

Some genders are more equal than others

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- (1) **Gender and ellipsis generalization** When gender is variable (as on determiners, clitics, adjectives, and some nominals under certain conditions), it may be ignored under ellipsis. When gender is invariant (on nouns in argument positions, and on some nominals in predicative uses), it may not be ignored under ellipsis.
- (2) This generalization finds a relatively simple account under an **LF-copy** theory of ellipsis identity and resolution, but not under a semantic or LF-identity account (whether implemented with PF-deletion or syntactic deletion)

1 Predicate adjectives under ellipsis

Greek predicate ellipsis:

- (3) a. O Petros ine ikanos, ala o Alexandros dhen ine.
the Petros is capable.m.sg but the Alexander not is
'Petros is capable, but Alexander isn't.'
- b. I Maria ine ikani, ala i Anna dhen ine.
the Maria is capable.f.sg but the Anna not is
'Maria is capable, but Anna isn't.'
- c. To koritsi ine ikano, ala to agori dhen ine.
the girl.neut.sg is capable.n.sg but the boy.neut.sg not is
'The girl is capable, but the boy isn't.'

- d. I pateradhes ine ikani, ala i papudhes dhen ine.
the fathers.m.pl are capable.m.pl but the grandfathers.m.pl not are
 ‘The fathers are capable, but the grandfathers aren’t.’
- e. I miteres ine ikanes, ala i jajadhes dhen ine.
the mothers.f.pl are capable.f.pl but the grandmothers.f.pl not are
 ‘The mothers are capable, but the grandmothers aren’t.’
- f. Ta koritsia ine ikana, ala ta agoria dhen ine.
the girls.n.pl are capable.n.pl but the boys.n.pl not are
 ‘The girls are capable, but the boys aren’t.’

With adjectival predicate ellipsis, any combination of gender and number between the antecedent and the elided predicate is possible:

$$(4) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{O Petros} \quad \text{ine} \quad \text{ikanos} \\ \text{I Maria} \quad \text{ine} \quad \text{ikani} \\ \text{To koritsi} \quad \text{ine} \quad \text{ikano} \\ \text{I pateradhes} \quad \text{ine} \quad \text{ikani} \\ \text{I miteres} \quad \text{ine} \quad \text{ikanes} \\ \text{Ta koritsia} \quad \text{ine} \quad \text{ikana} \\ \textit{the } X_{\phi:\alpha} \quad \textit{is} \quad \textit{capable}_{\phi:\alpha} \end{array} \right\} \text{ala} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{o Alexandros} \quad \text{dhen ine} \\ \text{i Anna} \quad \text{dhen ine} \\ \text{to agori} \quad \text{dhen ine} \\ \text{i papudhes} \quad \text{dhen ine} \\ \text{i jajadhes} \quad \text{dhen ine} \\ \text{ta agoria} \quad \text{dhen ine} \\ \textit{the } Y_{\phi:\beta} \quad \textit{not is} \end{array} \right\} .$$

(5) **Gender and ellipsis generalization, first attempt:**

Gender and number are irrelevant to ellipsis.¹

This is prima facie evidence against treating grammatical agreement features as semantically meaningful, e.g. ‘extending’ the presuppositional accounts of gender on pronouns of Heim 2008 and Kratzer 2009 to agreement morphemes more generally, as Dowty and Jacobson 1989 propose:

- (6) La chaise est belle/*beau.

*the chair.fem is pretty.fem/*masc*

“What we would say is that the adjective *beau* denotes a function which is defined only for those objects with the property that the most salient common noun that would be chosen to refer to them in the present context of utterance has the masculine gender feature.”

This echoes Chomsky 1965’s remarks (p. 179): “the features added to a formative by agreement transformations are not part of the formative in the same sense as those which are inherent to it”. Chomsky formulates his condition on erasure operations (including ellipsis, and relativization) as follows:

- (7) a term X of the proper analysis can be used to erase a term Y of the proper analysis just in case the inherent part of the formative X is not distinct from the inherent part of the formative Y

¹Part of the huge, well-known generalization that inflectional morphology is irrelevant to ellipsis. Number is irrelevant even in argument positions.

