Gender and predicate nominals *

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1   Introduction

Grammatical gender is the sorting of nouns into two or more classes, where:

- This sorting is notional for at least some members of these classes (e.g. animacy, sociocultural gender)

- These classes are reflected by agreement patterns on other elements (Kramer 2015:70; see relatedly Hockett 1958 and Corbett 1991)

Question 1: Where is gender within nominal phrases?

- The literature is split on whether grammatical gender is fundamentally a property of *nouns* (or *nominalizing heads*); ii) *larger nominal phrases*; iii) or *both*[1]

Question 2: Why are certain values of gender chosen rather than others?

- It is a matter of debate how specific gender features come to be selected rather than others, via e.g. licensing conditions, semanticopragmatic competition, etc. (Percus 2011; Kramer 2015; Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019; Hammerly 2019; Adamson 2025; among many others)

- Making progress on Questions 1 and 2 can help us address key issues regarding the internal structure and interpretation of nominals and about competition in the grammar

This talk: novel insights from predicate nominals in German, with comparisons to a similar phenomenon in Greek and to previously known patterns of gender agreement in Russian.

- Motivating idea: Some predicate nominals, namely those that identify *capacities* (De Swart et al. 2007) instantiate a 'truncated' nominal structure that include some but not all projections typically associated with full nominals (see relatedly Beyssade and Dobrovie-Sorin 2005; Matushansky and Spector 2005; Sağ 2022)

(1) a. Peter ist *(ein) Mann.
        Peter is a.M.SG man
        'Peter is a man.' (Marked Nominal, MN)

    b. Peter ist Architekt.
        Peter is architect
        'Peter is an architect.' (Bare Nominal, BN)
                                                German

- The availability of truncated structures with BNs allow us to probe the relationship between the structural presence/absence of 'higher' nominal projections and gender marking/agreement.

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[1]See, for example, Steripolo and Wiltschko 2010; Kramer 2015; Puškar 2018; Sudo and Spathas 2020; Adamson 2024

Key observations: Predicate nominals with female subjects vary in whether they 'require' feminine marking on elements in the nominal predicate; they can also bear unmarked masculine in certain environments.

(2) a. Maria ist {(technische) Architekt-in /%[(technischer) Architekt]} (von Beruf).
         Maria is technical.F editor-F /technical.M architect.M from profession
         'Maria is a (technical) architect by profession.'
     b. Maria ist {eine schlecht bezahlte Architekt-in /??/*ein schlecht bezahlter Architekt}.
         Maria is a.F badly paid.F architect-F /a.M badly paid.M architect.M
   'Maria is a badly paid architect.'

Proposal: Capacity nouns, like other nouns, bear gender features on the nominalizing head (or within NP). *But*:

- There is variation across languages/speakers/nouns in whether F and M genders with capacity nouns are <*adjunct features*> (thereby escaping semanticopragmatic competition) or not.[2]

- However, if the nominal is mapped from capacities to sets of individuals within the nominal domain: gender can be, and in some languages *must be* introduced at a higher position. Semanticopragmatic competition necessarily applies, with marked [F]>[M].

- Optionality at the lower position is affected by what happens at the higher position; i.e. languages do not permit (all types of) clashes.
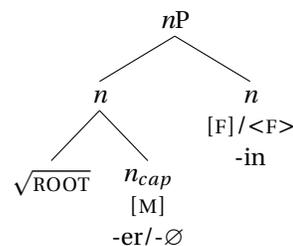
(3) Bare Nominal   Marked Nominal
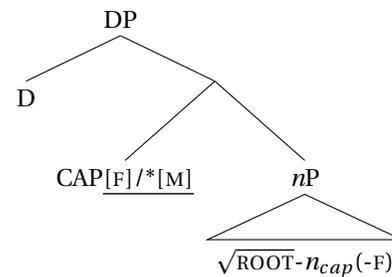
Implications

- Suggests there are multiple loci for interpretable gender including the 'lower' position, even in languages without hybrid agreement.

