GREETINGS FROM THE 14TH SLS MEETING 2019 IN POTS DAM
• Peter Kosta (University of Potsdam)

• Revisiting the Gender-Animacy-Sub-Gender and Case assignment notions: When do Slavic languages agree and when do they disagree?
ROADMAP

- 1. Basics Radical Minimalism
  - 1.1 Words, Phrases, and Sentences
  - 1.2 Crash-Proof and Crash-Rife Grammars
  - 1.3 Phase Impenetrability and Phase Interpretability

- 1.3.1 Gender and Animacy Declension and Agreement Classes
- 1.3.2 The Structure of Noun Phrase or Determiner Phrase in Slavic
- 1.3.3 Pronominalization and (Dis-)Agreement
- 1.3.4 Numeral Phrases and Animacy
PETER KOSTA (UNIVERSITY OF POTS DAM)
REVISITING THE GENDER-ANIMACY-SUB-GENDER AND CASE ASSIGNMENT NOTIONS: WHEN DO SLAVIC LANGUAGES AGREE AND WHEN DO THEY DISAGREE?

• 1.4 Mixed Gender Agreement in Russian DPs
  • 1.4.1 Typological sketch on Gender
  • 1.4.2 Gender Assignment Systems
  • 1.4.3 Gender Agreement

• 1.5 Theoretical Background on DP-Internal Agreement
  • 1.5.1 DP Structure
  • 1.5.2 Location of Gender in the Nominal Phrase
  • 1.5.3 Interpretability of Gender
  • 1.5.4 Agree and Feature Sharing
PETER KOSTA (UNIVERSITY OF POTSDAM)
REVISITING THE GENDER-ANIMACY-SUB-GENDER AND CASE ASSIGNMENT NOTIONS: WHEN DO SLAVIC LANGUAGES AGREE AND WHEN DO THEY DISAGREE?

• 2. Mixed Agreement
• 2.1 Hybrid Nouns
• 2.2 Previous Proposals That Distinguish Concord and Predicate Agreement
• 2.3 Concord vs. Index Agreement (Wechsler and Zlatić 2000, 2003)
• 2.4 Multiple Levels of φ-Feature Interpretation (Sauerland 2004)

• 3. Assignment Strategies
  3.1 Semantics, Morphology and Syntax in Slavic
  3.2 Further Evidence for Animacy in Word Formation: Possessives in Czech and Compounds in German

• 4. Further Perspectives of Research and Exploration of Gender and Animacy
1.1 Words, Phrases, and Sentences

1.2 Crash-Proof and Crash-Rife Grammars

(i) Crash: A derivation (D) crashes if it does not converge at the interfaces.
(ii) Converge: A derivation (D) converges whenever the conditions at LF and PF are fulfilled
(iii) (principle of Full Interpretation / FI) (Chomsky 1993, 1995: 219)

[(4)] Birds that fly instinctively swim.
[(5)] The desire to fly instinctively appeals to children.
[(6)] Instinctively, birds that fly swim.
[(7)] Instinctively, the desire to fly appeals to children.

[(6′)] [CP1/MoodP SpecCP Instinctively [CP2 [Top DP birds [CP3 C that fly] [IP swim]]]]
[(7′)] [CP1/MoodP SpecCP Instinctively [CP [Top DP the desire [CP C to fly] [IP appeals to children]]]]
1.3 Phase Impenetrability and Phase Interpretability

(1) a. \textbf{There}_1\text{ seems }t_1\text{ there to be a man in the room. }\sqrt{\text{Merge over Move}}

   b. \textbf{*There} seems a \textbf{man}_1\text{ to be }t_1\text{ in the room }\ast\text{ Move over Merge}

(2) \textit{Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)}

A phase (CP, vP, VP) is not accessible for further computation (internal or external merge) if
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REVISITING THE GENDER-ANIMACY-SUB-GENDER AND CASE ASSIGNMENT NOTIONS: WHEN DO SLAVIC LANGUAGES AGREE AND WHEN DO THEY DISAGREE?