2 Nouns under ellipsis

2.1 Nonalternating nouns (*aderfos/aderfi* ‘brother/sister’)

(8) **As predicates:**

- a. * O Petros ine aderfos, ala i Maria oxi.
the.masc Petros is brother.m.sg but the.fem Maria not
 (‘Petros is a brother, but not Maria.’)
- b. * I Maria ine aderfi, ala o Petros oxi.
the.fem Maria is sister.f.sg but the.masc Petros not
 (‘Maria is a sister, but not Petros.’)

(9) **As arguments:**

- a. * O Petros exi enan aderfo stin Veria, ala oxi mia
the Petros has a.masc.sg brother in.the Veria but not one.fem.sg
 stin Katerini.
in.the Katerini
 (‘Petros has a brother in Veria, but not one (sister) in Katerini.’)
- b. * O Petros exi mia aderfi stin Veria, ala oxi enan
the Petros has a.fem.sg sister in.the Veria but not one.masc.sg
 stin Katerini.
in.the Katerini
 (‘Petros has a sister in Veria, but not one (brother) in Katerini.’)

(10) Noun pairs that do not alternate at all (neither as predicates nor as arguments)²

<i>masculine</i>		<i>feminine</i>	
aderfos	‘brother’	aderfi	‘sister’
kirios	‘mister/gentleman’	kiria	‘ma’am/woman’
ksaderfos	‘(male) cousin’	ksaderfi	‘(female) cousin’
engonos	‘grandson’	engoni	‘granddaughter’
vaftistikos	‘godson’	vaftistikia	‘goddaughter’
antras	‘man, husband’	jineka	‘woman, wife’
pateras	‘father’	mitera	‘mother’
babas	‘dad’	mama	‘mom’
jos	‘son’	kori	‘daughter’
papus	‘grandfather’	jaja	‘grandmother’
gambros	‘groom, son-in-law’	nifi	‘bride, daughter-in-law’
raptis	‘tailor’	modhistra	‘seamstress’
kureas	‘barber’	komotria	‘hairstylist’
prinkipas	‘prince’	prinkipissa	‘princess’
vasilias	‘king’	vasilissa	‘queen’

²Crucially, all these pairs do alternate in deaccented contexts.

2.2 Two-way alternating nouns (*jatros* ‘doctor’)

Epicence (or ‘hybrid’ or ‘variable gender’; see Corbett 1991 and Aikhenvald 2000) nouns have only one form, but their concord and agreement patterns are determined by the natural (or ‘semantic’) gender of their referent (seen in the article, attributive adjectives, predicate adjectives, relative pronouns, and other anaphoric pronouns):³

- (11) a. I kali **jatros** itan xarumeni. Tin agapusame.
the.fem good.fem doctor was happy.fem her loved.3p
 ‘The good doctor (female) was happy. We loved her.’
- b. O kalos **jatros** itan xarumenos. Ton agapusame.
the.masc good.masc doctor was happy.masc him loved.3p
 ‘The good doctor (male) was happy. We loved him.’

NB: This isn’t just ‘natural’/‘semantic’ agreement (agreement *ad sensum*) overriding grammatical/syntactic agreement (agreement *ad formam*), as is possible with certain neuter nouns denoting animates (*koritsi* ‘girl’, *agori* ‘boy’, *pedhi* ‘child’, *melos* ‘member’) and anaphoric pronouns:⁴

- (12) a. To kalo koristi itan xarumeno. {To/tin} agapusame.
the.neut good.neut girl.neut was happy.neut it/her loved.3p
 ‘The good girl was happy. We loved it/her.’
- b. i. *I koristi itan eki.
the.fem girl.neut was there
- ii. *Kales koritsia itan eki.
good.fem girls.neut were there
- iii. *To koritsi itan xarumeni.
the.neut girl.neut was happy.fem

(13) As predicates:

- a. O Petros ine jatros, ala i Maria oxi.
the.masc Petros is doctor but the.fem Maria not
 ‘Petros is a doctor, but not Maria.’
- b. I Maria ine jatros, ala o Petros oxi.
the.fem Maria is doctor but the.masc Petros not
 ‘Maria is a doctor, but not Petros.’