- Speaks to the character of markedness-based semanticopragmatic competition as it relates to optionality.

- Supports the structural distinction between predicate nominal types and contributes insights from gender.

Roadmap

- Section 2: German (main focus)

- Section 3: Greek point of comparison

- Section 4: Russian hybrid nouns

2 German

2.1 Background on gender in the language

German distinguishes masculine (M), feminine (F), and neuter (N) genders in the inflection of attributive adjectives, determiners, and other categories.

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[2]See Konnelly and Cowper 2020 on gender, building on work from Wiltschko 2008, and see Sprouse et al. 2022 on the status of *Mary is an actor* in English.

(4)   eine gelb-e   Banana, ein gelb-er   Zug, ein gelb-es   Auto
        a.F yellow-F.SG banana a   yellow-M.SG train a   yellow.N.SG car
        'a yellow banana/train/car'

- There are many noun 'pairs' where there exists a human/animate-denoting M noun along with a corresponding F noun suffixed with *-in*. The suffix can be said to productively form F nouns corresponding to M forms, especially those suffixed with *-er*.

(5)   *Architekt(-in)* 'architect', *Arzt/Ärzt-in* 'doctor', *Cellist-in* 'cellist', *Crist-in* 'Christian', *Geig-er(-in)*, 'violinist', *Lehr-er(-in)* 'teacher', *Löwe/Löw-in* 'lion', 'Austrian', *Marxist(-in)*, *Idiot(in)* 'idiot', *Österreich-er(-in)*, *Politiker(-in)* 'politician', *Schauspiel-er-in* 'actor', *Sprachwissenschaftl-er(-in)* 'linguist'

- Bobaljik and Zocca (2011) observe (building on observations from Jakobson 1984) that many nouns in various languages including German have a markedness pattern in which the F gives rise to gendered inference whereas the M does not.

(6)   a. Ist das ein   Löwe?   –Ja, das ist ein-e Löw-in.
            is that a.M.SG lion.M.SG –Yes, that is a.F.SG lion-F
            'Is that a lion? –Yes (more precisely) it's a lioness.'
        b. Ist das eine   Löw-in? –#Ja, das ist ein   Löwe.
            is that a.F.SG lion-F   Yes, that is a.M.SG lion.M
            'Is that a lioness? #Yes, (more precisely) it is a lion.'   (Bobaljik and Zocca 2011)

- The lack of a male-specific gender inference with M can also be seen in plural nouns (see relatedly Jakobson 1984; Sudo and Spathas 2020)

    – *Architekten* 'architect.M.PL' (can be used for a group of men or a gender-mixed group)[3]
      Architektinnen 'architect.F.PL' (used for a group of women) [4]

- However, as has been observed previously (e.g. Bobaljik and Zocca 2011), there are some nouns whose masculine variants do bring in male-specific inferences, such as *König/Königin* 'king/queen'; *Schwäger/Schwägerin* 'brother-/sister-in-law'; among many others. Mostly set these to the side.

2.2   Background on predicate nominals

Indefinite predicate nominals in the language often take an indefinite article.[5]

(7)   Maria ist *(eine) Frau.   (8)   Glittergurke ist *(eine) Katze.
        'Maria is a.F   woman   Glittergurke is a.F   cat
        'Maria is a woman.'   'Glittergurke is a cat.'

- An important exception to this comes from *capacity* nominals denoting properties including professions, demonyms, and religious affiliations, where an indefinite article is omitted (see e.g. Matushansky and Spector 2005; Beyssade and Dobrovie-Sorin 2005; De Swart et al. 2007; Geist 2014 on German, among many others).

(9)   Peter ist (*ein) Architekt   von Beruf.
        Peter is a.M   architect.M from profession
        'Peter is an architect by profession.'

- For a male subject, M is acceptable on the predicate nominal while F is not, as the latter would lead to a female inference. The F form is available with a female subject.

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[3] However, note that the gender-neutral status of M is changing in German following sociocultural debates in public discourse.

