the woman'

(2) la pizza
the.F.SG pizza
'the pizza' (Italian)

[1] This is a modified definition from Kramer 2015:70; see also Hockett 1958 and Corbett 1991 for related definitions.

Gender and Nominals

Nouns vs. nominal structure: Is gender a property of category-neutral $\sqrt{\text{ROOTS}}$, nominalizing heads, or of larger structures?

[2] Lowenstamm 2008; Kramer 2015, 2016a; Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019

Gender and Nominals

Nouns vs. nominal structure: Is gender a property of category-neutral $\sqrt{\text{ROOTS}}$, nominalizing heads, or of larger structures?

n-Gender Hypothesis

Grammatical gender features are base-generated on the categorizing head n[2]

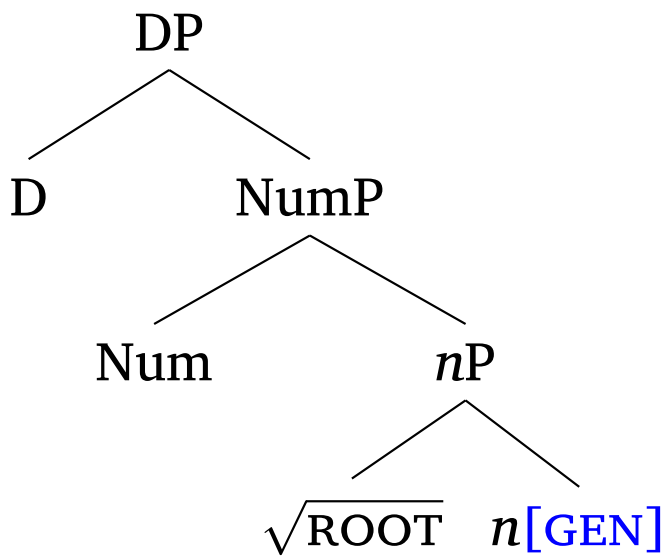
[2] Lowenstamm 2008; Kramer 2015, 2016a; Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019

Gender and Nominals

Nouns vs. nominal structure: Is gender a property of category-neutral $\sqrt{\text{ROOTS}}$, nominalizing heads, or of larger structures?

n-Gender Hypothesis

Grammatical gender features are base-generated on the categorizing head n[2]



[2] Lowenstamm 2008; Kramer 2015, 2016a; Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019

Gender and Nominals

Today's talk: Motivate and extend the *n*-Gender Hypothesis.

Gender and Nominals

Today's talk: Motivate and extend the *n*-Gender Hypothesis.

- Gender is linked specifically to noun categorization.

Gender and Nominals

Today's talk: Motivate and extend the *n*-Gender Hypothesis.

- Gender is linked specifically to noun categorization.
- Locality Effect 1: only elements local to *n* can condition a noun's gender.

Gender and Nominals

Today's talk: Motivate and extend the *n*-Gender Hypothesis.

- Gender is linked specifically to noun categorization.
- Locality Effect 1: only elements local to *n* can condition a noun's gender.
- Locality Effect 2: only elements local to *n* can condition gender *allosemy*.

Gender and Nominals

Today's talk: Motivate and extend the *n*-Gender Hypothesis.

- Gender is linked specifically to noun categorization.
- Locality Effect 1: only elements local to *n* can condition a noun's gender.
- Locality Effect 2: only elements local to *n* can condition gender *allosemy*.

Some implications:

- Presents challenges for some Agree-based analyses of matching phenomena with predicative nouns
- Supports the existence of $\varnothing_n$

Nominalizations and gender

The *n*-based Gender Hypothesis makes several predictions.[3]

[3] See especially Kramer 2015.

Nominalizations and gender

The *n*-based Gender Hypothesis makes several predictions.[3]

- Prediction 1: Nominalization via *n* (including ∅-affixes) can select for specific genders.

[3] See especially Kramer 2015.

Nominalizations and gender

The *n*-based Gender Hypothesis makes several predictions.[3]

- Prediction 1: Nominalization via *n* (including ∅-affixes) can select for specific genders.
- Prediction 2: Nominals *without* *n*P lack gender → gender agreement when noun structure is absent = default.

[3] See especially Kramer 2015.

Nominalizations and gender

The *n*-based Gender Hypothesis makes several predictions.[3]

- Prediction 1: Nominalization via *n* (including ∅-affixes) can select for specific genders.
- Prediction 2: Nominals *without* *n*P lack gender → gender agreement when noun structure is absent = default.
- Prediction 3: A $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$ can be compatible with multiple genders.

[3] See especially Kramer 2015.

Nominalizing affixes

Nominalizing affixes select for a specific gender (Kramer 2015).

Nominalizing affixes

Nominalizing affixes select for a specific gender (Kramer 2015).

- In French (and in some other Indo-European languages), overtly nominalized deadjectivals are feminine, regardless of how the suffix is realized (Beard 1990; Kramer 2015)

la banal-ité	'the.F.SG banal-ity'
la faibl-esse	'the.F.SG weak-ness'
la moit-eur	'the.F.SG damp-ness'
la drôl-erie	'the.F.SG funni-ness'

Table: French deadjectivals, from Kramer 2015:196

- Greek abstract nouns – including zero-derived ones are feminine (see Markopolous 2018; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2022).

Lithuanian N and its distribution

Lithuanian nouns are M or F, but also: N category for agreement[4]

- Adamson and Šereikaitė (2019): Lithuanian N morphology is default, appearing when agreement with a noun isn't possible.

[4] Ambrazas 1997

Lithuanian N and its distribution

Lithuanian nouns are M or F, but also: N category for agreement[4]

- Adamson and Šereikaitė (2019): Lithuanian N morphology is default, appearing when agreement with a noun isn't possible.
  - Neuter adjective with non-structural-case subject

(3)
Aš buvau šalt-as/-à/*-a kaip ledas.
I.NOM.1SG be.PST.1SG cold-[M]/-[F]/*-[N] as ice
'I was cold as ice [=my body was cold].'

(4)
Man$_i$ buvo šalt-a/*-as/*-à ne tik lauke, bet ir
me.DAT be.PST.3 cold-[N]/*-[M]/*-[F] not only outside but and
savo$_i$ namuose.
self's house
'I felt cold not only outside, but also in my own house.'

[4] Ambrazas 1997

Attributives and *n*

n[GEND][FEM]	(feminine)
n[GEND]	(masculine)
**n*	(✗, 'neuter', doesn't exist in Lithuanian)

Table: simplified *n* inventory, Lithuanian (Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019)

[5] e.g. Embick and Marantz 2008

[6] e.g. Alexiadou and Iordăchioaia 2014

Attributives and *n*

n[GEND][FEM]	(feminine)
n[GEND]	(masculine)
**n*	(✗, 'neuter', doesn't exist in Lithuanian)

Table: simplified *n* inventory, Lithuanian (Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019)

- $\sqrt{\text{ROOTS}}$ must appear with categorizers[5]
- *a*P can only modify *n*P[6]

[5] e.g. Embick and Marantz 2008

[6] e.g. Alexiadou and Iordăchioaia 2014

Attributives and *n*

n[GEND][FEM]	(feminine)
n[GEND]	(masculine)
**n*	(✗, 'neuter', doesn't exist in Lithuanian)

Table: simplified *n* inventory, Lithuanian (Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019)

- $\sqrt{\text{ROOTS}}$ must appear with categorizers[5]
- *a*P can only modify *n*P[6]

(5) a. sald-ùs med-us
sweet-M honey-[M]
'sweet honey'

b. sald-ì vyšn-ia
sweet-F cherry-[F]
'sweet cherry'

(6) tyl-ùs/*-ù *oj*
quiet-[M]/*-[N] INTJ
'quiet oj'

[5] e.g. Embick and Marantz 2008
[6] e.g. Alexiadou and Iordăchioaia 2014

Internal/external nominal syntax

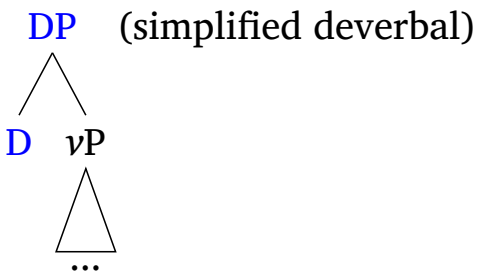
Alexiadou et al. 2010 (and much subsequent work): nominalizations need not involve *n*.

Internal/external nominal syntax

Alexiadou et al. 2010 (and much subsequent work): nominalizations need not involve *n*.

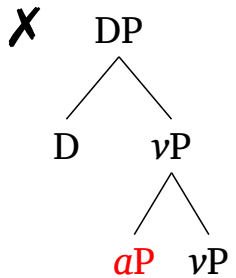
- Nominalizations always have nominal-'external' syntax (i.e. can appear in argument positions).

(7)



- Nominalizations only have nominal-'internal' syntax if *n* is projected (i.e. *a*P modification)

(8)



Contrasting 'deverbals' with and without *n*P

- Overtly nominalized deverbal: can take an attributive adjective; M agreement (*N)

(9) Jam gręsia stipr-ùs/*-ù per-si-gėr-**im**-as.
he.DAT threaten heavy-[M]/*-[N] PFV-RFL-drink-*n*-INFL
'He (his health) is threatened by heavy over-drinking.'

Contrasting 'deverbals' with and without *n*P

- Overtly nominalized deverbal: can take an attributive adjective; M agreement (*N)

(9) Jam gręsia stipr-ùs/*-ù per-si-gėr-**im**-as.
he.DAT threaten heavy-[M]/*-[N] PFV-RFL-drink-*n*-INFL
'He (his health) is threatened by heavy over-drinking.'

- Without *n*P: Infinitives can't take attributives (=only adverbials); trigger N agreement.

(10) (*Stipr-ù/-ùs/-ì) gerti yra
heavy-[N]/-[M]/-[F] drink.INF be.PRS.3
ne-sveik-a/*-as/*-à.
NEG-healthy-N/*-M/*-F
'To drink (heavily) is not healthy.'

Contrasting 'deadjectivals' with and without *n*P

- Overtly nominalized deadjectival: can take a attributive adjective; M agreement.

(11)

velnišk-as/*velnišk-ai		sald-**um**-as
devilish-[M]/*devilishly-ADV		sweet-*n*-[M]
'devilish sweetness'		

Contrasting 'deadjectivals' with and without *n*P

- Overtly nominalized deadjectival: can take a attributive adjective; M agreement.

(11) velnišk-as/*velnišk-ai sald-**um**-as
devilish-[M]/*devilishly-ADV sweet-*n*-[M]
'devilish sweetness'

- Without *n*P: N-form deadjectival nominalizations can't take attributives; trigger N agreement.

(12) Velnišk-ai/*velnišk-a sald-ù yra gard-ù.
devilishly-ADV/*devilish-N sweet-[N] is delicious-[N]
'Devilishly sweet is delicious.'

Gender and $\sqrt{\text{ROOTS}}$

Another prediction: a single $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$ can appear with more than one gender (if licensed).[7]

(13) Ta moteris yra tikr-à **dabit**a.
that.F woman.F is real-[F] dandy
'That woman is a real dandy.'

(14) Tas vyras yra tìkr-as **dabit**a.
that.M man.M is real-[M] dandy
'That man is a real dandy.' (Armoskaite 2011)

[7] See especially Kramer 2015

Gender and $\sqrt{\text{ROOTS}}$

Another prediction: a single $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$ can appear with more than one gender (if licensed).[7]

(13) Ta moteris yra tikr-à **dabit**a.
that.F woman.F is real-[F] dandy
'That woman is a real dandy.'