³Person is beyond my scope here, but 1st and 2nd person pronouns will have to be specified for gender as well, in order to control agreement, etc.

⁴These nouns in Greek are thus different from better known cases of ‘hybrid’ agreement as in (i), from Corbett 1991, discussed in Wechsler and Zlatić 2003 and Villavicencio et al. 2005 (cf. also Collins and Postal 2011 on ‘imposters’):

(i) Su Majestad Suprema está contento. (Él ...)
Pron.fem Majesty.fem Supreme.fem is happy.masc (He.masc ...)
 ‘His Supreme Majesty is happy. (He ...)’

(14) **As arguments:**

- a. * O Petros exi enan jatros stin Veria, ala oxi mia
the Petros has a.masc.sg doctor in.the Veria but not one.fem.sg
stin Katerini.
in.the Katerini
(‘Petros has a (male) doctor in Veria, but not one (female doctor) in Katerini.’)
- b. * O Petros exi mia jatros stin Veria, ala oxi enan
the Petros has a.fem.sg doctor in.the Veria but not one.masc.sg
stin Katerini.
in.the Katerini
(‘Petros has a (female) doctor in Veria, but not one (male doctor) in Katerini.’)

(15) Epicene nouns: Nouns that alternate under ellipsis in either direction as predicates (but in neither direction as arguments)

masculine/feminine: dhikigoros ‘lawyer’, musikos ‘musician’, ithopios ‘actor’, jatros ‘doctor’, dhimosiografos ‘journalist’, kinigos ‘hunter’, singrafeas ‘writer’, dhikastis ‘judge’, proedhros ‘president’, prothipurgos ‘prime minister’, mixanikos ‘engineer, mechanic’, fisikos ‘physicist’, ximikos ‘chemist’, matematikos ‘mathematician’, filologos ‘philologist’, istorikos ‘historian’, glossologos ‘linguist’, pedhagogos ‘pedagogue’, jeoponos ‘agrol-ogist’, jeografos ‘geographer’, idhravlikos ‘plumber’, astinomikos ‘police officer’, pilotos ‘pilot’, zografos ‘artist, painter’, mastoras ‘handyperson’, martiras ‘witness’, sizigos ‘spouse’, marangos ‘carpenter’, antipalos ‘opponent’, odhigos ‘driver’, iereas ‘priest/pastor’, epistimonas ‘scientist’, asthenis ‘patient’, tamias ‘cashier’, kalitexnis ‘artist’, listis ‘thief’, politis ‘citizen’, ipalilos ‘employee’, ipurgos ‘minister’, gramateas ‘secretary’, dhierrmineas ‘interpreter’, epangelmatias ‘professional’, apostoleas ‘sender’, asthenis ‘patient/sick person’, singenis ‘relative’, goneas ‘parent’

2.3 One-way alternating nouns (*dhaskalos/dhaskala* ‘teacher’)

(16) **As predicates:**

- a. O Petros ine dhaskalos, ala i Maria oxi.
the.masc Petros is teacher.masc but the.fem Maria not
‘Petros is a teacher, but not Maria.’
- b. * I Maria ine dhaskala, ala o Petros oxi.
the.fem Maria is teacher.fem but the.masc Petros not
‘Maria is a teacher, but not Petros.’