[4] While feminine suffixes such as *-in* appear in noun forms in the plural (e.g. *Architekt-inn-en*), German neutralizes contrasts in gender agreement in the plural.

[5] Examples like (7)-(8) may be improved with very particular interpretations that we can set to the side. For instance, one speaker reports that an assumed identity context works for an example parallel to (8), as in *An Karneval war ich Katze* 'At Carneval, I was (=dressed as) a cat'.

(10)   {Maria /#Peter} ist Architekt-in von   Beruf.
        Maria Peter   is architect-F from profession
        'Maria/Peter is an architect by profession.'

- One received view is that predicate nominals in German (and many other languages) come in *bare* and *marked* varieties, corresponding to different amounts of nominal structure. For example, De Swart et al. (2007) claims that BNs are NPs while MNs are DPs.

(11)   Bare
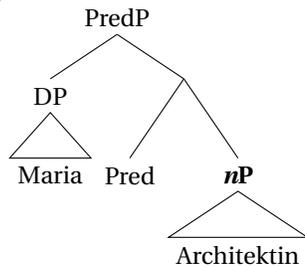
(12)   Marked
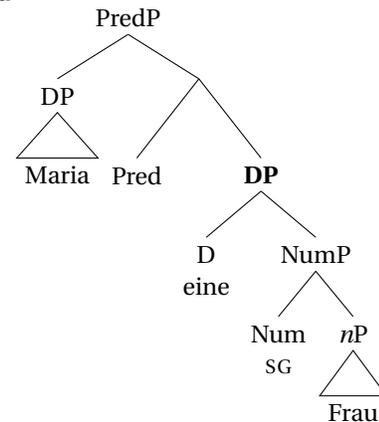
- The analysis is meant to account for (in various languages) i) the lack of article with the bare noun; ii) the number neutrality of the BN (see also Geist 2014 on German), in contrast to the MN; iii) the specific 'capacity' semantics with the BN

(13)   Peter und Maria sind {Architekten/%Architekt}
        Peter and Maria are   architect.PL/architect.SG
        von Beruf.
        from profession
        'Peter and Maria are architects by profession.'

(14)   Maria und Christina sind Frau*(-en).
        Maria and Christina are   woman(-PL)
        'Maria and Christina are women.'

- As observed by De Swart et al. (2007) and others, classificatory modification is possible with BNs whereas object-level modification is not.

(15)   Peter ist technischer Architekt.
        Peter is technical.M architect.M architect-F
        'Peter is a (technical) architect.'

(16)   Peter ist *(ein) schlecht bezahlter Architekt.
        Peter is a.M   badly   paid.M   architect.M
        'Peter is a badly paid architect.'

Upshot: we have a way to distinguish BNs and MNs for the same *capacity noun*, allowing us to isolate the role of structure/interpretation as it relates to gender.

2.3   Novel contribution: gender and predicate nominals

We note first that BNs permit F gender. (This already indicates that interpretable gender can be 'low' in the nominal domain.)

- This is not just about marking on the noun; F agreement appears also with classificatory modifiers

(17)   Peter ist technischer Architekt.
        Peter is technical.M architect.M architect-F
        'Peter is a (technical) architect by profession.'

(18)   Maria ist technische Architekt-in.
        Maria is technical.F architect-F
        'Maria is a technical architect.'

The gender of the nominal predicate is related to the noun, not to agreement with the subject (pace e.g. Zamparelli 2008; Kučerova et al. 2020)

1. BNs take on the gender of the noun they occur with more generally:

(19) a. Er/sie ist {geriatrische /*geriatrischer}
         he/she is geriatric.F /geriatric.M
         Pflegekraft.
         nurse
         'He/she is a geriatric nurse.'

      b. Er ist ?(ein) männliches Model.
         he is a.M male.N.SG model
         'He is a male model.'

2. Gender inferences cannot be ignored in ellipsis licensing, even though agreement can be (Bobaljik and Zocca 2011) (though see Kučerova et al. 2020 for an alternative view).