(14) Tas vyras yra tìkr-as **dabit**a.
that.M man.M is real-[M] dandy
'That man is a real dandy.' (Armoskaite 2011)

(15) graž-ùs **vakar**-∅-as
beautiful-[M] evening-*n*-[M]
'beautiful evening'

(16) graž-ì **vakar**-ien-ė
beautiful-[F] evening-*n*-[F]
'beautiful supper' (Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019)

[7] See especially Kramer 2015

Lithuanian Summary

The *n*-Gender Hypothesis captures several properties of the Lithuanian gender system:

Lithuanian Summary

The *n*-Gender Hypothesis captures several properties of the Lithuanian gender system:

- No lexical noun in the language takes inherent N agreement.

Lithuanian Summary

The *n*-Gender Hypothesis captures several properties of the Lithuanian gender system:

- No lexical noun in the language takes inherent N agreement.
- Deverbal and deadjectival nominalizations that are *n*-derived can be modified with attributives and have gender.
- Deverbal and deadjectival nominalizations without *n*P can't be modified with attributives and agreement with them takes default N morphology.

Lithuanian Summary

The *n*-Gender Hypothesis captures several properties of the Lithuanian gender system:

- No lexical noun in the language takes inherent N agreement.
- Deverbal and deadjectival nominalizations that are *n*-derived can be modified with attributives and have gender.
- Deverbal and deadjectival nominalizations without *n*P can't be modified with attributives and agreement with them takes default N morphology.
- Some $\sqrt{\text{ROOTS}}$ can appear with multiple genders

Gender Determination

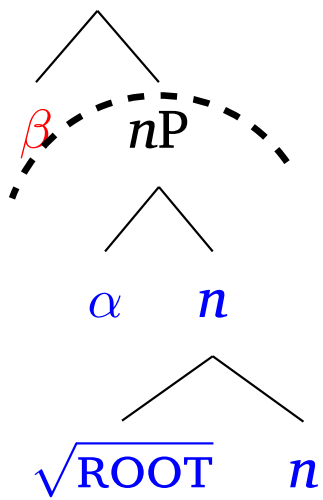
If gender is on *n*: how do other properties of categorizing heads constrain grammatical interactions with gender?

Gender Determination

If gender is on *n*: how do other properties of categorizing heads constrain grammatical interactions with gender?

Gender Locality Hypothesis (Adamson 2024a):

Gender features on a nominalizing head *n* must be valued within *n*P.[8]



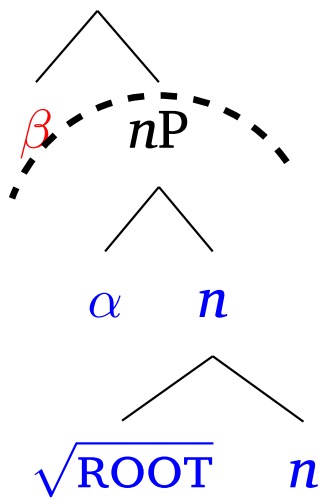
[8] On the domain status of *n*P, see e.g. Arad 2003; Embick 2010; Marantz 2013; Adamson 2024b, and much other work in DM on categorizers.

Gender Determination

If gender is on *n*: how do other properties of categorizing heads constrain grammatical interactions with gender?

Gender Locality Hypothesis (Adamson 2024a):

Gender features on a nominalizing head *n* must be valued within *n*P.[8]



[8] On the domain status of *n*P, see e.g. Arad 2003; Embick 2010; Marantz 2013; Adamson 2024b, and much other work in DM on categorizers.

The Gender Locality Hypothesis

Recall: gender can vary depending on factors such as *sociocultural gender*, *animacy*, or *nominalizing morphology*.[9]

[9] Some work has proposed that a noun's gender can be valued via agreement. Kučerova et al. (2020) propose this for predicate nominals; see also Bobaljik and Zocca 2011; Wurmbrand 2017. Other agreement approaches include Yatsushiro and Sauerland 2006; Steripolo and Wiltschko 2010; Steriopolo 2018.

The Gender Locality Hypothesis

Recall: gender can vary depending on factors such as *sociocultural gender*, *animacy*, or *nominalizing morphology*.[9]

The GLH makes predictions about which types of features/categories can matter for a noun's gender valuation.

[9] Some work has proposed that a noun's gender can be valued via agreement. Kučerova et al. (2020) propose this for predicate nominals; see also Bobaljik and Zocca 2011; Wurmbrand 2017. Other agreement approaches include Yatsushiro and Sauerland 2006; Steripolo and Wiltschko 2010; Steriopolo 2018.

The Gender Locality Hypothesis

Recall: gender can vary depending on factors such as *sociocultural gender*, *animacy*, or *nominalizing morphology*.[9]

The GLH makes predictions about which types of features/categories can matter for a noun's gender valuation.

(17) ✗Tense
✗Aspect
✗Verbal lexical semantics

[9] Some work has proposed that a noun's gender can be valued via agreement. Kučerova et al. (2020) propose this for predicate nominals; see also Bobaljik and Zocca 2011; Wurmbrand 2017. Other agreement approaches include Yatsushiro and Sauerland 2006; Steripolo and Wiltschko 2010; Steriopolo 2018.

The Gender Locality Hypothesis

Recall: gender can vary depending on factors such as *sociocultural gender*, *animacy*, or *nominalizing morphology*.[9]

The GLH makes predictions about which types of features/categories can matter for a noun's gender valuation.

(17)

✗Tense	✗Case
✗Aspect	✗Definiteness
✗Verbal lexical semantics	?Possession ?Number

[9] Some work has proposed that a noun's gender can be valued via agreement. Kučerova et al. (2020) propose this for predicate nominals; see also Bobaljik and Zocca 2011; Wurmbrand 2017. Other agreement approaches include Yatsushiro and Sauerland 2006; Steripolo and Wiltschko 2010; Steriopolo 2018.

The Gender Locality Hypothesis

Recall: gender can vary depending on factors such as *sociocultural gender*, *animacy*, or *nominalizing morphology*.[9]

The GLH makes predictions about which types of features/categories can matter for a noun's gender valuation.

(17)

✗Tense	✗Case
✗Aspect	✗Definiteness
✗Verbal lexical semantics	?Possession ?Number

The GLH is a *syntactic* hypothesis implicating nominal structure; not a *morphological* one implicating noun 'words'.

(18) $\boxed{\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}\text{-}n}$-X-Y

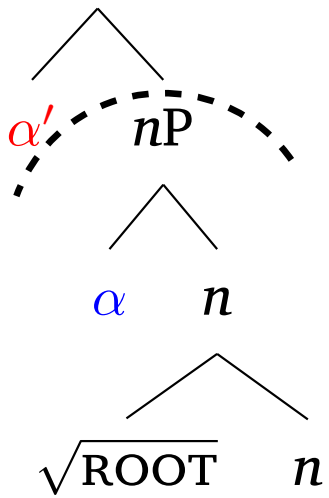
[9] Some work has proposed that a noun's gender can be valued via agreement. Kučerova et al. (2020) propose this for predicate nominals; see also Bobaljik and Zocca 2011; Wurmbrand 2017. Other agreement approaches include Yatsushiro and Sauerland 2006; Steripolo and Wiltschko 2010; Steriopolo 2018.

The Inner/Outer Domain and the GLH

Prediction: limited interactions with features/categories with 'high' vs. 'low' incarnations straddling *n*P.

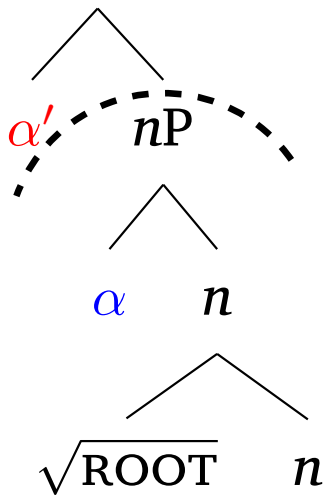
The Inner/Outer Domain and the GLH

Prediction: limited interactions with features/categories with 'high' vs. 'low' incarnations straddling *n*P.



The Inner/Outer Domain and the GLH

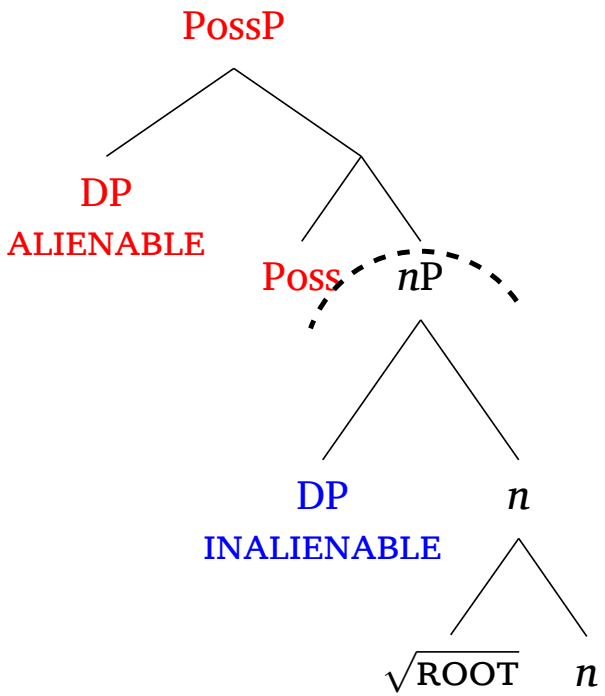
Prediction: limited interactions with features/categories with 'high' vs. 'low' incarnations straddling *n*P.



- α can affect gender valuation. α' cannot.

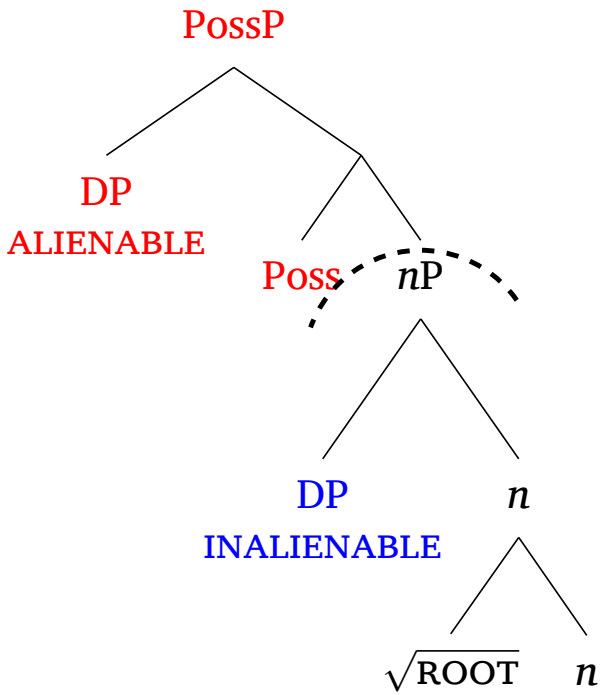
Possession and the GLH

Adamson 2024a argues that this accurately captures an inalienable vs. alienable dichotomy for *possession*.



Possession and the GLH

Adamson 2024a argues that this accurately captures an inalienable vs. alienable dichotomy for *possession*.



Adamson 2024a also illustrates how this extends to the category of *number*.