(17) **As arguments:**

- a. * O Petros exi enan dhaskalo stin Veria, ala oxi
the Petros has a.masc.sg teacher.m.sg in.the Veria but not
 mia stin Katerini.
one.fem.sg in.the Katerini
 ('Petros has a (male) teacher in Veria, but not one (female teacher) in Katerini.')
- b. * O Petros exi mia dhaskala stin Veria, ala oxi enan
the Petros has a.fem.sg teacher in.the Veria but not one.masc.sg
 stin Katerini.
in.the Katerini
 ('Petros has a (female) teacher in Veria, but not one (male teacher) in Katerini.')

(18) Noun pairs in which the masculine form can antecede ellipsis in a predicate of the feminine, but not vice versa (and in neither direction in argument position)

<i>masculine</i>	<i>feminine</i>				
dhaskalos	dhaskala	'teacher'	kathijitis	kathijitria	'professor'
mathitis	mathitria	'pupil'	fititis	fititria	'student'
pianistas	pianistria	'pianist'	athlitis	athlitria	'athlete'
tragudhistis	tragudhistria	'singer'	furnaris	furnarissa	'baker'
theos	thea	'god'	sxoliastis	sxoliastria	'commentator'
nosokomos	nosokoma	'nurse'	ipiretis	ipiretria	'servant'
katharistis	katharistria	'cleaner'	pirosvestis	pirosvestria	'firefighter'
papas	papissa	'pope'	manavis	manavissa	'greengrocer'
stratiotis	stratiotina	'soldier'	piitis	piitria	'poet'
latris	latrissa	'admirer'	filos	fili	'friend'
kumbaros	kumbara	'best man' / 'maid of honor'	nonos	nona	'godfather' / 'godmother'
thios	thia	'uncle' / 'aunt'			

Masculine is unmarked by two other tests for gender markedness:

- (19) a. i dhaskales_[fem] = a group of female teachers only
 b. i dhaskali_[masc] = a group of male teachers, or a mixed group
- (20) a. Exi enan dhaskalo stin fotografia? Ne, tin Maria.
have a.m teacher:masc in.the picture yes the Maria
 'Is there a teacher in the picture? Yes, there is Maria.'
- b. Exi mia dhaskala stin fotografia? #Ne, ton Petros.
have a.f teacher:fem in.the picture yes the Petros
 'Is there a teacher in the picture? #Yes, there is Petros.'

2.4 Summary of data

Can N vary under ellipsis as (part of) a(n)...		
...predicate?	...argument?	examples of N
a. No $m \leftrightarrow f$	No $m \leftrightarrow f$	<i>aderfos/aderfi</i> ‘brother/sister’
b. Yes $m \leftrightarrow f$	No $m \leftrightarrow f$	<i>jatros/jatros</i> ‘doctor’
c. One way only: $m_A \rightarrow f_E$	No $m \leftrightarrow f$	<i>dhaskalos/dhaskala</i> ‘teacher’

Cf. Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, Italian, French, etc: Ritter 1988, Bernstein 1993, Picallo 1991, Sleeman 1996, Kester 1996, Panagiotidis 2003a, 2003b, Alexiadou and Gengel 2008, Marchis and Alexiadou 2008, Corver and van Koppen 2007, 2009, Depiante 2001, Depiante and Masullo 2001, Depiante and Hankamer 2008, Depiante and Hankamer 2010, Barbiers 2005, Brucart 1987, 1999, Depiante and Hankamer 2008, Giannakidou and Stavrou 1999, Kornfeld and Saab 2002, Nunes and Zocca 2005, Bobaljik and Zocca 2009, Nunes and Zocca 2010, Zamparelli 2008, Masullo and Depiante 2004, Eguren 2010.

(22) (Table from Bobaljik and Zocca 2009)

Class of predicative nouns	masc antecedent	fem antecedent
	fem ellipsis	masc ellipsis
princess (invariant) nouns	*	*
médica ($m \leftrightarrow f$) nouns	✓	✓/?
actress ($m \rightarrow f$) nouns	✓	*

- Fails to capture the differences between nominal ellipsis in predicate vs. argument positions

3 Analytical possibilities

(23) Syntax, semantics, both?