(20) *Maria ist Architekt-in, Peter auch.
       Maria is architect-F, Peter too
       'Maria is an architect, Peter is too.'

Striking novel observation about nominal predicates with female subjects:

- For a female-referring subject, some speakers permit unmarked M (though potentially have a preference against using the M form for sociocultural reasons). The M-inflecting classificatory adjective can also be added, without impact.

(21) %Maria ist (technischer) Architekt von Beruf.
       Maria is technical.M architect.M from profession
       'Maria is a (technical) architect by profession.'

- For speakers that allow (21), there is clear degradation for M with the corresponding MN.

(22) Maria ist {eine schlecht bezahlte Architekt-in /??/*ein schlecht bezahlter Architekt}.
       Maria is a.F badly paid.F architect-F /a.M badly paid.M architect.M
       'Maria is a badly paid architect.'

This is not modulated by the presence of the article or with the number of gender-agreeing elements.

1. The preposition *als* can occur without an indefinite article regardless of whether it is a BN or MN. The contrast between classificatory and non- comes out here for the degradation of the M for the relevant speakers.

(23) Peter arbeitet als {technischer /schlecht bezahlter} Architekt.
       Peter works as technical.M badly paid.M architect.M
       'Peter works as a technical/badly paid architect.'

(24) Maria arbeitet als {technische /schlecht bezahlte} Architekt-in.
       Maria works as technical.F badly paid.F architect-F
       'Maria works as a technical/badly paid architect.'

(25) Maria arbeitet als {technischer /??schlecht bezahlter} Architekt.
       Maria works as technical.M badly paid.M architect.M
       'Maria works as a technical/badly paid architect.'

2. Sentential negation with such sentences is expressed with the negative form of the article on the predicate. This article has no impact on the well-formedness of the M BN for these speakers.[6]

(26) Maria ist kein (technischer) Architekt.
       Maria is no.M technical.M architect.M
       'Maria is not a (technical) architect.'

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[6]As has been observed previously (e.g. Zeijlstra 2011) for modals and *kein* with objects, it can be seen that negation is interpreted 'high' rather than in its base position; this holds also of *kein* with predicate nominals:

(i) Jeder Mann hier ist kein Architekt.
     every.M man here is no.M.SG architect
     'Not every man here is an architect.'

- Speakers that allow a M BN with a female subject nevertheless do not allow (in)definite nominals elsewhere to be mismatched (with the same noun), such as in apposition.

(27) Maria, {??ein Architekt   /✓eine Architektin}, (kam gestern   zum ZAS)
      Maria, a.M   architect.M a.F   architect.F came yesterday to.the ZAS
      'Maria, an architect (came to ZAS yesterday).'

(28) Maria, {??der berühmte Architekt   /✓die berühmte Architekt-in, (kam gestern   zum ZAS)
      Maria the.M famous   architect.M /the.F famous   architect-F came yesterday to   ZAS
      'Maria, the famous architect (came to ZAS yesterday).'

2.4 Towards an Analysis

Following De Swart et al. 2007, MNs with capacity nouns in them are *derived from* the NPs of the corresponding BNs (De Swart et al. 2007) (cf. Sağ 2022)

In our view, this is compatible with two types of evidence in German:

- Object-level modifiers and classificatory modifiers may appear together in the same nominal (in that order); see especially McNally and Boleda 2004

  (29) Peter ist ein [guter   [technischer Architekt]].
        Peter is a.M good.M technical.M architect.M
   'Peter is a good technical architect.'

- NP ellipsis is licensed going from BNs to MNs, which (more controversially) requires at least some type of semantic identity (e.g. Merchant 2001)

  (30) Peter ist Architekt,   und ein guter   ~~Architekt~~ dazu.
        Peter is architect.M, and a.M good.M architect to.it
        'Peter is an architect, and a good one at that.'

We take BNs to correspond to NPs in the predicate position.

