Harris 1991

1. El Cheapo

- Spanish gender commonly characterized by two rules: [fem] N ends in ˆ-a, [masc] N ends in 'o'

(1) muchacho   'boy'   muchacha   'girl'
     abuelo   'grandfather'   abuela   'grandmother'
     nieto   'grandson'   nieta   'granddaughter'
     tío   'uncle'   tía   'aunt'

  — But -*a* and -*o* belong to a class of seven or more analogous **word markers** (Harris' term for endings of this sort).
  — Category error: conflation of three different concepts that are interrelated but ust be kept separate:
    ○ grammatical gender
    ○ conceptual gender
    ○ form class (aka **declension class**) (a class of nouns, adjecties, etc. that take the same inflectional forms)

- Consider that (3a) patterns opposite to (1), while (3b-d) differ altogether.

(3)   *Masculine*   *Feminine*
  a. poeta   'poet'   virago   'virago'
  b. sirviente   'servant'   sirvienta   'servant'
  c. doctor   'doctor'   doctora   'doctor'
  d. cónyuge   'spouse'   cónyuge   'spouse'

- But it is not the case that anything goes. The pairings of [masc] and [fem] forms in (4) is disallowed. The problem is not the well-formedness of these examples but their pairing. H

(4)   *Masculine*   *Feminine*
    *{presidento   presidente}   'president'
    *{lingüista   lingüisto}   'linguist'

- A problem of **negative evidence**: pairs like *{presidento (m)/presidente (f)} never occur in the linguistic experience of a child. Since they don't occur, they can't be coded as unacceptable. How then does the child develop a grammar that excludes these? This must be deducible from a combination of generalizations about the language and univeral principles.

- Claims:
  - formal representation of grammatical gender involves one **privative** feature [femine] (f). Thre is no corresponding [masculine] feature, nor a binary feature [+/-fem].
  - form class is also privative, with -o being an unmarked default class.
  - the fact that Spanish nouns and adjectives canonically end in a vowel is due to a prosodic template that is normally (but not always) satisfied by a word marker.

2. Data

- Word markers:
- Mark a derivationally and inflectionally complete word
- Cannot be followed by any other suffix except the plural -s
  - democrat-a   *democrat-a-ica   democrat-ica
- Do not appear in the infinitive denominal verbs
  - democrat-izar   *democrat-a-izar
- Occur on Nouns, Adjectives and Adverbs

(5)　　　*Marker*　　　*Gender*　　　*Example*

	Marker	Gender	Example	
a.	-o	m only	muchacho	'boy'
		f only	mano	'hand'
		m or f	testigo	'witness'
		none	dentro	'inside'
b.	-a	f only	muchacha	'girl'
		m only	día	'day'
		m or f	turista	'tourist'
		none	fuera	'outside'
c.	-Vs	m only	Lucas	'Luke'
		f only	síntesis	'synthesis'
		m or f	mochales	'loony, nutty'
		none	lejos	'far'
d.	-u	m only	espíritu	'spirit'
		f only	tribu	'tribe'
e.	-i	m only	bikini	'bikini'
		f only	metrópoli	'metropolis'
		m or f	cursi	'in bad taste'
f.	-s	m only	tóra[ks]	'thorax'
		none	quizás	'maybe'
g.	-e	m only	héroe	'hero'
		f only	prole	'progeny'
		m or f	inmune	'immune'
		none	adrede	'intentionally'

- The complete inventory includes all spanish vowels.

- "Nearly all marker shapes are found in words that are only masculine, words that are only feminine, words that can be either gender, and words with no gender at all (adverbs, see below). " (p. 31)

- Some nouns, adjectives, adverbs, have no word marker. These words include all of the gender possibilities seen in words that do have word markers.

(6)   *Gender*   *Example*

  a.   m only   padre   'father'
                        sol   'sun'

  b.   f only   madre   'mother'
                        col   'cabbage'

  c.   m or f   amante   'lover'
                        mártir   'martyr'

  d.   none   delante   'ahead'
                        atrás   'behind'

    — The words ending in *-e* in these examples do not have a word marker. The *-e* is a prosodic repair for words that end in unyllabified segments, e.g. *dr, nt* are not permissible sequences in Spanish codas.

- Harris says (6), like (1), obfuscates the nature of the system. While not cartoonishly simple like (1), (6) failes to capture systematicity.