(24) Basic idea: the values of gender (masculine, feminine) on nouns can be *indelible* (cf. ‘inherent’, ‘intrinsic’, ‘marked’, ‘lexicalized’, even ‘derivational’) or *delible* (cf. ‘variable’, ‘structure-contingent’, ‘unmarked’, ‘inflectional’)

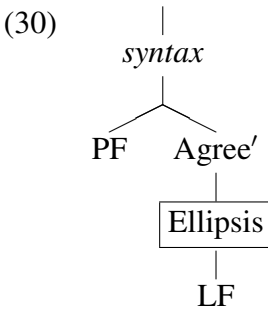
(25) Feature structure: $[\phi : [gender : \left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{masculine}_{d(\textit{elible})} \\ \textit{masculine}_{i(\textit{ndelible})} \\ \textit{feminine}_{d(\textit{elible})} \\ \textit{feminine}_{i(\textit{ndelible})} \end{array} \right\}]]$

	<i>masculine</i>	<i>feminine</i>
<i>indelible</i>	adherfos[m_i]	adherfi[f_i] dhaskala[f_i]
<i>delible</i>	dhaskalos[m_d] jatros[m_d]	jatros[f_d]

3.1 LF-copy

- (27) *Feature deletion under semantic binding:* (von Stechow 2003a, 2003b)
Delete the features to all variables that are semantically bound.
- (28) a. SS: [Only I₅]₈ did my[1st]₈ homework.
(Features on bound variables delete →)
b. LF: [Only I₅] λ₈ t₈ did 8's homework.
- (29) **Agree'(X,Y; F)** (read: 'X controls agreement on Y with respect to F' or 'Y agrees with X in F')
For any syntactic objects X and Y, where X is the controller of agreement for Y,⁵ X must bear a feature F with value Val(F) and Y must bear a matching feature F' with matching value Val(F'), and
if Val(F') is *deleble*, let Val(F') = ∅

Since the values of the ϕ -features on predicate nominals are crucial information for Lexical Insertion, this Agree' (perhaps better called 'Feature Checking' or 'Deletion') must *not* feed the Morphology:



- (31) Heim and Kratzer 1998 et al.:
 $\llbracket masculine \rrbracket = \lambda x_e : x \text{ is male.}x$
 $\llbracket feminine \rrbracket = \lambda x_e : x \text{ is female.}x$

3.1.1 Derivations

Agree', then LF-copy (Chung et al. 1995, Fortin 2007, Frazier and Clifton Jr. 2001, 2010, Chung et al. 2010, Li 2010 and others):

1. Nonalternating nouns: both gender values are indelible

- (32) Agree' doesn't alter the antecedent, LF-copy applies:
- a. * O Petros ine **aderfos**[m_i], ala i Maria oxi *e.* → *LF-copy*
the Petros is brother.m.sg but the Maria not
 * O Petros ine **aderfos**[m_i], ala i Maria oxi **ine aderfos**[m_i].
 ('Petros is a brother, but not Maria.')

⁵See Chung 1998, Bobaljik 2008, and Kratzer 2009 for discussion of this crucial relation: typical cases where X will obligatorily control agreement for Y are when Y is predicated of X, etc.

- b. * I Maria ine **aderfi**[f_i], ala o Petros oxi *e.* → *LF-copy*
the Maria is sister.f.sg but the Petros not
 * I Maria ine **aderfi**[f_i], ala o Petros oxi ine **aderfi**[f_i].
 ('Maria is a sister, but not Petros.')