- All speakers accept the F form *Maria ist Architektin.*

- We'll assume that the productivity of the F form is reflected in being derived from a M form, hence a 'denominal nominalization' (on which, see Kramer 2015)

(31) Bare
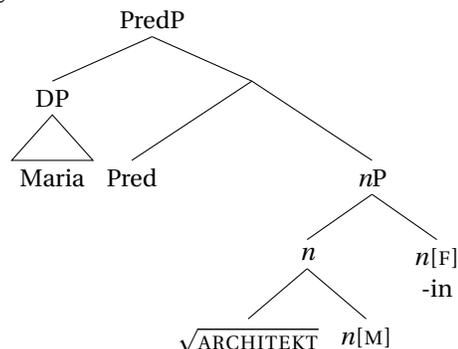
- Worth highlighting: this is already evidence against a 'high' view of gender that requires (interpretable) gender to be high in the nominal domain (e.g. Steripolo and Wiltschko 2010; Kučerová 2018, relatedly Sauerland 2004).

- **For non-capacity nouns**, we take the (interpretable) nominalizing heads to be as follows (see Adamson 2025 on gender allosemy of the masculine) – in assertory terms for simplicity (see Sudo and Spathas 2020 for discussion on presupposition/assertion with gender):

(32) n[F] $\leftrightarrow$ λx. x is/are female   (33) $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$ $\leftrightarrow$ λx. ROOT(x)
        n[M] $\leftrightarrow$ λx. x is/are animate/human
        N[M] $\leftrightarrow$ λx. x is/are male

- **For capacity nouns**, we'll assume they belong to the domain of kinds – a subtype of entities (cf. De Swart et al. 2007)

- Since they're a subtype of entity-set, they can still combine with (32)

- Through a Carlsonian-type realization operator, they can be translated into the set of individuals instantiating that kind (McNally and Boleda 2004; De Swart et al. 2007, among others). Call it CAP, following De Swart et al. 2007

    (34) U_k = {ARCHITECT, ACTOR, etc....}

- Important part: For classificatory modifiers, these will combine with the kind-type nouns below CAP, whereas object modifiers combine above CAP

    (35)   Marked Nominals with capacity nouns
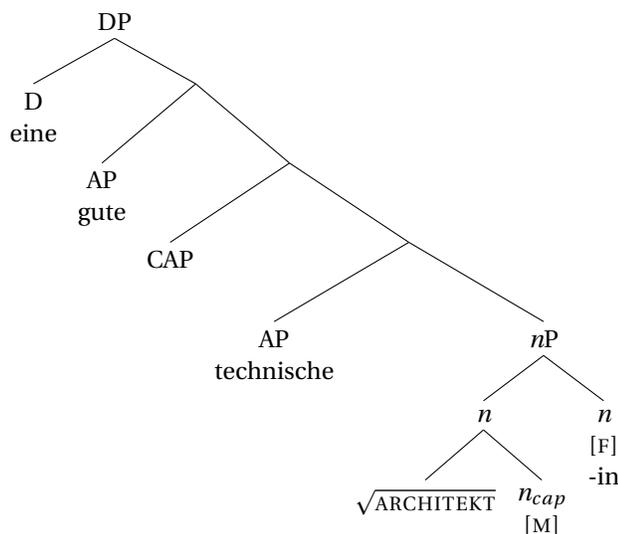
- Adjectives determiners value gender/number/case either through percolation or through an Agree relation with the closest c-commanded element bearing those features (e.g. Carstens 2000; Norris 2014)

Yes, but what about gender?

- We assume the choice between [F] and the less marked [M] is subject to semanticopragmatic competition (e.g. Maximize Presupposition, Lexical Complementarity, etc.), such that [F] must be used when it can be, even if [M] with its animate meaning would also be semantically compatible

    (36)   LEXICAL COMPLEMENTARITY For feature specifications F and G where $[\![F]\!] \subset [\![G]\!]$, the use of G is restricted to $[\![G]\!]$ - $[\![F]\!]$.
              (Harbour 2016; see Toosarvandani 2023; Adamson and Anagnostopoulou 2025; Adamson 2025)