(i) a merged element $\alpha$ has not reached the edge of the phase,
(ii) the interfaces PF or LF cannot interpret the $\phi$/-$wh$-features of $\alpha[\varphi]$ if $\alpha$ in a phase $\{\alpha[\varphi] \{\beta[\cdot]\}\}$ has not reached an edge phase position.

(3) Principle of Phase Interpretability (PPI)
The formal features ($\varphi$/EPP/$wh$-) of an element $\alpha$ of a phase $\pi$ are interpretable at LF, iff they are valued at PF.

(4) The visibility condition for valuation (UG principle)
An element $\alpha$ of an element LEX is valued, iff:
It is labeled either at the edge XP or YP or moved/adjoined cyclically to

(i) Agree position ($\varphi$ of the category $[\text{Lex}_\varphi]$) or
(ii) Case position (which is always a A-position)
(iii) Expletive position$^2$
• 1.3.1 Gender and Animacy Declension and Agreement Classes

• (5) Ivan poprosil `etogo ochen' umnogo studenta, [CP TP vP VP]
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REVISITING THE GENDER-ANIMACY-SUB-GENDER AND CASE ASSIGNMENT NOTIONS: WHEN DO SLAVIC LANGUAGES AGREE AND WHEN DO THEY DISAGREE?
1.3.1 GENDER AND ANIMACY DECLENSION AND AGREEMENT CLASSES

(5) b.
DP brigadier
[ref. gender: FEM]
[ref. number: SG]
[ref. person: 3]
[gram. gender: MASC]
[gram. number: SG]

NP brigadir
[ref. gender: _____]
[ref. number: _____]
[ref. person: _____]
[gram. gender: MASC]
[gram. number: SG]
(5) naš brigadir naxodilas’ v dekretnom otpuske. Russian
Our-M foreman.M was-F in maternity leave
“Our foreman was on maternity leave.”

(6) Mama _položila_ malčik-a na stol
Mom _NomSg_ _Agent_ _Patient_ _Gen-AccMascAnim_ _Goal_ _AccMascInanim_ _on table_
Important is to stress that the Animate/Inanimate distinction is expressed in Russian and likewise in most Slavic languages only in structural Cases (Nominative/Accusative and in NPs also Genitive) which by definition are assigned in Syntax, while inherent or lexical Cases (in the sense of Kosta 1992, Chomsky 1981) such as Dative, Locative, or Instrumental/Prepositive are assigned in lexicon by the subcategorizing governor (Predicate) and are still sensitive to the distinction animate/inanimate but not to the Case Assigning property, cf. (7).

(7) a. ‘Ètomu malčiku ne sdat’ èkzamen
   This boy not to pass exam
   DatSgBen DatSgMal

b. ‘Ètomu gruzoviku ne proexat’
   This truck not to come through
   DatSgBen DatSgMal
In Russian, this category of grammatically animated nouns is grammatically encoded only for the domain of humans and animals (but not for plants or heavenly bodies, etc.), but it is important to understand the category of Animacy in two ways:

- as a purely classifying category of grammar (so-called Declension or Agreement Classes in Slavic) (Corbett 1982, 1991, forthcoming) but in Ket Animacy is sensitive to Case Marking and Morphology of the Verb (cf. Kosta DFG-Project);
- as a semantically motivating category (motivated by the reference of the objects).
TABLE1: OVERVIEW OF THE RELATION BETWEEN GENDER, ANIMACY AND THE CATEGORY OF MALE PERSON IN NOUNS (NPS) AND NUMERALS (NUMPS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individualization</th>
<th>Sg Gen/Acc</th>
<th>π Animate M</th>
<th>Pl Gen/Acc</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>New Animacy</th>
<th>Male Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian 3</td>
<td>Sg Gen/Acc</td>
<td>π Animate M</td>
<td>π Animate M</td>
<td>π Personal = Male Persons</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byelorussian 3</td>
<td>Sg Gen/Acc</td>
<td>π Animate M</td>
<td>π Animate M</td>
<td>π Personal = Male Persons</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish 3</td>
<td>Sg Gen/Acc</td>
<td>π Animate M</td>
<td>π Animate M</td>
<td>π Personal = Male Persons</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>Yes !</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovak 3</td>
<td>Sg Gen/Acc</td>
<td>π Animate M</td>
<td>π Animate M</td>
<td>π Personal = Male Persons</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>Yes !</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech 3</td>
<td>Sg Gen/Acc</td>
<td>π Animate M</td>
<td>π Personal = Male Person = NOM PL Masc</td>
<td></td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>Yes !</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Sorbian</td>
<td>Sg Gen/Acc</td>
<td>π Animate M</td>
<td>π Personal = Male Persons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>π Personal = Male Persons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Du Gen/Acc</td>
<td>π Personal = Male Persons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Sorbian</td>
<td>Sg Gen/Acc</td>
<td>π Animate M</td>
<td>π Personal = Male Persons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Du Gen/Acc</td>
<td>π Personal = Male Persons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarian</td>
<td>Sg Gen/Acc</td>
<td>Proper names</td>
<td>Oblig. Numerals</td>
<td>π Personal = Male Persons</td>
<td></td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonian</td>
<td>Sg Gen/Acc</td>
<td>Proper names</td>
<td>Facult. Numerals</td>
<td>π Personal = Male Persons</td>
<td></td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCS</td>
<td>Sg Gen/Acc</td>
<td>π Animate M</td>
<td>Facult. Numerals</td>
<td>π Personal = Male Persons</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenian</td>
<td>Sg Gen/Acc</td>
<td>π Animate M</td>
<td>Facult. Numerals</td>
<td>π Personal = Male Persons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Du Gen/Acc</td>
<td>π Personal = Male Persons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.3.2 THE STRUCTURE OF NOUN PHRASE OR DETERMINER PHRASE IN SLAVIC

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{SpecDP} \\
\text{D}^0 \varphi\text{-features} \\
\text{SpecNP} \\
\text{N}^0 \\

\text{D}^0 = \varphi\text{-features} = \text{Number, Gender and structural Case} \\

\text{N}^0 = \text{animate, countable etc. and lexical Case}
\end{array}
\]
1.3.4 Numerals and Animacy

(11) a. Ci czterej leniwi. studenci spali
    These four lazy students slept
    slept_PassP mascviilAnimate
    na ławkach on park benches
    on park benches
b. Te cztery lande studenci spały na ławkach w parku.
    These four non-animate students slept on park
    Students slept non-animate on park
    spały na ławkach w parku.
    spały na ławkach in park

c. Te cztery okna były otwarte.
    These four windows were open.
    These four windows were open.

(12) Tych czterech/pięciu uczniów spało na ławkach
    these four/five students slept on park benches

(13) Przyszło troje studentów.
    Came three students
    "Three students came."
(14) a. Пришли *три / *четыре умные студента
There came_{3PL} three /four intelligent students
b. Четверо студентов пришло
(There) Four_{Nom,Sg,Coll,Neutr.} students_{Gen,Pl,M} came_{3Ps,Sg,Pret.}
A group of four students came
1.4 MIXED GENDER AGREEMENT IN RUSSIAN DPS

1.4 Mixed Gender Agreement in Russian DPs

(15) a. Наш врач пришел
   our-M doctor arrived-M
   'Our doctor arrived.' (referring to a male doctor)

b. Наш врач пришла
   our-M doctor arrived-F
   'Our doctor arrived.' (referring to a female doctor) (Corbett 1991: 180)