Inalienable/alienable possession

Languages often distinguish between two types of possession: 'inalienable' and 'alienable'.[10]

[10] Nichols 1992; Heine 1997; Alexiadou 2003; Myler 2018; a.o.
[11] Nichols 1992:117; see also Heine 1997:172; Myler 2016:52)

Inalienable/alienable possession

Languages often distinguish between two types of possession: 'inalienable' and 'alienable'.[10]

- Inalienable possession is said to involve a "tighter structural bond between possessee and possessor."[11]
- Alienable possession is often expressed in more morphosyntactically complex ways.

(19) a. No-gito
1.SG-head
'my head'

b. No-biha-ne
1.SG-bow-POSS
'my bow'

Kampan, Arawak (Myler 2016; Michael 2012)

[10] Nichols 1992; Heine 1997; Alexiadou 2003; Myler 2018; a.o.
[11] Nichols 1992:117; see also Heine 1997:172; Myler 2016:52)

Inalienable nouns

- Typically a closed class of nouns (Heine 1997:172), which varies cross-linguistically.

[12] Myler 2016:79, citing Heine 1997:10,18

[13] See also Yoon 1997 and Alexiadou 2003 for related proposals, and Barker 1995 on the semantics of Poss.

Inalienable nouns

- Typically a closed class of nouns (Heine 1997:172), which varies cross-linguistically.
- Typically belong to a few semantic categories like *body parts, kinship,* and *physical/mental states* (among others).[12]

[12] Myler 2016:79, citing Heine 1997:10,18

[13] See also Yoon 1997 and Alexiadou 2003 for related proposals, and Barker 1995 on the semantics of Poss.

Inalienable nouns

- Typically a closed class of nouns (Heine 1997:172), which varies cross-linguistically.
- Typically belong to a few semantic categories like *body parts, kinship,* and *physical/mental states* (among others).[12]

These properties are accounted for under the view from Myler (2016, 2018) that *i*possessors are introduced *n*P-internally, while *a*possessors are introduced in the specifier of PossP.[13]

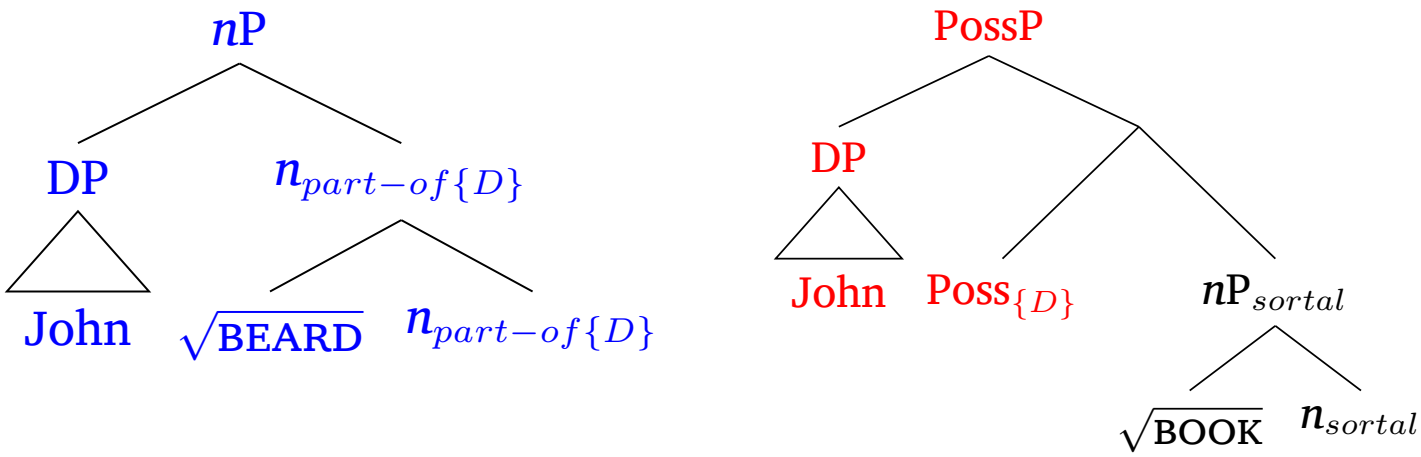
[12] Myler 2016:79, citing Heine 1997:10,18

[13] See also Yoon 1997 and Alexiadou 2003 for related proposals, and Barker 1995 on the semantics of Poss.

Possession Structures

Inalienable Possession vs. Alienable Possession[14]

(20)

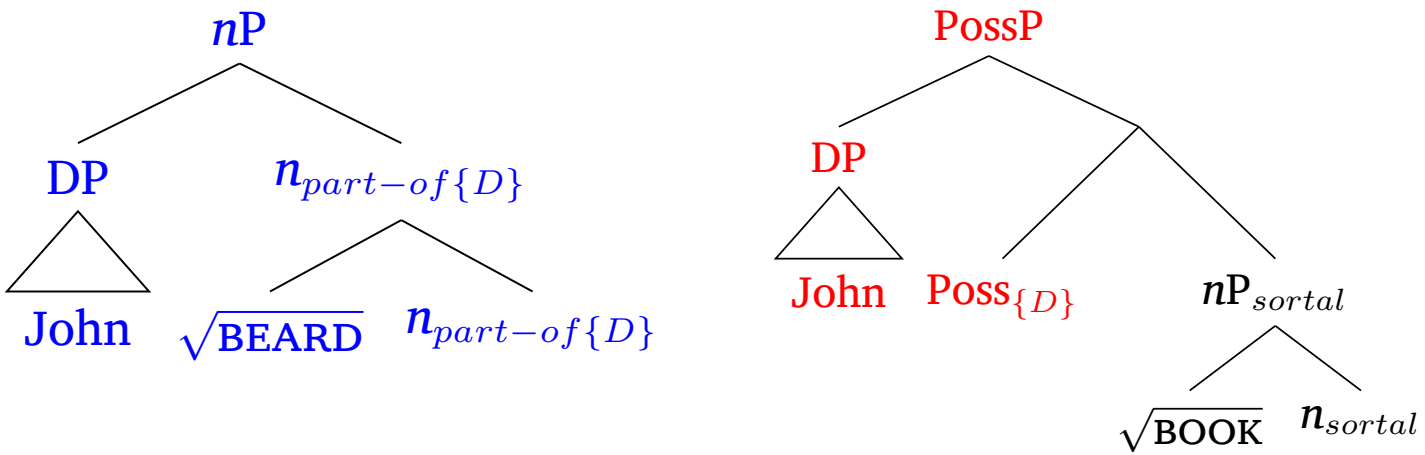


[14] Modified from Myler 2016:51-52

Possession Structures

Inalienable Possession vs. Alienable Possession[14]

(20)



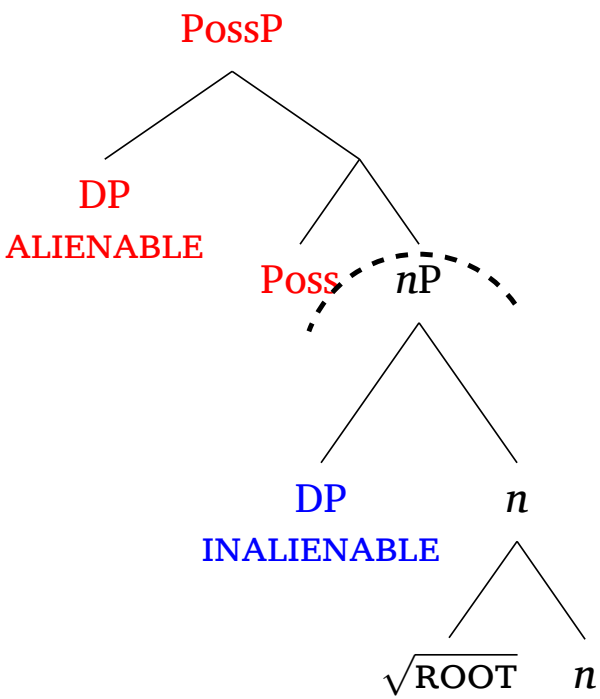
- This approach captures lexical specificity, the specific semantic relation established by *i*possession, and the morphosyntactic 'complexity' of alienable possession.

[14] Modified from Myler 2016:51-52

Possession and GLH

GLH: only *inalienable* possession should be able to factor into gender valuation. *Alienable* possession should not.

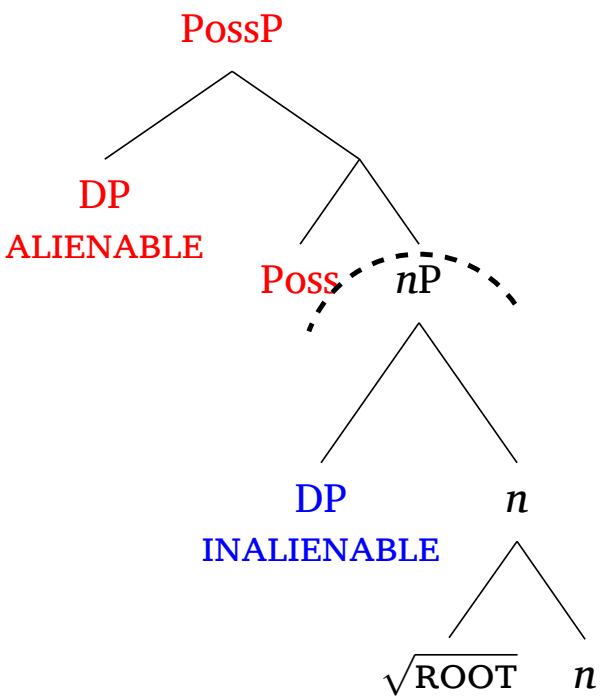
(21)



Possession and GLH

GLH: only *inalienable* possession should be able to factor into gender valuation. *Alienable* possession should not.

(21)



(22) ✗the.I book
✗my.II book

(23) ✓the.I beard
✓my.II beard

Teop

The Austronesian (Oceanic) language Teop is spoken in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea.

Teop

The Austronesian (Oceanic) language Teop is spoken in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea.

- Discussion based on Mosel and Thiesen 2007; Mosel 2014; Mosel and Spriggs 2000 (henceforth M&S); Teop Dictionary (database) online (Mosel 2019).

Teop

The Austronesian (Oceanic) language Teop is spoken in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea.

- Discussion based on Mosel and Thiesen 2007; Mosel 2014; Mosel and Spriggs 2000 (henceforth M&S); Teop Dictionary (database) online (Mosel 2019).

Teop has two genders, Gender I and Gender II. M&S and Mosel (2014): gender in Teop is partly predictable:

Teop

The Austronesian (Oceanic) language Teop is spoken in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea.

- Discussion based on Mosel and Thiesen 2007; Mosel 2014; Mosel and Spriggs 2000 (henceforth M&S); Teop Dictionary (database) online (Mosel 2019).

Teop has two genders, Gender I and Gender II. M&S and Mosel (2014): gender in Teop is partly predictable:

- Gender I: "contains human nouns...certain animals..."
- Gender II "comprises names of plants...invertebrates without legs...many mass and abstract nouns"
- Idiosyncrasy in the assignment of particular nouns to these classes (Mosel 2014:53)

Teop Gender Classes

We take Teop to have an ***animacy*-based system** (cf Kramer 2015:105-114 and references therein on Algonquian):

- Gender I comprises animates.
- Gender II comprises inanimates.
- Some nouns are assigned gender arbitrarily.