(37)   **This structure**   **Blocks this one**

```
            nP                                              nP
           /  \                                            /  \
          n    n                                         √ROOT  n
         / \   [F]                                              [M]
        /   \
     √ROOT   n
             [M]
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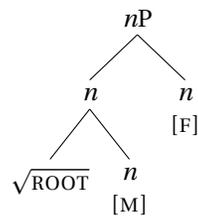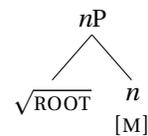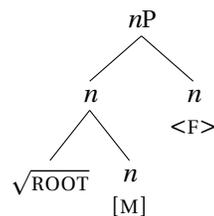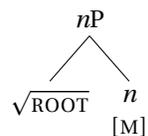
1. This does *not* derive the optionality between M and F for speakers who allow *Maria ist Architekt.*

2. Relatedly, this does not distinguish between *Maria ist Architekt* and *??Maria ist ein guter Architekt.*

Tentative Proposal

1. Competition does not apply to *adjunct* features, stylized <F>

   – Konnelly and Cowper (2020) suggest this type of analysis for English speakers who allow singular *they* for speakers of known gender

   – Conceptually related to the lack of blocking for *Maria is a (female) teacher*

   – Conceptually related to the English acceptability of *Mary is an actor* despite the existence of *Mary is an actress* (on which, see Sprouse et al. 2022)

2. n_{cap} in German for some speakers can have a <F> value, which does not block the corresponding [M]

(38)   **This structure**   **Does not block**