(16) Иванова — хороший врач Russian
    Ivanova good-F doctor
    'Ivanova is a good doctor.' (Corbett 1991: 231)
1.4 MIXED GENDER AGREEMENT IN RUSSIAN DPS

1.4.1 TYPOLOGICAL SKETCH ON GENDER AND ANIMACY

1.4.1 Gender

| French                 | FEMININE: pomme 'apple', fleur 'flower', maison 'house', femme 'woman', fille 'girl' |
|                       | MASCULINE: arbic 'tree', ananas 'pineapple', homme 'man' |
| Dizi (Omotic) (Corbett 1991: 11) | FEMININE (females and diminutives): dade 'girl', huocin 'woman', kieme 'small pot' |
|                       | MASCULINE (all others): dad 'boy', yaaba 'man', kiemu 'pot' |
| German                | FEMININE: Blume 'flower', Birne 'pear', Ananas 'pineapple', Frau 'woman' |
|                       | MASCULINE: Baum 'tree', Tisch 'table', Apfel 'apple', Pfirsich 'peach', Mann 'man' |
|                       | NEUTER: Haus 'house', Wasser 'water', Mädchen 'girl' |
| Russian               | FEMININE: gruša 'pear', voda 'water', tablitsa 'table', ženičina 'woman', devulka 'girl' |
|                       | MASCULINE: pesník 'peach', tovetok 'flower', dom 'house', muščina 'man' |
|                       | NEUTER: jablko 'apple', derevo 'tree' |
| Tamil (Dravidian) (Corbett 1991: 9) | MASCULINE (gods and male humans): aan 'man', civan 'Shiva' |
|                       | FEMININE (goddesses and female humans): peņ 'woman', kaļi 'Kali' |
|                       | NEUTER (all others): maram 'tree', viņu 'house' |
| Ojibwa (Algonquian) (Corbett 1991: 20) | ANIMATE: enis 'man', enim 'dog', mettik 'tree', epatemiss 'button' |
|                       | INANIMATE: essin 'stone', peka 'rust', mettik 'piece of wood' |
| Kilega (Bantu) noun classes (1–10) in singular/plural pairs (Carstens 2010) | a. musikila/basikila '1 young man/2 young man 'young man/boy' |
|                       | b. mubili/mibili '3 body/4 body '3 body/bodies' |
|                       | c. linyos/ményo '5 tooth/6 tooth '5 tooth/tooth' |
|                       | d. kishümbl/bishümbl '7 chair/8 chair '7 chair/s' |
|                       | e. nzogu/nzogu '9 elephant/10 elephant '9 elephant/s' |
Ket nouns belong to either animate or inanimate class. The animate class is further subdivided into masculine and feminine; inanimate corresponds to neuter. The class membership is not overtly expressed (except for nouns containing lexical roots ik- / hik- ‘male-‘ and hay- / qim- ‘female-‘, e.g. igbes ‘he-hare’, hanybes ‘she-hare’) and can be identified by several means: the form of verb-internal agreement markers (Figure 1), predicate concord suffixes (Figure 2) or relational morphemes (Figure 3).