2. Epicene nouns: both gender values are delible

(33) As predicates:

- a. STEP 1:
 O Petros ine **jatros**[m_d], ala oxi i Maria *e.* → *Agree'*
the Petros.m is doctor.m but not the Maria.f
- b. STEP 2:
 O Petros ine **jatros**[], ala oxi i Maria *e.* → *LF-copy*
the Petros.m is doctor but not the Maria.f
- c. STEP 3:
 O Petros ine **jatros**[], ala oxi i Maria ine **jatros**[].
the Petros.m is doctor but not the Maria.f is doctor

- For nouns in argument position, *Agree'* will never apply, since these positions in general are not targets of agreement; the fact that the feature values *masculine* and *feminine* are delible is irrelevant:

(34) As arguments:

- * O Petros exi enan **jatro**[m_d] stin Veria, ala oxi mia
the Petros has a.masc.sg doctor.masc in.the Veria but not one.fem.sg
jatro[m_d] stin Katerini.
doctor.masc in.the Katerini
 ('Petros has a (male) doctor in Veria, but not one (female doctor) in Katerini.')

3. One-way nouns: masculine is delible, feminine indelible

(35) As predicates:

- a. O Petros ine **dhaskalos**[m_d], ala i Maria oxi *e.*
the Petros is teacher.masc but the Maria not
- b. *Agree'* applies:
 O Petros ine **dhaskalos**[], ala i Maria oxi *e.*
- c. LF-copy:
 O Petros ine **dhaskalos**[], ala i Maria oxi ine **dhaskalos**[].

- (36) a. * I Maria ine **dhaskala**[f_i], ala o Petros oxi *e.*
the Maria is teacher.fem but the Petros not
- b. *Agree'* cannot delete the *fem* value:
 * I Maria ine **dhaskala**[f_i], ala o Petros oxi *e.*
- c. LF-copy yields deviant result:
 * I Maria ine **dhaskala**[f_i], ala o Petros oxi ine **dhaskala**[f_i].

3.2 PF-deletion, Syntactic deletion

Alternatives to LF-copy fail because they rely on a symmetric relation between the antecedent and the elided phrases (either LF-identity, Sag 1976, Williams 1977, Fiengo and May 1994, Tomioka 1999, Johnson 2001, etc., or a mutual entailment relation, Ginzburg and Sag 2000, Merchant 2001, Culicover and Jackendoff 2005, etc.), whether implemented as PF-deletion or syntactic deletion (Baltin 2010):

- (37) Symmetry: $\langle X_{\text{antecedent}}, Y_{\text{elided}} \rangle$
- a. $\langle \text{dhaskalos}[\], \text{dhaskala}[f_i] \rangle$
 - b. $*\langle \text{dhaskala}[f_i], \text{dhaskalos}[\] \rangle$
- (38) **As predicates:**
- a. O Petros ine **dhaskalos** $[m_d]$, ala i Maria oxi $\langle \text{ine dhaskala}[f_i] \rangle$.
the Petros is teacher:masc but the Maria not is teacher:fem
 - b. *Agree' applies:*
O Petros ine **dhaskalos** $[\]$, ala i Maria oxi $\langle \text{ine dhaskala}[f_i] \rangle$.
 - c. LF- or semantic identity is not satisfied: (!!)
O Petros ine **dhaskalos** $[\]$, ala i Maria oxi $\langle \text{ine dhaskala}[f_i] \rangle$.
- (39) a. $*I$ Maria ine **dhaskala** $[f_i]$, ala o Petros oxi $\langle \text{ine dhaskalos}[m_d] \rangle$.
the Maria is teacher:fem but the Petros not is teacher:masc
- b. *Agree' cannot delete the fem value:*
 $*I$ Maria ine **dhaskala** $[f_i]$, ala o Petros oxi $\langle \text{ine dhaskalos}[\] \rangle$.
 - c. LF- or semantic identity is not satisfied:
 $*I$ Maria ine **dhaskala** $[f_i]$, ala o Petros oxi $\langle \text{ine dhaskalos}[\] \rangle$.

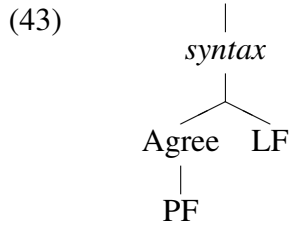
3.3 A feature-transmission variant?