- Harris observes two axes of systematicity:
  - generalizations particular to each of the categories
    of words that bear word markers (nouns, pronouns, determiners, adjectives, and adverb
  - generalizations particular to subtypes of word markers; " the examples in (5)-(6) are not all on a par; rather, they fall naturally into three hierarchically related classes: an **inner core** of prototypes, illustrated in (1); an **outer core** of slightly deviant cases, namely, the class of markerless words illustrated in (6); and a **motley residue**." (p.32) [emphasis added]

Table 1

REGULAR					IRREGULAR
Inner core		Outer core			Residue
m	f	m	f		
hijo 'son'	hija 'daughter'	padre 'father'	mujer 'woman'		problema (m) 'problem'
cedro 'cedar'	sidra 'cider'	mar 'sea'	liebre 'hare'		lejos 'far'
					tribu (f) 'tribe'
					etc.

- Inner core: -o is invariably attached to masculine stems and -a is invariably attached to feminine ones.
- Outer core: do not have word markers (but may have [e] for syllabicity
- Residue: all words not in the core ; it is small overall, most subclasses within it are tiny, e.g. *tribu* is the only *-u* marked word. (But about 600 *-a* words); it is not productive; there is historic drift from core to residue, but never vice versa.

2.1 Adverbs

- No gender, but they do have word markers: this shows the independence of conceptual/grammatical gender and form class.

(7) a.   dentro   (adverb, (5a))   'inside'
            a + dentr + ar   (verb)   'to penetrate'
            *a + dentro + ar

    b.   fuera   (adverb, (5b))   'outside'
            fuer + eño   (noun)   'outsider'
            *fuera + eño

    c.   lejos   (adverb, (5c))   'far'
            lej + ano   (adjective)   'distant'
            *lejos + ano

4

2.2 Adjectives

- No inherent gender, but they do show concord for the gender of the noun they modify.
- Adjectives show independence of conceptual/grammatical gender vs. form class; while they must match gender of the head noun, the form needn't match.

$$(8) \quad a. \quad \text{Mi} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sobrino (m)} \\ \text{padre (m)} \end{array} \right\} \text{es} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{inteligente (m)} \\ \text{alto (m)} \end{array} \right\}.$$

$$\text{`My} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nephew} \\ \text{father} \end{array} \right\} \text{is} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{intelligent} \\ \text{tall} \end{array} \right\},$$

$$b. \quad \text{Mi} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sobrina (f)} \\ \text{madre (f)} \end{array} \right\} \text{es} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{inteligente (f)} \\ \text{alta (f)} \end{array} \right\}.$$

$$\text{`My} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{niece} \\ \text{mother} \end{array} \right\} \text{is} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{intelligent} \\ \text{tall} \end{array} \right\},$$

- Adjectives can be classified into four types:

(9) | Masculine | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|
| a. | italiano | italiana | 'Italian' |
| | bonito | bonita | 'nice' |
| | crudo | cruda | 'raw' |
| | zurdo | zurda | 'left-handed' |
| b. | posible | | 'possible' |
| | verde | | 'green' |
| | azul | | 'blue' |
| c. | anglosajón | anglosajona | 'Anglo-Saxon' |
| | español | española | 'Spanish' |
| | holgazán | holgazana | 'lazy' |
| | grandote | grandota | 'big' (augmentative) |
| d. | cosmopolita | | 'cosmopolitan' (*cosmopolito) |
| | agrícola | | 'agricultural' (*agrícolo) |
| | belga | | 'Belgian' (*belgo) |

- inner core words with -o in the masculine and -a in the feminine (9a)
- outer core words lacking word markers (9b)
- "gentilic" adjectives, mostly with national, geographical, or ethnic reference; these have no word marker in the masculine but -a in the feminine (9c)
- residual type where h both masculine and feminine have -a marker (9d)

- Missing from (9):
  - the converses of (9c) and (9d) do not occur.
    - converse of (9c) would be pairs where the masculine is inner core, with marker -o, whereas the feminine is outer core, with no word marker (*grandoto (m)Igrandote (f)).
    - converse of (9d) would pairs where marker -o is neutral with respect to concord. In actuality, every adjective with -o is only masculine.
  - there is no adjective that can be only masculine or feminine

2.3 Nouns

- All nouns have gender, either masculine or feminine.
- For human nouns, grammatical gender usually matches conceptual gender, but doesn't have to.
- Gender is arbitrary; it does not correlate with meaning or form.

(11)		*Masculine*	*Feminine*		
	a.	domicilio	residencia	'home'	'residence'
		pájaro	ave	'bird'	'bird'
		ostión	almeja	'oyster'	'clam'
		asiento	silla	'seat'	'chair'
		ratón	rata	'mouse'	'rat'
		sapo	rana	'toad'	'frog'
	b.	libro	libra	'book'	'pound'
		caso	casa	'case'	'house'
		paso	pasa	'step'	'raisin'
		palo	pala	'stick'	'shovel'

• Nonhuman outer core and residue words freely belong to either gender

(12)		*Masculine*	*Feminine*		
	a.	frente	frente	'front'	'forehead'
		orden	orden	'order' (succession)	'order' (command)
		moral	moral	'blackberry bush'	'morality'
		corte	corte	'cut'	'court'
		pez	pez	'fish'	'pitch' (resin)

b. análisis   síntesis   'analysis'   'synthesis'
    brindis   crisis   'toast'   'crisis'
                                        (drink)
    cruce   cruz   'crossing'   'cross'
    pene   ene   'penis'   '(letter) n'

- " There exists, however, a striking asymmetry among residual nouns."
— nearly 600 exemplars: masculine nouns (human and nonhuman) with word marker -a (13a). This is the largest class in the residue.
— only 1 guaranteed: feminine noun with word marker *-o* in common use.