Figure 1 illustrates verbal positions containing agreement markers for the 3rd person. As can be seen positions P4 and P3 contain markers for a specific animacy class only, animate and inanimate, respectively. Inanimate markers in positions P8 and P6 are identical to the feminine subclass markers. Markers in P1 are identical for all classes. Position P-1 contains a plural marker for animate subjects marked in P8 only.
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**REVISITING THE GENDER-ANIMACY-SUB-GENDER AND CASE ASSIGNMENT NOTIONS: WHEN DO SLAVIC LANGUAGES AGREE AND WHEN DO THEY DISAGREE?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position →</th>
<th>P8 sbj</th>
<th>P6 sbj or obj</th>
<th>P4 sbj or obj</th>
<th>P3 sbj or obj</th>
<th>P1 sbj or obj</th>
<th>P-1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agreement</td>
<td>(person/class)</td>
<td>(person/class/number)</td>
<td>3 an class</td>
<td>3n class</td>
<td>(person/class/number)</td>
<td>(an-class pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓ Person/Number</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.sg</td>
<td>du (d, t, r)</td>
<td>i-u~bu</td>
<td>a<del>ã</del>bu</td>
<td>a<del>ã</del>bu</td>
<td>a<del>ã</del>bu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f.sg</td>
<td>da (dₐ, dₒ)</td>
<td>i<del>ã</del>bu</td>
<td>ø<del>i</del>u~bu</td>
<td>ø<del>i</del>u~bu</td>
<td>ø<del>i</del>u~bu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n (sg or pl)</td>
<td>da (dₐ, dₒ)</td>
<td>ø<del>i</del>u~bu</td>
<td>ø<del>i</del>u~bu</td>
<td>ø<del>i</del>u~bu</td>
<td>ø<del>i</del>u~bu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3an.pl</td>
<td>d (d, t, r)</td>
<td>ø<del>i</del>u~bu</td>
<td>ø<del>i</del>u~bu</td>
<td>ø<del>i</del>u~bu</td>
<td>ø<del>i</del>u~bu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 1*
Figure 3 illustrates the case of how the class membership conditions the form of the Dative relational morpheme. As can be seen, in the singular form we have distinction between masculine on one hand and feminine and neuter on the other, while in the plural form it is animate vs. inanimate distinction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>animacy class →</th>
<th>animate</th>
<th>inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gender class →</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>m: őks, pl. a’q’tree’</td>
<td>f: qîm, pl. qîmn ‘woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>őks-da-ña</td>
<td>qîm-di-ña</td>
<td>tîndîña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree-poss.m-to</td>
<td>woman-poss.f-to ‘to the woman’</td>
<td>caldron-poss.n-to ‘(in)to the caldron’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to the tree’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>áqnanya</td>
<td>qîmnanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qîm-n-na-ña</td>
<td>woman-pl-poss.an. pl-to ‘to the women’</td>
<td>tînemînda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree.pl-poss.an.pl-to ‘to the trees’</td>
<td></td>
<td>caldron-pl-poss.n-to ‘(in)to the caldrons’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The class membership distinction in Ket is only partly based on real-world biology (cf. Werner 1994). Nouns denoting human beings exhibit no unexpected class membership. However, both animate classes contain names for lifeless things like heavenly bodies and natural phenomena, as well for animals and plants. Assigning class membership to non-human objects is connected with the culture internal beliefs of Kets: if a biologically inanimate phenomenon is perceived as active or moving (e.g. the sun), it is usually considered animate (cf. Kotorova 2008). The more culturally relevant or economically important a thing, an animal or a plant is, the more often it ends up assigned to masculine class (Georg 2007: 90).

A number of nouns in Ket belong to common gender class. These are nouns denoting both human beings, e.g., kɐʔt ‘person (m/f)’, dɨȣj ‘child (m/f)’ and nouns denoting animals, e.g., qɔj ‘bear (m/f)’, bɛʔsj ‘hare (m/f)’. To common gender class also belong nominalizations from action nominals made with the help of the suffix -s’, e.g. təɾj ‘beating’ > təɾsɔj ‘the one (m/f) who beats / the one (m/f) who is beaten / something (n) the one beats with’. Nominalizations made from finite verb forms are assigned the
class membership of its subject:

durenj

du₈-den⁰-s 3sg.m₈-cry⁰-nmlz ‘A cry-baby (m)’
1.4.2 Gender Assignment Systems

1.4.3 Gender Agreement

   this-F ripe-F pear.F just fell-F
   ‘This ripe pear just fell.’ Russian
b. Et-ot spel-yj persik sejčas upal.
   this-M ripe-M peach.M just fell-M
   ‘This ripe peach just fell.’
c. Et-o spel-oje jabloko sejčas upal-o.
   this-N ripe-N apple.N just fell-N
   ‘This ripe apple just fell.’