Teop Gender Classes

We take Teop to have an ***animacy*-based system** (cf Kramer 2015:105-114 and references therein on Algonquian):

- Gender I comprises animates.
- Gender II comprises inanimates.
- Some nouns are assigned gender arbitrarily.

(24)

n[ANIMATE]	forms nouns with 'Gender I'
n	forms nouns with 'Gender II'

(25)

Teop Gender Agreement

Articles reflect gender agreement, including ‘doubled’ articles (with postnominal elements and numerals) (M&S:326-327)

Teop Gender Agreement

Articles reflect gender agreement, including 'doubled' articles (with postnominal elements and numerals) (M&S:326-327)

(26)

a	**inu**	a	rutaa
ART.I.SG	house	ART.I.SG	small

'the small house / the house is small'

(27)

o	**hoi**	o	rutaa
ART.II.SG	basket	ART.II.SG	small

'the small basket / the basket is small.'

Teop Possession

Possessors are postnominal, with an alienability distinction (M&S:343-344):

- Alienably possessed nouns appear with a preposition *te*.

(28)

a	inu	te	-a	moon
ART.I.SG	house	of-	ART.I.SG	woman

'the house of the woman'

Teop Possession

Possessors are postnominal, with an alienability distinction (M&S:343-344):

- Alienably possessed nouns appear with a preposition *te*.

(28)

a	inu	te	-a	moon
ART.I.SG	house	of	-ART.I.SG	woman

'the house of the woman'

- Inalienably possessed nouns appear with agreeing affixes, followed by a pronominal suffix or an article.

(29)

a	hena-n-a	moon
ART.I.SG	name-3SG-ART.I.SG	woman

'the name of the woman'

Gender + Possession in Teop

Inalienably possessed body-part nouns (+ 'name') take Gender I agreement.

- When *not* inalienably possessed, body-part nouns take Gender II agreement.

Gender + Possession in Teop

Inalienably possessed body-part nouns (+ 'name') take Gender I agreement.

- When *not* inalienably possessed, body-part nouns take Gender II agreement.

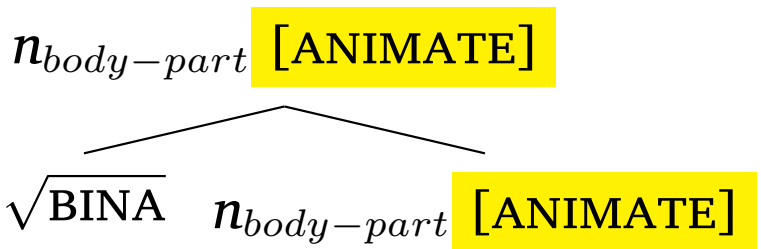
(30) a bina-naa
ART.I.SG spleen-1.SG
'my spleen'

(31) o bina
ART.II.SG spleen
'the spleen' (M&S:345)

Teop Analysis

A nominalizing head $n_{body-part}$ with Gender I introduces an inalienable relation with a possessor.

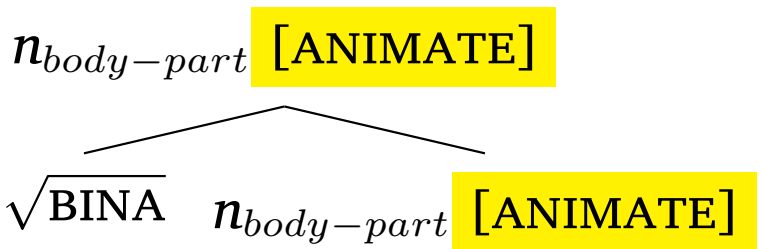
(32)



Teop Analysis

A nominalizing head $n_{body-part}$ with Gender I introduces an inalienable relation with a possessor.

(32)



- This structure can combine with an inalienable possessor, and takes Gender I agreement.

(33)

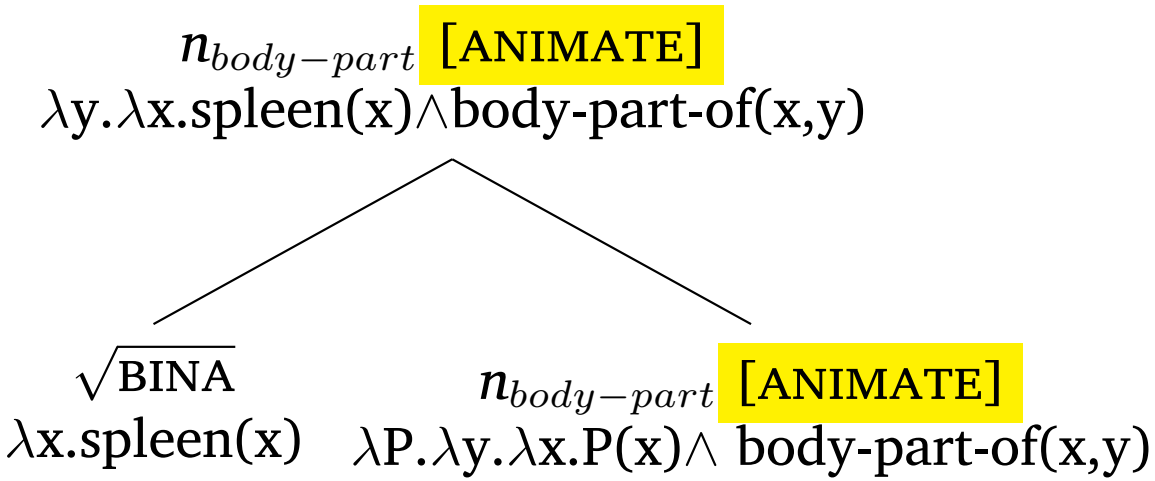
a	bina-naa
ART.I.SG	spleen-1.SG

'my spleen'

Teop Analysis

More specifically, $n_{body-part}$ semantically introduces a position for an *i*possessor.

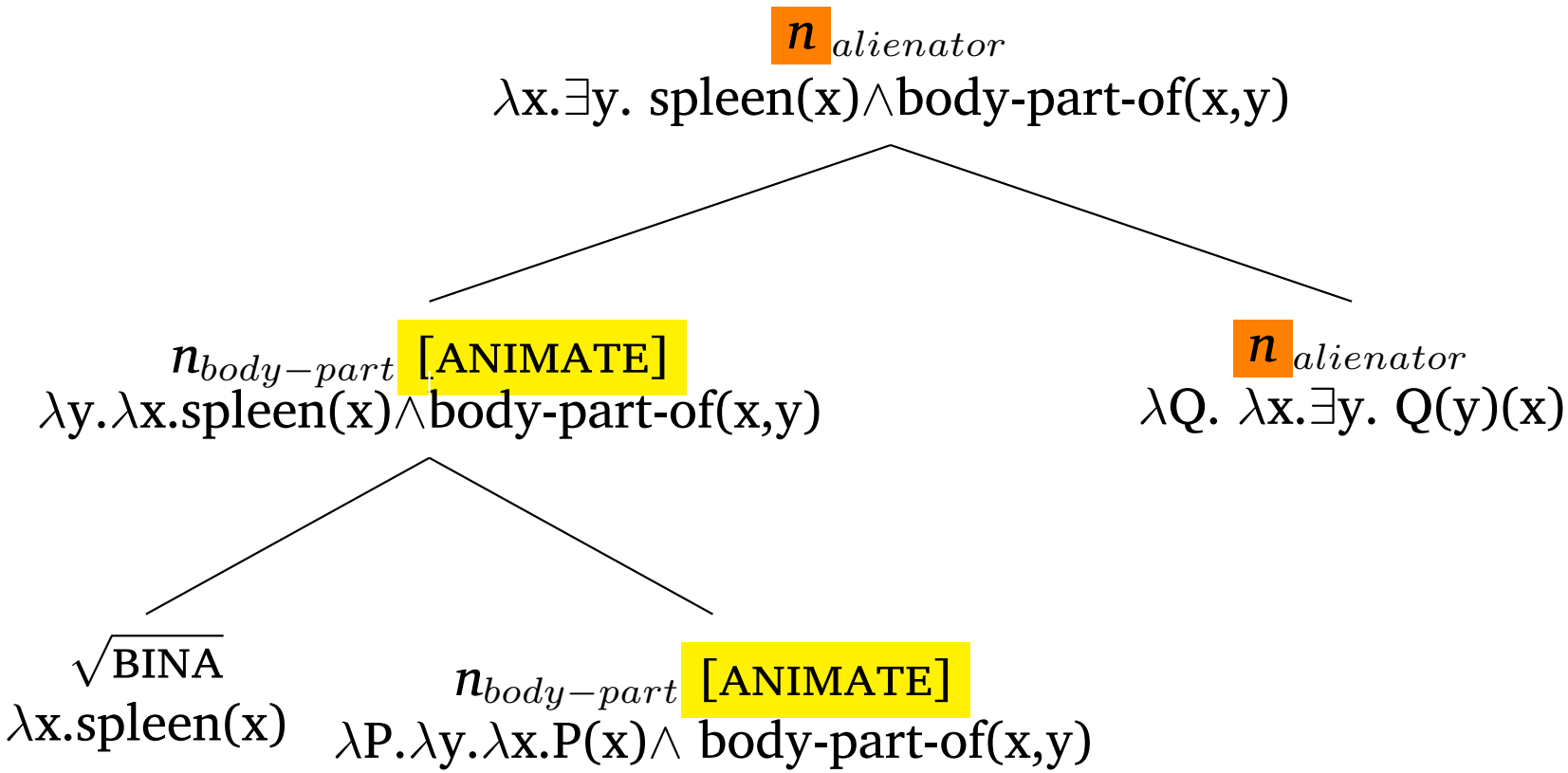
(34)



There is, however, a way for this structure to combine with something other than an *i*possessor.

Teop Analysis

The structure can alternatively combine with $n_{alienator}$ with Gender II, existentially closing off the *i*possessor slot.



Teop Analysis + Predictions

As in the case of nominalizations derived from nominals in other languages, the 'highest' gender (Gender II) is the one used for gender agreement.[15]

(35)

o	bina
ART.II.SG	spleen

'the spleen'

- This analysis makes four correct predictions.

[15] See especially Kramer 2015:Ch. 9 and relatedly Armoskaite 2014.

Teop Predictions

1. Body-part nouns occurring with *alienable* possessors should appear with the Gender II article.

   - Because they have to be alienated before they're the right semantic type for Poss.

Teop Predictions

1. Body-part nouns occurring with *alienable* possessors should appear with the Gender II article.

- Because they have to be alienated before they're the right semantic type for Poss.

(36)

a. a revasin-naa
ART.I.SG blood-1.SG
'my blood (inside my body)'

b. o revasin te -naa
ART.II.SG blood of-1.SG
'my blood (outside of my body)' (M&S:346)

Teop Predictions

2. The gender of the *i*possessor should be immaterial for gender agreement.

- This rules out an alternative analysis, where agreement with the article targets the *i*possessor.

Teop Predictions

2. The gender of the *i*possessor should be immaterial for gender agreement.

- This rules out an alternative analysis, where agreement with the article targets the *i*possessor.

