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*Agreement with hybrid nouns in Icelandic*

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The special gender agreement properties of conjoined phrases have been discussed numerous times (see Corbett 1991, 2006, Wechsler and Zlatić 2003). When the gender specifications of two coordinated DPs conflict, gender agreement of a predicate with both conjuncts requires a special resolution mechanism. In Icelandic, the predicate is specified for neuter in those cases.

(1) Mamma og pabbi eru glöð  
Mom.f and dad.m are happy.n.pl

Certain complications arise with hybrid nouns, i.e. nouns whose grammatical and semantic gender mismatch. In Icelandic, the neuter noun skálð 'poet' and the feminine noun hetja 'hero' are two such hybrid nouns. If the predicate agrees only with the hybrid noun, the outcome is determined by the noun's grammatical gender. However, when a hybrid noun is coordinated with another DP, it is its semantic gender that matters for agreement. This contrast is illustrated in (2) and (3), taken from Wechsler (2002:11).

(2) Skálðið er ???frægur / frægt.  
'Very famous.' (assume the poet is male)  

(3) Skálðið og Jón eru frægir / *frægt.  
'Very famous.' (assume the poet is male)

These judgments are shared by my own informants. However, in the tests I conducted they didn't carry over to cases where mismatch is induced by semantic gender.

(4) a. Hetjan og systirin voru báðar glaðar.  
Hero.the.f and sister.the.f were both.f.pl happy.f.pl

b. ??/Hetjan og systirin voru bæði glöð.  
'Very happy.' (assume the hero is male)

Surprisingly though, the construction in (4b) becomes grammatical if one adds a possessive pronoun that is coreferent with the hybrid noun, as indicated in (5). In those cases, semantic gender resolution even is the preferred option.
(5) a. Hetjan og systir hans voru bæði glöð.
   Hero.the.f and sister.f his were both.n.pl happy.n.pl

b. Hetjan og systir hennar voru báðar glaðar.
   Hero.the.f and sister.f her were both.f.pl happy.f.pl

c. *Hetjan og systir hans voru báðar glaðar.
   Hero.the.f and sister.f his were both.f.pl happy.f.pl

d. *Hetjan og systir hennar voru bæði glöð.
   Hero.the.f and sister.f her were both.n.pl happy.n.pl

'The hero and his sister were both happy.' (assume the hero is male)

According to the agreement hierarchy of Corbett 1991, pronouns are most likely to morphologically express semantic gender. Apparently, the possessive pronoun in (5) may agree with grammatical or semantic gender, but whatever agreement pattern is chosen is then obligatory for the rest of the sentence. It remains to be seen how the facts in (4) and (5) can be explained more formally.

References