(25) Naš vrač pruž-a Russian
    our-M doctor arrived-F
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND ON DP-INTERNAL AGREEMENT DP-STRUCTURE
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND ON DP-INTERNAL AGREEMENT  DP-STRUCTURE
LOCATION OF GENDER IN THE NOMINAL PHRASE, INTERPRETABILITY, FEATURE VALUATION, AGREE AND FEATURE SHARING

1.5.2 Location of Gender in the Nominal Phrase

(28)  a. DP > NumP > GenP > NP
     b. DP [Person] > NumP [Number] > NP [Gender]

1.5.3 Interpretability of Gender

1.5.4 Agree and Feature Sharing

(29) a. 

```
    BP
   / \  
  B   AP
    |   |
    [uE vale] [fE vale]
   /
  X
```

b. 

```
    BP
   / \  
  B   AP
    |   |
    [uE vale] [fE vale]
   /
  Agree
   /
  X
```

c. (i) 

```
    CP
   / \  
  B   BP
    |   |
    [uE vale] [fE vale]
   /
  Agree
   /
  B
    |   |
    [uE vale] [fE vale]
   /
  Agree
   /
  X
```

(ii) 

```
    CP
   / \  
  B   BP
    |   |
    [uE vale] [fE vale]
   /
  Agree
   /
  X
```

LOCATION OF GENDER IN THE NOMINAL PHRASE, INTERPRETABILITY, FEATURE VALUATION, AGREE AND FEATURE SHARING
2. MIXED AGREEMENT
2.1 HYBRID NOUNS

(31) Schau dir dieses Mädchen an, wie gut sie/es Tennis spielt. German: look you this-N girl at how good she/it tennis plays
'Do look at this girl, see how well she plays tennis.' (Corbett 1991: 228)
2. MIXED AGREEMENT

2.1 HYBRID NOUNS IN RUSSIAN

(32) a. врач пришёл/пришла Russian
doctor arrived-M/ arrived-F
‘The (female) doctor arrived’ (Corbett 1991: 232)

(32) b. врач пришёл/пришла Russian doctor arrived-M/ arrived-F
‘The (female) doctor arrived’ (Corbett 1991: 232)
2. MIXED AGREEMENT
2.1 HYBRID NOUNS IN SWAHILI

(33) rafiki y-angu a-mefika
     friend 9-my 1-arrived
     ‘My friend has arrived’

(34) rafiki mw-ema w-angu
     friend 1-good 1-my sovereign.
2. MIXED AGREEMENT

2.1 HYBRID NOUNS IN SPANISH

(35) Su Majestad suprem-a
(36) His majesty supreme-F
   'His Supreme Majesty'

(37) Su Majestad está content-o
(38) His majesty is happy-M
   'His Majesty is happy.'
2. MIXED AGREEMENT
2.1 HYBRID NOUNS IN FRENCH

(38) Sa Majesté fut inquiète, et de nouveau il envoya La Varenne French
his-F majesty was worried-F and of new he sent La Varenne
à son minister
to his minister
‘His Majesty was worried, and again he sent La Varenne to his minister.’ (Corbett
1991: 227)
2.2 PREVIOUS PROPOSALS THAT DISTINGUISH CONCORD AND PREDICATE AGREEMENT

(39) xoroš-aja vrać
   good-F doctor
   'good (female) doctor'
2.3 CONCORD VS. INDEX AGREEMENT (WECHSLER AND ZLATIĆ 2000, 2003)

(40) Declension ⇔ Concord ⇔ Index ⇔ Semantics

(41) Ta dobra deca dolaze. Serbian/Croatian
That-\text{\textsc{fsg}} \text{good-}\text{\textsc{fsg}} \text{children come}_{3\text{pl}}
Those good children came. (Wechsler and Zlatić 2003: 51)
2.4 MULTIPLE LEVELS OF $\Phi$-FEATURE INTERPRETATION (SAUERLAND 2004)

- (42) $\Phi P > DP$

(43) a. vrač prišl-a
doctor arrived-F
‘The (female) doctor arrived.’ (Sauerland 2004: 9)

b. 