(13) a. *Masculine*

telegrama   'telegram'
profeta   'prophet'
poeta   'poet'
día   'day'
problema   'problem'
síntoma   'symptom'
drama   'drama'
mapa   'map'
and approximately 600 others

b. *Feminine*

dinamo/dínamo   'dynamo'
virago   'virago'
nao   'ship'
libido/líbido   'libido'
mano   'hand'
and no others[14]

"Mating" in nouns

(14)   Human nouns are ''mated'': both a masculine and a feminine form exist for each human noun.

(15)   *Masculine*   *Feminine*
       a.   secretario   secretaria   'secretary'
            campesino   campesina   'peasant'
            cocinero   cocinera   'cook'
            criado   criada   'servant'
            alumno   alumna   'student'
            amigo   amiga   'friend'

       b.   estudiante   'student'
                 intérprete   'interpreter'
                 cómplice   'accomplice'
                 esquimal   'Eskimo'
                 caníbal   'cannibal'
                 cónyuge   'spouse'
                 mártir   'martyr'
                 joven   'young man'/'young woman'

       c.   (presid)ente   (presid)enta   'president'
            (sirvi)ente   (sirvi)enta   'servant'
            (profes)or   (profes)ora   'professor'
            colegial   colegiala   'student in a *colegio*'
            doncel   doncella   'lad'/'lass'
            monje   monja   'monk'/'nun'
            nene   nena   'child'
            jefe   jefa   'chief'

       d.   duque   duquesa   'duke'/'duchess'
            poeta   poetisa   'poet'/'poetess'
            actor   actriz   'actor'/'actress'

       e.   (aristó)crata   'aristocrat'
                 (art)ista   'artist'
                 (mon)arca   'monarch'
                 camarada   'comrade'
                 acróbata   'acrobat'
                 patriota   'patriot'
                 suicida   '(person who commits) suicide'
                 policía   'police'
                 colega   'colleague'

            Masculine   *Feminine*
                 pirata   'pirate'
                 guía   'guide'
       f.   contralto   'contralto'
                 soprano   'soprano'
                 testigo   'witness'
                 modelo   'model'
       g.   macho   hembra   'male'/'female'
                                                    (*hembro/*macha)
            hombre   mujer   'man'/'woman'
            padre   madre   'father'/'mother'
            yerno   nuera   'son-'/'daughter-in-law'
                                                    (*nuero/*yerna)

(b) "No word marker (outer core); each can be either masculine or feminine. This set is large enough to defy exhaustive listing."

(c) " Outer core masculines (plus residual nene)' mated to (inner core) feminines with word marker -a. This set is listable"

(d) " Masculine and feminine related by derivational suffixation. This set is listable and relatively small."

(e) " Word marker -a; each can be either masculine or feminine....This set is sizeable and het-rogeneous."

(f) " Word marker -o; each can be either masculine or feminine. Contains only the examples shown "

(g) " Suppletive mates. List is exhaustive, barring oversight."

- Exceptions to (14) are rare. Just 4 "solid" cases found:

(16)	*Masculine*	*Feminine*		
marido	*marida	'husband'	'wife'
*criaturo	criatura	'baby'
*persono	persona	'person'
*víctimo	víctima	'victim'

- **Sociolinguistic comments:** there is increasingly more dialectal and idiolectal variation with respect to "mating" patterns.

- Nonhuman nouns not marked in same way as human.
— general case (18a): one gender, arbitrarily masculine or feminine, is used for both male and female of a given species
— In a few cases (18b the names of males and females of the same species are related by suppletion or derivational affixation.
— Only a few familiar animal names (18c), are like human prototypical inner core nouns.