(37)

a	hena-n-o	toro
ART.I.SG	name-3SG-ART.II.SG	ship

'the name of the ship' (Mosel and Thiesen 2007:7.15)

Teop Predictions

3. The morphology of $n_{alienator}$ should be able to exhibit allomorphy, not just being realized as $\varnothing$.

Teop Predictions

3. The morphology of $n_{alienator}$ should be able to exhibit allomorphy, not just being realized as $\varnothing$.

- There are in fact body-part nouns that require an 'derelational' overt suffix *-na* when they occur without an *i*possessor:

(38) *moo-na* 'leg-DEREL'
kuri-na 'hand-DEREL'
inu-na 'nose-DEREL'

Teop Predictions

3. The morphology of $n_{alienator}$ should be able to exhibit allomorphy, not just being realized as $\varnothing$.

- There are in fact body-part nouns that require an 'derelational' overt suffix *-na* when they occur without an *i*possessor:

(38) *moo-na* 'leg-DEREL'
kuri-na 'hand-DEREL'
inu-na 'nose-DEREL'

(39) $n_{alienator} \leftrightarrow$ -na / $\{\sqrt{\text{KURI}}...\}$
$n_{alienator} \leftrightarrow \varnothing$

-na-suffixed nouns expectedly require Gender II agreement.

Teop Predictions

4. Because the semantics of $n_{alienator}$ is not specific to body parts, we should expect to find it with other inalienable nouns, with corresponding gender changes.

(40) e sina-na-e
ART.PROP.SG mother-3.SG
'his mother' (Mosel 2014:59)

(41) o sina-na o beera
ART.II.SG mother-DEREL ART.II.SG big
'The mother is important.' (Mosel 2014:62)

Teop Summary

Teop body part nouns alternate between Gender I and Gender II depending on whether they appear with an *i*possessor.

Teop Summary

Teop body part nouns alternate between Gender I and Gender II depending on whether they appear with an *i*possessor.

✓ Inalienable possession is implicated in the determination of a noun's gender value.

✗ Alienable possession is not implicated in valuation. Adamson 2024a argues that this is part of a cross-linguistic generalization. (Case studies: Jarawara, Coastal Marind, and Yanyuwa).

Summary/Notes

Possession and number have limited interactions with gender determination, consistent with the GLH:

Summary/Notes

Possession and number have limited interactions with gender determination, consistent with the GLH:

	Can influence the gender of a noun?
Inalienable Possession	✓(Teop)
n-based Number	✓(Italian)
Alienable Possession	✗
Num-based Number	✗

Summary/Notes

Possession and number have limited interactions with gender determination, consistent with the GLH:

	Can influence the gender of a noun?
Inalienable Possession	✓(Teop)
n-based Number	✓(Italian)
Alienable Possession	✗
Num-based Number	✗

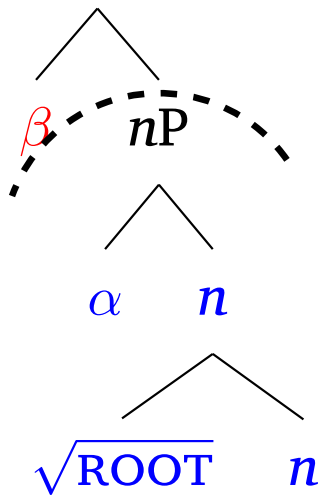
- Other gender/possession interactions from Jarawara, Coastal Marind, and Yanyuwa reinforce the inalienable/alienable contrast (Adamson 2024a)
- Potential problems for gender/number expectations from Arabic, Romanian (e.g. Dali 2020; Bateman and Polinsky 2010
- Potential problem with gender/definiteness interaction in a Norwegian variety (Enger and Corbett 2012)

Gender allosemy and locality

We would like to suggest that the GLH is not the only place we observe a domain effect for gender.

Gender allosemy and locality

We would like to suggest that the GLH is not the only place we observe a domain effect for gender.



Gender Allosemy Hypothesis (GAH) (Adamson submitted)

Gender allosemy is locally constrained within *n*P.

Gender allosemy?

Within DM: idea that allosemy is subject to principles parallel to that of *contextual allomorphy*.[16]

[16] See Marantz 2013; Harley 2014; Anagnostopoulou and Samioti 2013, 2014; Embick 2016; Myler 2016; Wood and Marantz 2017; Dali 2020; Harðarson 2021; Oikonomou and Alexiadou 2022; Wood 2023; Marantz and Myler to appear; Arad 2003, 2005

[17] On allomorphy, see e.g. Bobaljik 2000; Embick 2010; Moskal 2015; among many others. On allosemy, see especially Marantz (2013).

Gender allosemy?

Within DM: idea that allosemy is subject to principles parallel to that of *contextual allomorphy*.[16]

(42) Contextual Allomorphy

T[PAST] ↔-t / _{$\sqrt{\text{LEAVE}}$, $\sqrt{\text{BEND}}$...}

T[PAST] ↔-∅ / _{$\sqrt{\text{HIT}}$, $\sqrt{\text{SING}}$...}

T[PAST] ↔-d (Embick 2010:32)

[16] See Marantz 2013; Harley 2014; Anagnostopoulou and Samioti 2013, 2014; Embick 2016; Myler 2016; Wood and Marantz 2017; Dali 2020; Harðarson 2021; Oikonomou and Alexiadou 2022; Wood 2023; Marantz and Myler to appear; Arad 2003, 2005

[17] On allomorphy, see e.g. Bobaljik 2000; Embick 2010; Moskal 2015; among many others. On allosemy, see especially Marantz (2013).

Gender allosemy?

Within DM: idea that allosemy is subject to principles parallel to that of *contextual allomorphy*.[16]

(42) Contextual Allomorphy
T[PAST] ↔-t / _{$\sqrt{\text{LEAVE}}$, $\sqrt{\text{BEND}}$...}
T[PAST] ↔-∅ / _{$\sqrt{\text{HIT}}$, $\sqrt{\text{SING}}$...}
T[PAST] ↔-d (Embick 2010:32)

(43) Contextual Allosemy (schematic)
[α] ↔ MEANING 1 / {$\sqrt{\text{ROOT1}}$, $\sqrt{\text{ROOT2}}$...}
[α] ↔ MEANING 2

The GAH is parallel to DM theories of allomorphy, according to which there are cyclic constraints on visibility.[17]

[16] See Marantz 2013; Harley 2014; Anagnostopoulou and Samioti 2013, 2014; Embick 2016; Myler 2016; Wood and Marantz 2017; Dali 2020; Harðarson 2021; Oikonomou and Alexiadou 2022; Wood 2023; Marantz and Myler to appear; Arad 2003, 2005

[17] On allomorphy, see e.g. Bobaljik 2000; Embick 2010; Moskal 2015; among many others. On allosemy, see especially Marantz (2013).

Greek gender

Greek has FEM, MASC, NEUT genders

(44) i gineka /o andras /to vivlio
the.F.SG woman /the.M.SG man /the.N.SG book
'the woman / the man / the book

Among human nouns (with interpretable gender), feminine interpretation is largely invariable[18]

(45) I thies tu Jani ine ne-es.
the.F.PL THI.F.PL the.GEN Janis.GEN are young-F.PL
'Janis's {aunts/*aunts and uncles} are young.'

(46) I dhaskales ine ne-es.
the.F.PL teacher.PL are young-F.PL
'The teachers are young' (all women)

[18] Though see Spathas and Sudo 2020 for important distinctions for assertive/presuppositional gender.

The interpretation of the masculine in Greek

MASC different: some M nouns have a MALE inference, some don't.[19]

(47) I thii tu Jani ine ne-i.
the.M.PL THI.M.PL the.GEN Janis.GEN are young-M.PL
'Janis's {uncles/*aunts and uncles} are young.'

(48) I dhaskali ine ne-i.
the.M.PL teacher.PL are young-M.PL
'The teachers are young.' (all men or gender-mixed)

A 'straightforward' allosemy approach to capture this distinction is as follows (in assertoric terms for simplicity):

(49) [F] $\leftrightarrow \lambda x.\ x$ is/are female.
[M] $\leftrightarrow \lambda x.\ x$ is/are male. / $\{\sqrt{\text{THI}}\ldots\}$
[M] $\leftrightarrow \lambda x.\ x$ is/are animate.

[19] See relatedly Merchant 2014; Alexiadou 2017; Sudo and Spathas 2020; Spathas and Sudo 2020; Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024; among others; see also Jakobson 1984; Bobaljik and Zocca 2011 among many others for other languages.

Locality/Defaultness Allosemy Prediction

(50) [F] $\leftrightarrow \lambda x.\ x$ is/are female.
[M] $\leftrightarrow \lambda x.\ x$ is/are male. / $\{\sqrt{\text{THI}}\ldots\}$ $=$ MALE
[M] $\leftrightarrow \lambda x.\ x$ is/are animate. $=$ ANIMATE

Locality/Defaultness Allosemy Prediction

(50) [F] ↔ λx. *x* is/are female.
[M] ↔ λx. *x* is/are male. / {√THI...} = MALE
[M] ↔ λx. *x* is/are animate. = ANIMATE

= ANIMATE should have an ELSEWHERE distribution.

- No √ROOT → ANIMATE only.
- √ROOT around but non-locally → ANIMATE only.

Locality/Defaultness Allosemy Prediction

(50) [F] ↔ λx. *x* is/are female.
[M] ↔ λx. *x* is/are male. / {√THI...} = MALE
[M] ↔ λx. *x* is/are animate. = ANIMATE

= ANIMATE should have an ELSEWHERE distribution.

- No √ROOT → ANIMATE only.
- √ROOT around but non-locally → ANIMATE only.

Borne out, but to see this...

- Only clear when we see how allosemy interacts with the interpretation of NEUT via semantico-pragmatic competition to derive meanings of the NEUT.

Meaning and Contrastive Interpretations

Semantico-pragmatic competition: more semantically narrow interpretations preclude the use of more semantically general forms.

- Maximize Presupposition, Lexical Complementarity, the Principle of Gender Competition[20]

[20] See Heim 1983; Sauerland et al. 2008, (Harbour 2016; Toosarvandani 2023; Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024),Sudo and Spathas 2020; Spathas and Sudo 2020), among many others

[21] Harley and Ritter 2002 and much subsequent work

Meaning and Contrastive Interpretations

Semantico-pragmatic competition: more semantically narrow interpretations preclude the use of more semantically general forms.

- Maximize Presupposition, Lexical Complementarity, the Principle of Gender Competition[20]
- Example: Third person is *unmarked* – very general meaning, but cannot be applied in reference to discourse participants (i.e. first-/second-person) because participant pronouns are 'stronger', blocking use of the 'weak' third-person forms.[21]

[20] See Heim 1983; Sauerland et al. 2008, (Harbour 2016; Toosarvandani 2023; Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024),Sudo and Spathas 2020; Spathas and Sudo 2020), among many others

[21] Harley and Ritter 2002 and much subsequent work

Allosemy and the neuter

NEUT?

Allosemy and the neuter

NEUT?

- NEUT is unmarked
- +Semanticopragmatic competition derives an interpretation of NEUT (Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024)

Allosemy and the neuter

NEUT?

- NEUT is unmarked
- +Semanticopragmatic competition derives an interpretation of NEUT (Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024)

NEUT identified with **inanimate** interpretations

- Non-derived neuter nouns overwhelmingly refer to inanimates
- Coordination resolution facts also support a connection to inanimacy (Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024)

Allosemy and the neuter

NEUT?

- NEUT is unmarked
- +Semanticopragmatic competition derives an interpretation of NEUT (Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024)

NEUT identified with **inanimate** interpretations

- Non-derived neuter nouns overwhelmingly refer to inanimates
- Coordination resolution facts also support a connection to inanimacy (Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024)

(51) [F] $\leftrightarrow \lambda x.\ x$ is/are female.
[M] $\leftrightarrow \lambda x.\ x$ is/are animate.
[ ] $\leftrightarrow$ is/are an entity/entities.