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3. ASSIGNMENT STRATEGIES

• 3. Assignment Strategies
  3.1 Semantics, Morphology and Syntax in Slavic

• 3.2 Further Evidence for Animacy in Word Formation: Possessives in Czech and in Compounds in German
3.2 FURTHER EVIDENCE FOR ANIMACY IN WORD FORMATION: POSSESSIVES IN CZECH AND IN COMPOUNDS IN GERMAN

(44) a. * stol-qy-a noha ......... b. noha stolu

......... .... * table<sub>poss(m)</sub> leg ........ .... leg table<sub>GEN</sub>

‘table’s leg’ ‘the leg of the table’

c. * fakult-in<sub>GEN</sub> tajemník ........ d. tajemník fakulty

......... .... * faculty<sub>POSS(F)</sub> secretary ........ .... secretary faculty<sub>GEN</sub>

‘faculty’s secretary’ ‘secretary of the faculty’
GERMAN COMPOUNDS AND ANIMACY

(46) a. *Das Bein des Tisches
    b. Das Tischbein
    c. *Die Helden des Krieges
    d. Die Kriegshelden

(47) a. Das Bein des Vaters
    b. *Das Vatersbein
    c. Die Kriege des Alexander des Großen
    d. *Die Alexander der Große-Kriege

Distributed Gender Hypothesis (Steriopolo and Wiltschko 2010)

Steriopolo and Wiltschko (2010) present the Distributed Gender Hypothesis, which divides gender into three levels, shown in (48).

(48)
(49) ein gut-er Mann
    a-M good-M man
    ‘a good man’

(50) ein gut-es Männ-chen
    a-N good-N man-DIM

(51) a. Vrač’ prišl-a.
    doctor arrived-F
    ‘The (female) doctor arrived.’

b.

```
   D(female)
     `/`
    D(female)  n[masc]
      `/`
    n[masc]  √vrač
```
PROPOSAL IN KOSTA (2020:138-139) FOLLOWING THE DISTRIBUTED GENDER HYPOTHESIS (STERIOPOLO AND WILTSCHKO 2010)
I adopt the Distributed Gender Hypothesis (Steriopolo and Wiltschko 2010) shown in (52).

Semantic gender, or √root-gender, is valued male or female as part of the semantic information of the root. It applies to animates, such as “father” (male, even with no referent) and “cow” (female, similarly), but also to inanimates in languages where gender is predictable from the meaning of the root. For example, in the Omotic language of Dizi, females (dade “girl”) and diminutives (kieme “small pot”) are feminine and all others (dad “boy”, kiemu “pot”) are masculine. Semantic gender is interpretable.

Grammatical gender, or n-gender, is valued masculine or feminine. It is purely grammatical, uninterpretable, and determined arbitrarily. An example is the Russian word cêlovek “person,” which is not semantically male or female, but is grammatically always masculine. If both are present, grammatical gender overrides semantic gender. For example, the German word Mann “man” is semantically male, and triggers masculine agreement, as in (49). The diminutive suffix -chen is grammatically neuter and triggers neuter agreement even though the noun is still semantically male, as in (50).
(49) ein gut-er Mann
    a-M good-M man
    'a good man'

(50) ein gut-es Männ-chen
    a-N good-N man-DIM

(51) a. Vrač’ príšl-a.
    doctor arrived-F
    'The (female) doctor arrived.'

b. 
   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   \text{D(female)} \\
   \text{D(female)} \quad \text{n[masc]} \\
   \text{n[masc]} \quad \text{vrač}
   \end{array}
   \]
• The authors acknowledge that they have no good explanation for why both D-gender and n-gender are available on hybrid nouns such as vrač “doctor” but not on other nouns such as čelovek “person.”