Kratzer 2009 and Heim 2008 propose that a bound variable can enter the derivation underspecified for certain features, and that the features of its binder must be copied onto it (or ‘transmitted’):

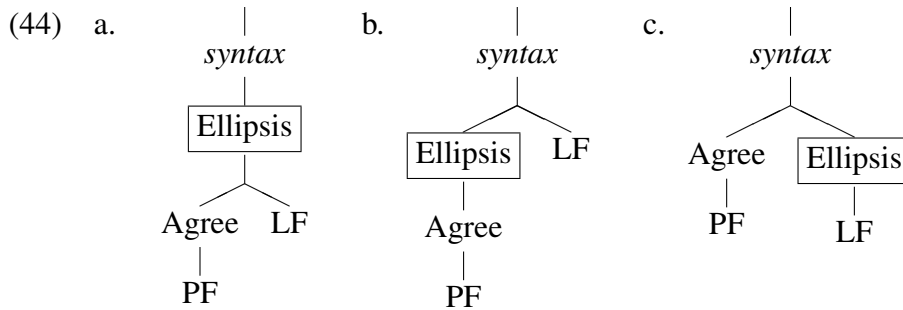
- (40) *Feature Transmission under Variable Binding:*
In the derivation of PF, all features of a DP must be copied onto all variables that it binds. (Heim 2008:50, cf. Bobaljik 2008, Reuland 2010)
- (41) **Agree(X,Y; F)** (read: ‘X triggers agreement on Y with respect to F’ or ‘Y agrees with X in F’)
For any syntactic objects X and Y, where X bears a feature F with value Val(F) and Y bears a matching unvalued inflectional feature F':__ (that is, Val(F') = \emptyset), and either X c-commands Y or Y c-commands X, let Val(F') = Val(F)
- (42) E.g.: Adjective A enters the derivation with an unvalued set of ϕ -features, and acquires them before Vocabulary Insertion by an application of Agree:

- a. $\text{Agree}([o \textit{ Petros}]_{DP:\phi:ms}, \textit{ kal-}_{A:\phi:_}; \phi) \rightarrow$
 b. $\textit{ kal-}_{A:\phi:ms} \rightsquigarrow \textit{ kal-os}$ ‘good’

Architecture: Agree (in the Morphology) applies on the branch of the derivation to PF that no longer feeds the LF representation.



Logically, then, the ellipsis identity condition can be computed at any point before that, either in the ‘narrow’ syntax, on the PF branch, or on the LF branch (or ‘at’ LF):



(45)

	<i>masculine</i>	<i>feminine</i>
<i>inherent</i>	adherfos[m]	adherfi[f] dhaskala[f]
<i>noninherent</i>	dhaskal-[] jatr-[]	jatr-[]

(46) Bobaljik and Zocca 2009 (for Brazilian Portuguese):

LF: I Maria ine **jatr-**, ala o Petros dhen ine <jatr->.
 Morph: I Maria ine **jatr-os**, ala o Petros dhen ine <jatr->.
the Maria is doctor but the Petros not is doctor
 ‘Maria is a doctor, but Petros isn’t.’

- Idea: *-os* in *jatr-os* is inflectional⁶; while *-os/-a* in *dhaskal-os/dhaskal-a* is derivational.
- **Problem 1:** For Greek, no way to distinguish nouns and adjectives by declensional class

⁶Zamparelli 2008 proposes this to be true for all ϕ -features on predicate nouns in Italian that can occur without the article.

- **Problem 2:** What controls the ‘inflection’ when the noun is used as an argument?

(47) **As arguments:**

LF:	*	O	Petros	exi	enan	jatr-	stin	Veria,
Morph:	*	O	Petros	exi	enan	jatr-o	stin	Veria,
			<i>the Petros</i>	<i>has</i>	<i>a.masc.sg</i>	<i>doctor</i>	<i>in.the</i>	<i>Veria</i>
			ala oxi	mia	<jatr->	stin	Katerini.	
			ala oxi	mia	<jatr->	stin	Katerini.	
			<i>but not one.fem.sg</i>	<i>doctor</i>	<i>in.the</i>	<i>Katerini</i>		

(Intended: ‘Petros has a (male) doctor in Veria, but not one (female doctor) in Katerini.’)