```
            nP                                              nP
           /  \                                            /  \
          n    n                                         √ROOT  n
         / \   <F>                                              [M]
        /   \
     √ROOT   n
             [M]
```

3. CAP, in introducing object-level interpretations, also requires gender presuppositions.

(39)   CAP[F]
       CAP[M]

   – *No optionality here in German.* Hence, all object-level modification and MNs in general are feminine for female referents.

3. Feature mismatch internal to the nominal domain is not allowed in German.

   – Hybrid agreement is not allowed.

(40)   *Maria ist eine gute   technischer Architekt
        Maria is a.F   good.F technical.M architect.M
        'Maria is a good technical architect.'

→ In a MN, a speaker with <F> (instead of [F]) must use it in order to avoid a higher clash with CAP[F]

More Types of MNs   These nouns can also appear with an indefinite article, in which case they have a different interpretation (see De Swart et al. 2007 and for German specifically, Geist 2014).

(41)   a. Peter ist Schauspieler (von Beruf).   b. Peter ist ein Schauspieler.
            Peter is actor.M   from profession   Peter is a.M actor.M
            'Peter is an actor (by profession).'   'Peter is an actor' (e.g. he's faking it)

- The presence of the article and the change in interpretation suggest that these are MNs (in line with De Swart et al. 2007)

- Correct prediction: M should be degraded in these environments with a female subject

(42)   a. Maria ist eine Schauspieler-in.   b. ??Maria ist ein Schauspieler.
            Maria is a.F   actor-F   Maria is a.M actor.M
            'Maria is an actor.'   'Maria is an actor.'

- De Swart et al. (2007) also report that plurals necessarily take a noun that has been shifted, not a capacity noun

- But *optional* in German – Geist (2014) suggests that PL number marking reflects agreement with the subject for the BN (?)

- Our expectation: F is permitted for both SG and PL predicate nouns with plural subjects, and that gender and number marking are independent. Need to look at this more, more subtlety than what is presented here:

(43)   Maria und Anna sind Architekt {✓-innen /✓-in /✓-en /✓-∅} (von Beruf)
        Maria and Anna are   architect -F.PL   -F.SG -M.PL -M.SG from profession
        'Maria and Anna are architects (by profession).'

Lexical Variation

- This account permits a fairly high degree of flexibility: some speakers may have n_{cap}[F] for some nouns and n_{cap}<[F]> for others

- From our perspective, this may be a good thing. The same speaker may accept *Maria ist Architekt* (or not) while having a different judgment for other roots:

(44)   Maria ist Marxist-in.   (45)   %Maria ist Marxist.
        Maria is Marxist-F   Maria is Marxist.M
        'Maria is a Marxist.'   'Maria is a Marxist.'

Cross-linguistic expectations?

- No conceptual necessity of <F> on n_{cap}: subject to variation?

- No conceptual necessity for <F> only to be on *n*: subject to variation?

3   Greek predicate nominals

Greek exhibits distinct but related behavior. Greek similarly has three genders (feminine, masculine, and neuter), whose agreement can be seen on, among other categories, adjectives and determiners.

3.1   Greek is not the same as German

Greek speakers reject M gender with female subjects for predicative environments.[7]

(46)   I   Maria ine   {dhaskala /#dhaskalos}.
        the.F Maria be.3PRS teacher.F teacher.M
        'Maria is a teacher.'

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[7]Collaborative work with Elena Anagnostopoulou will be underway for this part at some point in the near future.

- Classificatory adjectives can modify professional nouns in Greek; there is no impact on the acceptability of M gender with female subjects.

(47) I   Maria ine {anidikefti   ergatria /#anidikeftos   ergatis}.
      the.F Maria is   unspecialized.F worker.F unspecialized.M worker.M
      'Maria is an unspecialized worker.'

This looks different from (one type of) German.

- It seems like Greek does not have n_{cap}<F>.

- However, we observe that there *is* in fact part of the system that looks somewhat like German.

3.2   A special corner of Greek

There exists a class of nouns in Greek that do not morphologically distinguish masculine and feminine pairs (Merchant 2014; Alexiadou 2017; Sudo and Spathas 2020). Note that this set cross-cuts several declension classes.

(48)   *antipalos* 'opponent', *apostoleas* 'sender', *asthenis* 'patient/sick person', *astino-mikos* 'police officer', *dhier-mineas* 'interpreter', *dhikastis* 'judge', *dhikigoros* 'lawyer', *dhimosiografos* 'journalist', *epangelmatias* 'professional', *epistimonas* 'scientist', *filologos* 'philologist', *fisikos* 'physicist', *glossologos* 'linguist', *goneas* 'parent' *gramateas* 'secretary', *idhravlikos* 'plumber', *iereas* 'priest/pastor', *ithopios* 'actor', *ipalilos* 'employee', *ipurgos* 'minister', *istorikos* 'historian'   (Sudo and Spathas 2020)

- That these nouns are compatible with both genders can be seen in (49). What can also be observed is that the F lacks gender inferences present for other F nouns[8]

(49)   a. Mono o   Petros ine kalos   jatros
            only   the.M Petros is   good.M doctor
            'Only Peter is a good doctor.'   ⇒Maria is not a good doctor.
        b. Mono i   Maria ine kali   jatros