• With this proposal, the grammatical-to-referential gender switch happens at D. If both D-gender and n-gender are present, then any lexical items found on D should agree with D-gender, and all adjectives and other items below D should agree with n-gender.
Further Perspectives of Research and Exploration of Gender and Animacy

Finally, I would like to explain why I have decided to include into my description the grammar of indigenous languages. First of all, I have noticed while studying the grammars of many languages of the world that animacy and gender are quite intriguing since they not only interact with each other but moreover, they introduce nominal and verbal categories of different kind that one would not have expected to be relevant for animacy and/or gender. These are Quantification, Numeral Phrases, so-called noun markers and noun classifiers but also special affixes on verbal stems and even introflection that can express animacy and gender.
• Systems with semantic gender assignment vary in their transparency. Gender choice in Dyrbal is semantically based, but not straightforward (Aikhenvald 2016: 19). In this language, four genders are expressed through article-like noun markers (but not on noun themselves). Three of them are associated with one or more concepts:

- (53) gender 1 (noun marker bayi) - male humans and non-human animates;
  gender 2 (noun marker balan) - female humans; fire; drinkable liquids; fighting
  gender 3 (noun marker balam) - non-flesh food;
  gender 4 (noun marker bala) - a residue gender covering everything else, including body and other parts, place names, and flesh food (meat and fish)
• All animates in this Gender system are distributed between gender 1 and gender 2 (except bees that are in gender 4).

• Three general principles determine gender membership of a noun:
I. If a noun has a characteristic X (on the basis of which its gender will be chosen) but is associated with characteristic Y through Belief or Legend it will be then assigned to a different gender based on characteristic Y. This is a principle of mythological association, or Myth-and-Belief principle following Aikhenvald (2016: 19). Along this line, birds are classed as members of gender 2 (feminine balan) rather than bayi on the basis of their non-human but animate status. There are exceptions to this principle also based on beliefs. Willy wagtail belongs to gender I (masculine), bayi jigirrigirr, since he is believed to be the metamorphosis of a legendary man (and the way the bird wiggles its tail is reminiscent of how men dance, corroborees). Non-edible snakes are members of gender I (bayi. An exception is balan bima “death adder” who is also a legendary woman, and thus belongs to gender 2.
We see some parallels even in highly grammaticalized Gender systems. For example, in Russian, the person who died is called mertvec “deadman” and it is case marked by the Genitive-Accusative Case after transitive verbs if direct object just like any other masculine animate (e.g., man or wolf). As opposed to it, the body after three days is called trup and is never case marked with Genitive-Accusative but only with the pure Accusative; it thus belongs to non-animate masculine Gender.

II. If the referent of a noun with a characteristic X is perceived to have a physical association with the characteristic Y, then this may be reflected in the gender choice for this noun. For example, fruit and vegetable belong to gender 3, etc. (Cf. Aikhenvald 2016: 19).
The Slavic Linguistics Society (SLS) is a professional organization devoted to the systematic and scholarly study of the Slavic languages. The organization brings together academics from Europe and North America (and elsewhere) through an annual conference that alternates between North American and European institutions, a mailing list, and other activities. It seeks to promote dialogue across different sub-disciplines of linguistics and theoretical frameworks.

Membership in the Slavic Linguistics Society is open to anyone, regardless of academic rank or employment. We particularly encourage graduate students to join (there is a reduced student membership fee), and to become involved with the activities of the organization.

Update: The 2020 Slavic Linguistics Society Meeting will be held "virtually" on September 4-6. Click here to see the conference program (with links to abstracts; updated 3 Sep). Click here to see how to attend.

Click here to see the conference program (with links to abstracts; updated 3 Sep).