Allosemy and the neuter

NEUT?

- NEUT is unmarked
- +Semanticopragmatic competition derives an interpretation of NEUT (Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024)

NEUT identified with **inanimate** interpretations

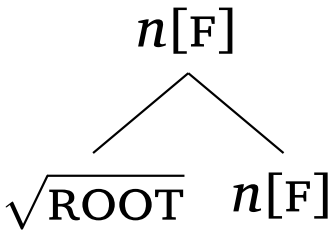
- Non-derived neuter nouns overwhelmingly refer to inanimates
- Coordination resolution facts also support a connection to inanimacy (Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024)

(51) [F] $\leftrightarrow \lambda x.\ x$ is/are female.
[M] $\leftrightarrow \lambda x.\ x$ is/are animate.
[ ] $\leftrightarrow$ is/are an entity/entities.

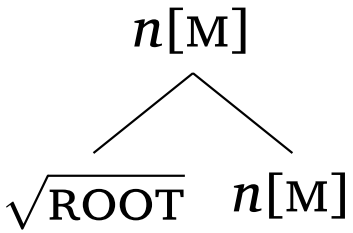
Semantico-pragmatic competition
FEM: {Maria, Sofia}
MASC(ANIMATE): {Petros, Christos, ~~Maria~~, ~~Sofia~~}
NEUT: {this cup, this monument, ~~Petros~~, ~~Christos~~, ~~Maria~~, ~~Sofia~~}

Allosemy + Competition

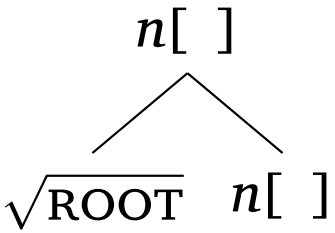
FEM



MASC



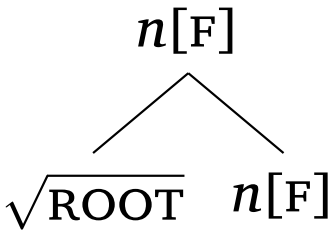
NEUT



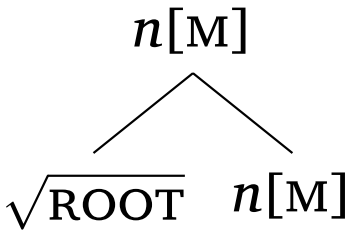
[F] $\leftrightarrow$ $\lambda x.$ x is/are female.
[M] $\leftrightarrow$ $\lambda x.$ x is/are male. / $\{\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}123...\}$
[M] $\leftrightarrow$ $\lambda x.$ x is/are animate.
[ ] $\leftrightarrow$ is/are an entity/entities.

Allosemy + Competition

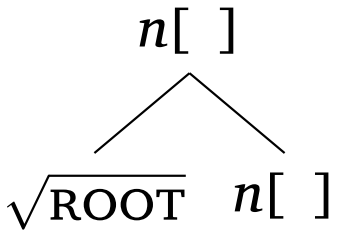
FEM



MASC



NEUT



[F] $\leftrightarrow$ $\lambda x.$ x is/are female.
[M] $\leftrightarrow$ $\lambda x.$ x is/are male. / $\{\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}123...\}$
[M] $\leftrightarrow$ $\lambda x.$ x is/are animate.
[ ] $\leftrightarrow$ is/are an entity/entities.

Because of the allosemy of MASC, the interpretation of NEUT is expected to vary (Adamson submitted).

- NEUT means 'inanimate' for MASC = ANIMATE
- NEUT means 'gender-neutral' for MASC = MALE
- Only local $\sqrt{\text{ROOTS}}$ for the 'gender neutral' meaning
  - (Gender-neutral only for plural, not for singular)

Kinship Nouns and the Number Asymmetry

Many human-denoting nouns have the MALE alloseme.[22]

[22] See Merchant (2014) and Sudo and Spathas (2020). We will not concern ourselves with whether there are systematic choices for which terms belong to the symmetric class; see discussion in Bobaljik and Zocca 2011; Sprouse et al. 2022 on other languages, and Sudo and Spathas 2020 on Greek.

[23] See also Alexiadou 2017; Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024.

Kinship Nouns and the Number Asymmetry

Many human-denoting nouns have the MALE alloseme.[22]

Some such kinship nouns: an additional NEUT:[23]

(52)
i ksáderfi mu / i ksadérfes mu /
the.M.PL cousin 1SG.GEN / the.F.PL cousin 1SG.GEN /
ta ksadérfia mu
the.N.PL cousin 1SG.GEN
'my cousins'
MASC = all male; FEM = all female; NEUT = gender-neutral

[22] See Merchant (2014) and Sudo and Spathas (2020). We will not concern ourselves with whether there are systematic choices for which terms belong to the symmetric class; see discussion in Bobaljik and Zocca 2011; Sprouse et al. 2022 on other languages, and Sudo and Spathas 2020 on Greek.

[23] See also Alexiadou 2017; Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024.

Neuter Kinship Nouns and the Number Asymmetry

Semantico-pragmatic Competition

(53) FEM: {{Maria, Sofia}...}
MASC: {{Petros,Christos}...}
NEUT: {{the cup, this monument}, ~~{Petros,Christos}~~, ~~{Maria,Sofia}~~, {Petros,Sofia}...}

Neuter Kinship Nouns and the Number Asymmetry

Semantico-pragmatic Competition

(53) FEM: {{Maria, Sofia}...}
MASC: {{Petros,Christos}...}
NEUT: {{the cup, this monument}, ~~{Petros,Christos}~~, ~~{Maria,Sofia}~~, {Petros,Sofia}...}

N.SG has no gender-neutral meaning:

(54) o ksáderfos mu / i ksadérfi mu /
the.[MSG] cousin 1SG.GEN / the.[FSG] cousin 1SG.GEN /
#to ksadérfi mu
the.[N.SG] cousin 1SG.GEN
'my cousin' MASC = male cousin; FEM = female cousin;
NEUT = cousin (can only be used endearingly)

NEUT: {the cup, this monument, ~~Petros~~, ~~Christos~~, ~~Maria~~, ~~Sofia~~}
MASC: {Petros, Christos, ~~Maria~~, ~~Sofia~~}
FEM: {Maria, Sofia}

Heterogenous Groups

Allosemy + Competition = distinct genders for heterogeneous plural human groups.

Heterogenous Groups

Allosemy + Competition = distinct genders for heterogeneous plural human groups.

- [M] as ANIMATE = M.PL
- [M] as MALE = N.PL

Heterogenous Groups

Allosemy + Competition = distinct genders for heterogeneous plural human groups.

- [M] as ANIMATE = M.PL
- [M] as MALE = N.PL

Prediction

If there's no $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$ or it's too far away, then a heterogeneous group should be MASC and *cannot* be NEUT.

Borne out for pronominal elements lacking linguistic antecedents:

(55) {Tis / tus / #ta} idha.
3PL.M.ACC / 3.PL.F.ACC / 3.PL.N.ACC see.1SG.PST
'I saw them.' FEM = a group of women; MASC = a group of men or a gender-mixed group

Heterogeneous Groups and Pronouns

For overt N.PL linguistic antecedent allowing a gender-neutral reading, gender-neutral pronominals are licensed:

(56) Aghapo ta ksaderfia mu alla dhen ta
love.1.SG the.N.PL cousin.PL 1SG.GEN but not 3PL.N.ACC
vlepo sikhna.
see.1.SG often
'I love my cousins, but I don't see them often.'

[24] See Hankamer and Sag 1976 and subsequent work on 'deep' vs. 'surface' anaphora.

Heterogeneous Groups and Pronouns

For overt N.PL linguistic antecedent allowing a gender-neutral reading, gender-neutral pronominals are licensed:

(56) Aghapo ta ksaderfia mu alla dhen ta
love.1.SG the.N.PL cousin.PL 1SG.GEN but not 3PL.N.ACC
vlepo sikhna.
see.1.SG often
'I love my cousins, but I don't see them often.'

Elided use of the $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$ with the pronominal;[24] thus the root is local for conditioning the MALE alloseme here.

[24] See Hankamer and Sag 1976 and subsequent work on 'deep' vs. 'surface' anaphora.

Coordination Resolution

In Greek, resolved agreement with mismatched nominals depends on the animacy of the conjuncts.[25]

[25] Kazana 2011; Anagnostopoulou 2017; 2024

Coordination Resolution

In Greek, resolved agreement with mismatched nominals depends on the animacy of the conjuncts.[25]

(57) O andras ke i gineka ine {eksipn-i /*-a}.
the.M.SG man and the.F.SG woman are intelligent.M.PL
-N.PL
'The man and the woman are intelligent.'

(58) O pinakas ke i karekla ine {vromik-a /*-i}.
the.M.SG blackboard and the.F.SG chair are dirty.N.PL
-M.PL
'The blackboard and the chair are dirty.'

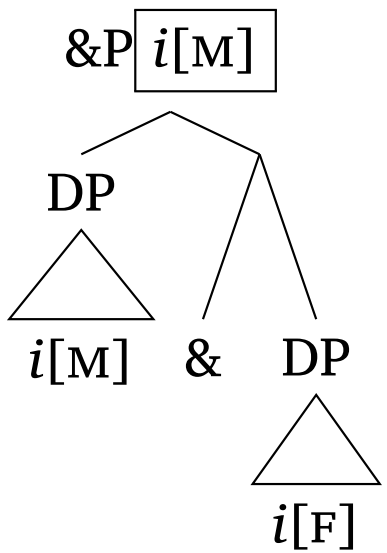
[25] Kazana 2011; Anagnostopoulou 2017; 2024

Resolved values for ϕ mismatched conjuncts are interpreted with respect to the entire coordinated phrase.[26]

[26] Corbett 1991; Sauerland 2003; Wechsler and Zlatić 2003; Wechsler 2008; Harbour 2020; Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024

Resolved values for ϕ mismatched conjuncts are interpreted with respect to the entire coordinated phrase.[26]

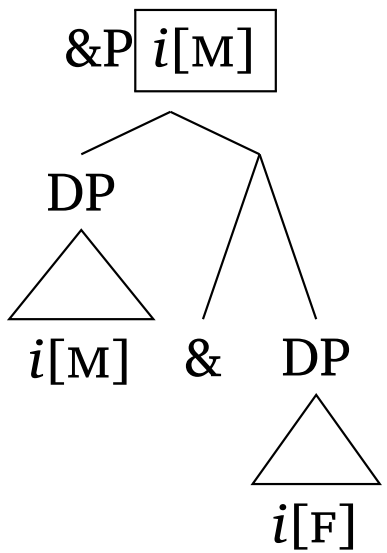
- Structural implementation: interpretable features on &P.



[26] Corbett 1991; Sauerland 2003; Wechsler and Zlatić 2003; Wechsler 2008; Harbour 2020; Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024

Resolved values for ϕ mismatched conjuncts are interpreted with respect to the entire coordinated phrase.[26]

- Structural implementation: interpretable features on &P.



Gender features on &P are not local to roots.

[26] Corbett 1991; Sauerland 2003; Wechsler and Zlatić 2003; Wechsler 2008; Harbour 2020; Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024

Resolution and Locality

Locality Prediction

Only the MASC ANIMATE alloseme should be available for &P.

- Heterogeneous human groups should be MASC only, not NEUT.

Resolution and Locality

Locality Prediction

Only the MASC ANIMATE alloseme should be available for &P.