3.4 Controlled gender in argument positions?

- (48) **Prediction:** Whenever gender is on a target of agreement (that is, gender is controlled), we should find that ellipsis is possible with apparent gender mismatches.

A few nouns denoting humans have neuter gender: girl (*koritsi*), boy (*agori*), child (*pedhi*), and member (*melos*). Spathas 2007: Agreement on neuter bound pronouns can be ignored for the purposes of ellipsis, as seen in (49a):⁷

- (49) a. To koritsi teliose tin ergasia tu, { ke o Giannis
the girl.neut finished the homework its.neut and the Giannis.masc
 eptis | oxi o Giannis }.
also not the Giannis.masc
 (lit. ‘The girl finished its homework, and Giannis did, too | but not Giannis.’)
 ‘The girl₁ finished her₁ homework and Giannis₂ finished his₂ homework, too./but Giannis₂ didn’t finish his₂ homework.’
- b. # To koritsi teliose tin ergasia tis, { ke o
the girl.neut finished the homework her.fem and the
 Giannis eptis | oxi o Giannis }.
Giannis.masc also not the Giannis.masc
 ‘The girl finished her homework, and Giannis did, too | but not Giannis.’
- (50) a. Mono to koritsi teliose tin ergasia tu.
only the girl.neut finished the homework its.neut
 (lit.) ‘Only the girl finished its homework.’
- b. No $x \in C$ other than the girl finished x ’s homework (C can contain females and nonfemales)

⁷Other speakers do not find any contrast between the two examples, however.

- (51) a. Mono to koritsi teliose tin ergasia tis.
only the girl.neut finished the homework her.fem
 ‘Only the girl finished her homework.’
 b. No $x \in female'$ other than the girl finished x 's homework

Bound behavior on nouns?: Epithets: Sp. *pobrecit-o, -a*, Gk. *kaimen-os, -i, -o*.

- (52) a. O Jorgos dhen ithele na paradexthi oti apolithike o
the George.masc not wanted to admit that was.fired the
kaimenos; oute o Kostas.
poor.masc neither the Kostas.masc
 ‘George wouldn’t admit that the poor guy had been fired; neither
 would Kostas. (=admit that the poor guy (=Kostas) had been fired)’
 b. I Anna dhen ithele na paradexthi oti apolithike i kaimeni;
the Anna.fem not wanted to admit that was.fired the poor.fem
oute i Jorjia.
neither the Georgia.fem
 ‘Anna wouldn’t admit that the poor woman had been fired; neither
 would Georgia. (=admit that the poor woman (=Georgia) had been
 fired)’

We expect sloppy, gender-mismatched, readings:

- (53) a. O Jorgos dhen ithele na paradexthi oti apolithike o
the George.masc not wanted to admit that was.fired the
kaimenos; oute i Jorjia.
poor.masc neither the Georgia.fem
 ‘George wouldn’t admit that the poor guy had been fired; neither
 would Georgia. (=admit that the poor woman (=Georgia) had been
 fired)’
 b. I Anna dhen ithele na paradexthi oti apolithike i kaimeni;
the Anna.fem not wanted to admit that was.fired the poor.fem
oute o Kostas.
neither the Kostas.masc
 ‘Anna wouldn’t admit that the poor woman had been fired; neither
 would Kostas. (=admit that the poor guy (=Kostas) had been fired)’

So it’s not about predicate vs. argument per se, but rather about controlled vs. non-controlled agreement features.

4 Conclusions

- (54) a. LF-copy captures the asymmetries found in nominal ellipses
 b. PF-deletion and syntactic deletion (whether sensitive to semantic representations or to LF-identity) do not

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