            only   the.F Maria is   good.F doctor
            'Only Maria is a good doctor.'   ⇒Petros is not a good doctor.'
                                                                             (Sudo and Spathas 2020)

(50)   a. Mono o   Petros ine kalos   dhaskalos
            only   the.M Petros is   good.M teacher.M
            'Only Peter is a good doctor.'   ⇒Maria is not a good doctor.
        b. Mono i   Maria ine kali   dhaskala
            only   the.F Maria is   good.F teacher.F
            'Only Maria is a good doctor.'   ⇏Petros is not a good doctor.'
                                                                             (Sudo and Spathas 2020)

- These nouns also exhibit different behavior in ellipsis (Merchant 2014) and in exceptives (Spathas 2023)

- Merchant (2014); Sudo and Spathas (2020) in fact suggest that these nouns are not merely *syncretic* between masculine and feminine forms, but rather, bring in no feminine gender features at all at the level of the noun.

3.3   Predicate nominals revisited

What happens with this class of nouns in predicate position? Of course, it is not clear when the noun appears on its own in the predicate position.

(51)   I   Maria ine chirurgos.
        the.F Maria is   surgeon
        'Maria is a surgeon.'

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[8]Articles are omitted for nominal predicates for both BNs and MNs in Greek.

- However, a classificatory adjective can be added; in this case, we observe that speakers accept both F and M, like German M speakers.

(52) I   Maria ine {geniki   /genikos} chirurgos.
      the.F Maria is   general.F general.M surgeon
      'Maria is a general surgeon.'

- We further observe that when other types of modifiers are added, M becomes unacceptable.

(53) I   Maria ine {kali   /*kalos} chirurgos.
      the.F Maria is   good.F good.M surgeon
      'Maria is a good surgeon.'

- If a classificatory modifier and another type of modifier both appear, then everything must be F; no mixing is allowed.

(54) I   Maria ine {kali   geniki   /*kali genikos   /*kalos geniki}   chirurgos
      the.F Maria is   good.F general.F good.F general.M good.M general.F surgeon
      'Maria is a good general surgeon.'

Tentative Proposal for Greek

- Greek has no n_{cap}<F>, only n_{cap}[F].

- However, one set of nouns *only* allows a [M] version, so there is no competition at this locus.

- ✓CAP[F], ✗CAP<F>

- No gender clashes are allowed.

- This doesn't explain the availability of the feminine with the classificatory modifier!

4   Russian Hybrid Agreement

We have not tested predicate nominals in Russian.

- *However, a very related phenomenon arises in the language.*

Russian, like German and Greek, has three genders (feminine, masculine, and neuter).

- Russian allows so-called *hybrid* agreement with a class of nouns which (basically) lack neutral F forms (Pesetsky 2013; Matushansky 2013; Privizentseva 2024, among many others)

(55) {Xoroš-ij /xoroš-aja} vrač.
      good-M /good-F   doctor
      'the good doctor'
      (Privizentseva 2024:770)

- That it is truly *hybrid* agreement can be seen from the mobility of the 'cut' between M and F agreement

(56) Xoroš-ij vrač   prišl-a.
      good-M doctor came-F
      'The good doctor came'
      (Privizentseva 2024:770)

(57) ˀÈt-a nov-yj vrač   vsë   pereputal-a
      this-F new-M doctor everything mixed.up-F
      'This new doctor mixed everything up.'
      (Privizentseva 2024:771)

Despite this flexibility, there is a restriction: classificatory adjectives *cannot* appear with F.

(58) {General^{j}n-yj /*general^{j}n-aja} direktor
      general-M   general-F   director
      'the executive director'   (Privizentseva 2024:771)

Tentative Suggestion for Russian hybrid nouns

- Like Greek doctor-nouns, Russian doctor-nouns only have M.

- However, CAP and other higher heads also *allow* <F>.

- Russian also seems to permit clashes, hence the hybrid agreement.

    – However, even then – Privizentseva (2024) shows that there is an interaction with gender, declension, and exponence of the noun with case, showing that the noun cannot clash in a certain respect

(59) vižu {nov-ogo   /*nov-uju}   vrač-a
      see   new-M.SG.ACC new-F.SG.ACC doctor-SG.ACC
      'see the new doctor'   (Privizentseva 2024:771)

5   Conclusion

From the predicate nominal data, we conclude:

- Gender is introduced low in the nominal domain – on the nominalizing head *n* – accounting for its availability in BNs.

- Some languages/speakers/nouns use <F> rather than [F] for some nouns, exempting them from semanti-copragmatic competition at this locus

- However, this type of competition can become relevant at a higher position in the nominal domain, namely for the 'switch' between capacities to object-level individuals

    – That this is a cross-linguistically relevant juncture for *gender* is a novel insight

- Many questions remain, including on the availability of <F> for a given noun/speaker/language/position, why clashes can be tolerated/accepted

    – Is there something special about combining gender inferences with kinds/capacities compared to individuals?

- Note: optionality seems not to be specific just to capacities

(60) Artemis ist {%der Chef   /die Chef-in}
      Artemis is the.M boss.M the.F boss-F
      'Artemis is the boss.'

- Various questions also remain about the interaction with plurality

Thanks for listening!

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