- Heterogeneous human groups should be MASC only, not NEUT.

This is borne out:

(59) O andras ke i gineka ine {eksipn-i
the.[M.SG] man and the.[F.SG] woman are intelligent.[M.PL]/
/*-a}.
-N.PL
'The man and the woman are intelligent.'

Confirmation: Kinship and Coordination

Striking confirmation: even with nouns that have N.PL variants for heterogeneous groups, resolution must be M.PL:

Confirmation: Kinship and Coordination

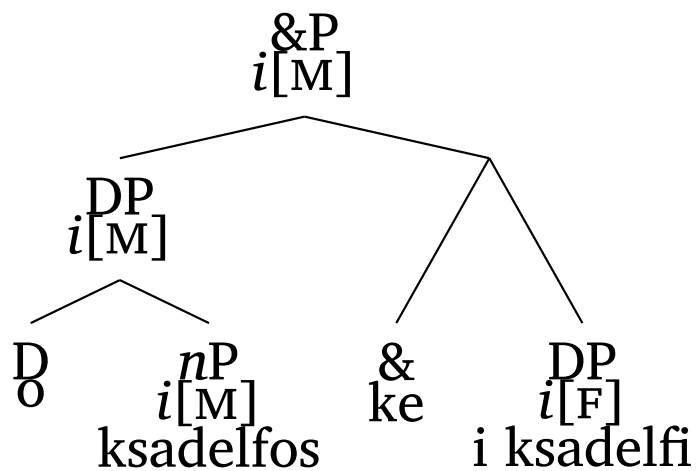
Striking confirmation: even with nouns that have N.PL variants for heterogeneous groups, resolution must be M.PL:

(60)
O ksadelfos ke i ksadelfi ine
the.[M.SG] cousin and the.[F.SG] cousin are
{eksipni /*eksipna}.
intelligent.[M.PL] /intelligent.N.PL
'The male cousin and the female cousin are intelligent.'

Confirmation: Kinship and Coordination

Striking confirmation: even with nouns that have N.PL variants for heterogeneous groups, resolution must be M.PL:

(60) O ksadelfos ke i ksadelfi ine
the.[M.SG] cousin and the.[F.SG] cousin are
{eksipni /*eksipna}.
intelligent.[M.PL] /intelligent.N.PL
'The male cousin and the female cousin are intelligent.'



→[M] = ANIMATE/*MALE (non-local)

→[M] = MALE (local)

Inanimate Resolution

NEUT resolution is also consistent with an interpretation-based account:[27]

- Recall that the 'inanimacy' interpretation of NEUT is derived via contrastive inference via the MASC meaning of ANIMATE.

[27] Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024

Inanimate Resolution

NEUT resolution is also consistent with an interpretation-based account:[27]

- Recall that the 'inanimacy' interpretation of NEUT is derived via contrastive inference via the MASC meaning of ANIMATE.

(61) O pinakas ke i karekla ine {vromik-a /*-i}.
the.M.SG blackboard and the.F.SG chair are dirty.N.PL
-M.PL
'The blackboard and the chair are dirty.'

[27] Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024

Pronouns/Coordination Summary

The allosemy analysis captures about Greek:

- M.PL/*N.PL used with pronominals for heterogeneous groups
- M.PL/*N.PL used with coordination resolution for gender mismatch
- N.PL resolution with inanimates

We've seen a strong link between gender and categorization:

- Lithuanian evidence: gender agreement linked to the presence/absence of *n*

[28] e.g. Bobaljik and Zocca 2011; Kučerova et al. 2020

We've seen a strong link between gender and categorization:

- Lithuanian evidence: gender agreement linked to the presence/absence of *n*
- Gender Locality Hypothesis (+Teop): gender valuation confined to domain defined by *n*

[28] e.g. Bobaljik and Zocca 2011; Kučerova et al. 2020

We've seen a strong link between gender and categorization:

- Lithuanian evidence: gender agreement linked to the presence/absence of *n*
- Gender Locality Hypothesis (+Teop): gender valuation confined to domain defined by *n*
- Gender Allosemy Hypothesis (Greek): gender variation in meaning confined to domain defined by *n*

[28] e.g. Bobaljik and Zocca 2011; Kučerova et al. 2020

We've seen a strong link between gender and categorization:

- Lithuanian evidence: gender agreement linked to the presence/absence of *n*
- Gender Locality Hypothesis (+Teop): gender valuation confined to domain defined by *n*
- Gender Allosemy Hypothesis (Greek): gender variation in meaning confined to domain defined by *n*

Implications:

- Supports the internal/external nominalization dichotomy (Alexiadou et al. 2010)

[28] e.g. Bobaljik and Zocca 2011; Kučerova et al. 2020

We've seen a strong link between gender and categorization:

- Lithuanian evidence: gender agreement linked to the presence/absence of *n*
- Gender Locality Hypothesis (+Teop): gender valuation confined to domain defined by *n*
- Gender Allosemy Hypothesis (Greek): gender variation in meaning confined to domain defined by *n*

Implications:

- Supports the internal/external nominalization dichotomy (Alexiadou et al. 2010)
- Challenge for Agree-based analyses of predicative nouns

(62) Mary is an actress.[28]

[28] e.g. Bobaljik and Zocca 2011; Kučerova et al. 2020

We've seen a strong link between gender and categorization:

- Lithuanian evidence: gender agreement linked to the presence/absence of *n*
- Gender Locality Hypothesis (+Teop): gender valuation confined to domain defined by *n*
- Gender Allosemy Hypothesis (Greek): gender variation in meaning confined to domain defined by *n*

Implications:

- Supports the internal/external nominalization dichotomy (Alexiadou et al. 2010)
- Challenge for Agree-based analyses of predicative nouns

  (62) Mary is an actress.[28]

- Difficult to state locality considerations with contextual categorization (Borer 2005) instead of $\varnothing_n$

[28] e.g. Bobaljik and Zocca 2011; Kučerova et al. 2020

End

Thanks for listening!

Thanks to: Artemis Alexiadou, Elena Anagnostopoulou, Karlos Arregi, Jonathan Bobaljik, Christos Christopoulos, Kajsa Djärv, David Embick, Michael Everdell, Zuzanna Fuchs, Daniel Harbour, Heidi Harley, Fabian Heck, Caroline Heycock, Alexandros Kalomoiros, Roni Katzir, Maria Kouneli, Ruth Kramer, Idan Landau, Winfried Lechner, Naomi Lee, Julie Anne Legate, Ora Matushansky, Gereon Müller, Neil Myler, Andrew Nevins, Rolf Noyer, Phoevos Panagiotidis, Lefteris Paparounas, David Pesetsky, Omer Preminger, Jacopo Romoli, Milena Šereikaitė, Ivy Sichel, Giorgos Spathas, Maziar Toosarvandani, Jana Willer-Gold. Greek native-speaker consultants: Elena Anagnostopoulou, Christos Christopoulos, Alexandros Kalomoiros, Dimitris Michelioudakis, and Vina Tsakali. Adamson 2024a and Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2024 are based upon work supported by the National Science Foundation SBE Postdoctoral Research Fellowship under Grant No. 1911708. Elena Anagnostopoulou's research was funded by the ERC ADG 2022 Project 101096554.

References I

Acquaviva, Paolo. 2008. *Lexical plurals: A morphosemantic approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Adamson, Luke. 2018. Italian switch nouns and adjectives with split interpretations. Paper presented at the Theoretical and Experimental Approaches to Gender Workshop. Available at: `http://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/d08189_6d7ab7b90ace43b5b1240ae5fa223b79.pdf`.

Adamson, Luke James. 2024a. Gender assignment is local: On the relation between grammatical gender and inalienable possession. *Language* 100:218–264. URL `https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2024.a929736`.

Adamson, Luke James. 2024b. Root suppletion in Swedish as contextual allomorphy. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 4:1–42.

References II

Adamson, Luke James. 2024c. Split coordination with adjectives in Italian: An approach with multidominance and semantic agreement. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* URL https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-024-09617-5.

Adamson, Luke James. submitted. Gender allosemy in Greek .

Adamson, Luke James, and Elena Anagnostopoulou. 2024. Gender features and coordination resolution in Greek and other three-gendered languages. *Linguistic Inquiry* 1–76. URL https://doi.org/10.1162/ling_a_00543.

Adamson, Luke James, and Milena Šereikaitė. 2019. Gender representation and defaults in Lithuanian. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 4:1–44. URL https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.860.

References III

Alexiadou, Artemis. 2003. Some notes on the structure of alienable and inalienable possessors. In *From NP to DP: Volume 2: The expression of possession in noun phrases*, ed. Martine Coene and Yves D'hulst, 167–188. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Alexiadou, Artemis. 2017. Gender and nominal ellipsis. In *A Schrift to Fest Kyle Johnson*, ed. Nicholas LaCara, Keir Moulton, and Anne-Michelle Tessier, 1–12. Linguistics Open Access Publications. URL `https://doi.org/10.7275/R57D2S95`.

Alexiadou, Artemis, and Elena Anagnostopoulou. 2022. Zero-derived nouns in greek. *Languages* 8:13.

Alexiadou, Artemis, and Gianina Iordăchioaia. 2014. Two syntactic strategies to derive deadjectival nominals. *Anglica Wratislaviensia–Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis* 52:65–83.

References IV

Alexiadou, Artemis, Gianina Iordăchioaia, and Elena Soare. 2010. Number/aspect interactions in the syntax of nominalizations: A distributed approach. *Journal of Linguistics* 46:537–574.

Ambrazas, Vytautus. 1997. *Lithuanian Grammar*. Vilnius: Baltos Iankos.

Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2017. Gender and defaults. In *A Schrift to Fest Kyle Johnson*, ed. Nicholas LaCara, Keir Moulton, and Anne-Michelle Tessier, 23–31. Linguistics Open Access Publications. URL `https://doi.org/10.7275/R57D2S95`.

Anagnostopoulou, Elena, and Yota Samioti. 2013. Allosemy, idioms, and their domains: Evidence from adjectival participles. *On Linguistic Interfaces II* 218–250.

References V

Anagnostopoulou, Elena, and Yota Samioti. 2014. Domains within words and their meanings. In *The syntax of roots and the roots of syntax*, ed. H. Borer A. Alexiadou and F. Schäfer, 81–111. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Arad, Maya. 2003. Locality constraints on the interpretation of roots: The case of Hebrew denominal verbs. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 21:737–778.

Arad, Maya. 2005. *Roots and patterns: Hebrew morpho-syntax*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Armoskaite, Solveiga. 2011. The Destiny of Roots in Blackfoot and Lithuanian. Doctoral Dissertation, University of British Columbia.

Armoskaite, Solveiga. 2014. Derivation by gender in Lithuanian. In *Crosslinguistic investigation of nominalization patterns*, ed. Ileana Paul, 169–187. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

References VI

Barker, Chris. 1995. *Possessive descriptions*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Bateman, Nicoleta, and Maria Polinsky. 2010. Romanian as a two-gender language. In *Hypothesis a/hypothesis b: Linguistic explorations in honor of David M. Perlmutter*, ed. M. Polinsky D. Gerdts, J. Moore, 41–77. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Beard, Robert. 1990. The empty morpheme entailment. In *Contemporary morphology*, ed. Wolfgang U. Dressler, Hans C. Luschützky, Oskar E. Pfeiffer, and John R. Rennison, 159–170. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton.

Bobaljik, Jonathan David. 2000. The ins and outs of contextual allomorphy. *University of Maryland Working Papers in Linguistics* 10:35–71.

References VII

Bobaljik, Jonathan David, and Cynthia Levart Zocca. 2011. Gender markedness: The anatomy of a counter-example. *Morphology* 21:141–166. URL https://doi.org/10.1007/s11525-010-9156-3.

Borer, Hagit. 2005. *In name only*, volume 1 of *Structuring Sense*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Corbett, Greville. 1991. *Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. URL https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139166119.

Dali, Myriam. 2020. Gender and number in tunisian arabic: A case of contextual allosemy. Doctoral Dissertation, Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa.

Dali, Myriam, and Éric Mathieu. 2021. *A theory of distributed number*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Embick, David. 2010. *Localism versus Globalism in Morphology and Phonology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

References VIII

Embick, David. 2016. Approaching polymorphy. Handout from a talk series, SADAF, Buenos Aires, December.

Embick, David, and Alec Marantz. 2008. Architecture and blocking. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39:1–53.

Enger, Hans-Olav, and Greville Corbett. 2012. Definiteness, gender, and hybrids: Evidence from Norwegian dialects. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 24:287–324.

Hankamer, Jorge, and Ivan Sag. 1976. Deep and surface anaphora. *Linguistic inquiry* 7:391–428.

Harbour, Daniel. 2011. Valence and atomic number. *Linguistic Inquiry* 42:561–594.

Harbour, Daniel. 2016. *Impossible persons*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. URL `https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262034739.001.0001`.

References IX

Harbour, Daniel. 2020. Conjunction resolution is nonsyntactic, say paucals. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 5:18.

Harley, Heidi. 2014. On the identity of roots. *Theoretical Linguistics* 40:225–276.

Harley, Heidi, and Elizabeth Ritter. 2002. Person and number in pronouns: A feature-geometric analysis. *Language* 78:482–526. URL `https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2002.0158`.

Harðarson, Gísli Rúnar. 2021. On the domains of allomorphy, allosemy and morphophonology in compounds. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 39:1173–1193. URL `https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-020-09499-3`.

Heim, Irene. 1983. File change semantics and the familiarity theory of definiteness. *Semantics Critical Concepts in Linguistics* 108–135. URL `https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110852820.164`.

References X

Heine, Bernd. 1997. *Possession*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hockett, Charles. 1958. *A course in modern linguistics*. New York: Macmillan.

Jakobson, Roman. 1984. Structure of the Russian verb. In *Russian and Slavic grammar–Studies 1931-1981*, ed. L.R. Waugh and M. Halle. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. URL `https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110822885.1`.

Kazana, Despina. 2011. Agreement in Modern Greek coordinate noun phrases. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Essex, Essex.

Kramer, Ruth. 2015. *The morphosyntax of gender*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. URL `https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199679935.001.0001`.

Kramer, Ruth. 2016a. The location of gender features in the syntax. *Language and linguistics Compass* 10:661–677.

References XI

Kramer, Ruth. 2016b. A split analysis of plurality: Number in Amharic. *Linguistic Inquiry* 47:527–559.

Kučerova, Ivona, Cassandra Chapman, and Keir Moulton. 2020. How to value gender: Lexicon, agree, and feature transmission under ellipsis. Presented at NELS50.

Lecarme, Jacqueline. 2002. Gender polarity: Theoretical aspects of somali nominal morphology. *Many morphologies* 109–141.

Lowenstamm, Jean. 2008. On little n,√, and types of nouns. *Sounds of silence: Empty elements in syntax and phonology* 105–144.

Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo Savoia. 2017. Gender, number and inflectional class in Romance: Feminine/Plural *-a*. In *Language use and linguistic structure*, ed. Joseph Emonds and Marketa Janebova, 263–282. Olomouc: Palacky University Olomouc.

References XII

Marantz, Alec. 2013. Locality domains for contextual allomorphy across the interfaces. In *Distributed Morphology today: Morphemes for Morris Halle*, ed. Alec Marantz and Ora Matushansky, 95–113. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Marantz, Alec, and Neil Myler. to appear. Contextual allosemy. In *The Cambridge handbook of Distributed Morphology*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Markopolous, Giorgos. 2018. Phonological realization of morphosyntactic features. Doctoral Dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki.

Merchant, Jason. 2014. Gender mismatches under nominal ellipsis. *Lingua* 151:9–32. URL `https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2014.01.008`.

References XIII

Michael, Lev. 2012. Possession in Nanti. In *Possession and ownership*, ed. Alexandra Aikhenvald and Robert M.W. Dixon, 149–166. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mosel, Ulrike. 2014. Type shifts of nouns under determination in Teop, an Oceanic language of Bougainville, Papua New Guinea. In *Meaning and grammar of nouns and verbs*, ed. Doris Gerland, Christian Horn, Anja Latrouite, and Albert Ormann, 49–75. Düsseldorf: Düsseldorf University Press.

Mosel, Ulrike. 2019. A multifunctional Teop-English dictionary. *Dictionaria* 1–6488. URL `https://dictionaria.clld.org/contributions/teop`.

Mosel, Ulrike, and Ruth Spriggs. 2000. Gender in Teop (Bougainville, Papua New Guinea). In *Gender in Grammar and Cognition, part 1: Approaches to Gender*, ed. Barbara Unterbeck, 321–350. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

References XIV

Mosel, Ulrike, and Yvonne Thiesen. 2007. *The Teop sketch grammar*.

Moskal, Beata. 2015. Limits on allomorphy: A case study in nominal suppletion. *Linguistic Inquiry* 46:363–376. URL `https://doi.org/10.1162%2Fling_a_00185`.

Myler, Neil. 2016. *Building and interpreting possession sentences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Myler, Neil. 2018. Attributive possession and the contributions of roots. Talk at DGfS 40, Universität Stuttgart.

Nichols, Johanna. 1992. *Linguistic diversity in space and time*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Oikonomou, Despina, and Artemis Alexiadou. 2022. Voice syncretism crosslinguistically: the view from minimalism. *Philosophies* 7:1–33.

Picallo, M. Carme. 1991. Nominals and nominalizations in Catalan. *Probus* 3:279–316.

References XV

Puškar, Zorica. 2018. Interactions of gender and number agreement: Evidence from Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. *Syntax* 21:275–318. URL `https://doi.org/10.1111/synt.12154`.

Ritter, Elizabeth. 1991. Two functional categories in noun phrases. *Syntax and semantics* 25:37–62.

Sauerland, Uli. 2003. A new semantics for number. *Proceedings of SALT 13* 258–275.

Sauerland, Uli, Jan Anderssen, and Kazuko Yatsushiro. 2008. The plural is semantically unmarked. In *Linguistic evidence: Empirical, theoretical, and computational perspectives*, ed. Stephan Kepser and Marga Reis, 413–433. De Gruyter Mouton.

Spathas, Giorgos, and Yasutada Sudo. 2020. Gender on animal nouns in Greek. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 19:25–48. URL `https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/catjl.297`.

References XVI

Sprouse, John, Troy Messick, and Jonathan Bobaljik. 2022. Gender asymmetries in ellipsis: an experimental comparison of markedness and frequency accounts. *Journal of Linguistics* 58:345–379.

Steriopolo, Olga. 2018. Morphosyntax of gender in russian sex-differentiable nouns. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 26:1–29.

Steripolo, Olga, and Martina Wiltschko. 2010. Distributed gender hypothesis. In *Formal studies in slavic linguistics: Proceedings of the formal description of slavic languages*, ed. G. Zybatow, P. Dudchuk, S. Minor., and E. Pshehotskaya, volume 7, 155–172. Peter Lang.

Sudo, Yasutada, and Giorgos Spathas. 2020. Gender and interpretation in Greek: Comments on Merchant (2014). *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 5:1–42. URL `https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.1173`.

References XVII

Toosarvandani, Maziar. 2023. The interpretation and grammatical representation of animacy. *Language* 4:760–808. URL https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2023.a914193.

Wechsler, Stephen. 2008. Elsewhere in gender resolution. In *The nature of the word: Essays in honor of Paul Kiparsky*, ed. Kristin Hanson and Sharon Inkelas, 567–586. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. URL https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262083799.003.0024.

Wechsler, Stephen, and Larisa Zlatić. 2003. *The many faces of agreement*. Stanford: Stanford University Center for the Study.

Wood, Jim. 2023. *Icelandic nominalizations and allosemy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wood, Jim, and Alec Marantz. 2017. The interpretation of external arguments. In *The verbal domain*, ed. Irene Franco Roberta D'Alessandro and Ángel Gallego. Oxford University Press.

References XVIII

Wurmbrand, Susi. 2017. Feature sharing or how I value my son. In *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics*, ed. Claire Halpert, Hadas Kotek, and Coppe van Urk, 173–182.

Yatsushiro, Kazuko, and Uli Sauerland. 2006. [feminine] in a high position. *Snippets* 13:11–12.

Yoon, Jeong-Me. 1997. The argument structure of relational nouns and inalienable possessor constructions in Korean. *Language Research* 33:231–264.

What if gender was on $\sqrt{\text{ROOTS}}$? on D? I

Gender on $\sqrt{\text{ROOTS}}$

- Incorrectly predicts gender variation depending on which root is in the *n*-less nominal.

(63) ✗$\sqrt{\text{DRINK}}_m$

Gender on D alternative (e.g. Steripolo and Wiltschko 2010)

- Would require neuter D to select anything that was not 'nouny' (i.e. NumP or *n*P)

Number I

Number features often taken to be hosted by NumP, distinct from *n*P.[29]

[29] e.g. Ritter 1991; Picallo 1991

[30] Lecarme 2002; Acquaviva 2008; Harbour 2011; Manzini and Savoia 2017; see also Kramer 2016b and references therein.

Number and the GLH in Italian I

A relevant case comes from Standard Italian *-a* plurals (Acquaviva 2008; Adamson 2018; Adamson 2024c).

Number and the GLH in Italian I

These nouns bear masculine *features* in the SG and feminine *features* in the PL, as shown by number mismatch contexts.

Number and the GLH in Italian II

Number and the GLH in Italian I

Nouns in the *-a* class have several morphological and interpretive irregularities.

Number + GLH I

These irregularities suggest that the *-a* class conforms to the expectations of the GLH.

- Italian gender switch is conditioned by *n*-based number.

(68)

[31] See Puškar 2018 for a different kind of gender-number *agreement* interaction.

Lexical Complementarity I

Lexical Complementarity (LC)

For feature specifications F and G where $[\![F]\!] \subset [\![G]\!]$, the use of G is restricted to $[\![G]\!]$ - $[\![F]\!]$.

Lexical Complementarity II

Competition with M vs. F I

For Greek, Lexical Complementarity will apply for MASC vs. FEM competition.

(71) #I Elena ke i Maria ine dhaskali stin Katerini.
the.F Elena and the.F Maria are teacher.M.PL in.the Katerini
'Elena and Maria are teachers in Katerini.'
(Sudo and Spathas 2020:28)

Pronominal Asymmetry I

Confirmation comes from an asymmetry. A N.PL antecedent can be followed by a M.PL (un-elided) pronominal...

(72)

Aghapo	ta		ksaderfia	mu	alla	dhen
love.1.SG	the.	N.PL	cousin.PL	1SG.GEN	but	not
tus		vlepo	sikhna.			
3PL.M.ACC		see.1.SG	often			

'I love my cousins, but I don't see them often.'

Pronominal Asymmetry II