(18)		*Masculine*	*Feminine*		
a.	camello	*camella	'camel'
	reno	*rena	'reindeer'
	erizo	*eriza	'hedgehog'
	dinosaurio	*dinosauria	'dinosaur'
	*foco	foca	'seal'
	*cebro	cebra	'zebra'
	*ardillo	ardilla	'squirrel'
	*jirafo	jirafa	'giraffe'
b.	toro	vaca	'bull'/'cow'	(*vaco, *tora)
	caballo	yegua	'horse'/'mare'	(*yeguo, *caballa)
	carnero	oveja	'ram'/'ewe'	(*ovejo, *carnera)
	gallo	gallina	'cock'/'hen'	(*gallino, *galla)
c.	perro	perra	'dog'
	gato	gata	'cat'

2.4 Summary

Table 3

	Noun	Pronoun	Adjective	Determiner	Adverb
Sex reference	±	±	±		
Lexical gender	+	±			
Gender concord target			+	+	
Form class	(5a–g)	(5a–b)	(5a–d,g)	(5a,b,e)	(5a–c)
	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)

3. Analysis

- **Goal:** Propose solution to the "mating problem": account for the attested associations between conceptual gender (semantics), grammatical gender (syntax) and form class (morphology)

3.1 Basic machinery

- Formal representation of **delension class** (i.e. form class) must be distinct from formal representation of gender.(We saw in (5) an (6) that each form class is mixed with respect to gender).

- Proposed notation for lexical entries:

(19) a.   Gender: f = feminine
          Class:]a = words with marker -a
                    ]∅ = words with no marker (phonetic -e ~ ∅ depending on syl-
                    lable structure)

   b.   libro (m)   libra (f)   libre   día (m)
       Meaning   'book'   'pound'   'free'   'day'
       UR of stem   /libr/   /libr/   /libr/   /di/
       Category   N   N   A   N
       Gender   f
       Class   ]∅   ]a

   − **masculine** is entirely unmarked/default, gender is not bindary [+/-fem] (see (20))
   − form class is non-binary. -o class is unmarked. The other classes are marked by non-binary diaritcs

- Form class of [f] words in inner core is entirely predictable and so does not need to be listed in lexical entry. It can be supplied instead by a **redundancy rule** (a late rule (usually morphological or phonological) that is entirely predictable from a feature specification (hence redundnat).. The rule usually enriches the representation.)

(21) *Feminine Marker Rule*

$$f \rightarrow]a$$

(22) *Marker Realization Rule*

   a. To form the X^0 level of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, insert suffixal /a/ if the stem is marked $]a$; otherwise, insert suffixal /o/.

   b. $\emptyset \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} [+\text{low}] \\ [+\text{round}] \end{Bmatrix} / [[\begin{Bmatrix}]a \\ (\text{else}) \end{Bmatrix}]_{N/A} \underline{\quad}]_{X^0}$

   [+low] picks out /a/
   [+round] picks out /o/

- Being marked with the diacritic $]\emptyset$ exempts a word from the Marker Realization rule; this gives us the set of words that do not take word markers.

- Crucially, the Marker Realization Rule contains no mention of grammatical or conceptual gender. The rule expresses a purely formal generalization.

- Derivation of words in (19b)

(23) Lexical entries	libro	libra	libre	día
	/libr/	/libr/	/libr/	/di/
	N	N	A	N
		f		
			$]\emptyset$	$]a$

Concord[22]		"	[libr]
		"	A
		"	f
		"	]Ø

2 The intended interpretation of the notation is this: concord with a masculine noun change (indicated by the ditto marks); concord with a feminine noun adds the feature f to the set of lexical p of the adjective.

Feminine Marker (21)		]a		]a	
Marker Realization (22)	[libr]o	[libr]a	[libr]	[libr]	[di]a
Syllabification	li.bro	li.bra	li.bre	li.bre	dí.a

3.2 Adverbs

- Almost all of the form/declension classes contain adverbs, but no adverbs express grammatical or conceptual gender. Adverbs do not have these properties lexically, nor do they acquire them in syntax.
- The Feminine Marker rule therefore has no input.
- Marker Realization and rules of syllabification apply in the expected fashion
- Derivations for adverbs can be seen in (24)

(24) a.		(5a) medio 'halfway'	(5b) nunca 'never'	(5c) apenas 'hardly'	(5g) adrede 'intentionally'	(6) ayer 'yesterday'	(6) -mente '-ly'
	Meaning						
	UR	/medi/	/nunk/	/apen+as/	/adred+e/	/aier/	/ment/
	Gender						
	Class		]a			]Ø	]Ø
b.	Lexical entries	/medi/	/nunk/]a	/apen+as/	/adred+e/	/aier/]Ø	/ment/]Ø
	Concord	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Feminine Marker (21)	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Marker Realization (22)	[medi]o	[nunk]a	—	—	—	—
	Syllabification	me.dio	nun.ka	a.pe.nas	a.dre.de	a.yer	men.te

3.3 Adjectives

- Recall from section 2.2

(25) a. No adjective stem is marked lexically for gender (as either exclusively masculine or exclusively feminine).
    b. Gender in adjectives is supplied through concord.
    c. Many adjectives have -*a* for both genders.
    d. No adjective has -*o* for (both masculine and) feminine.

- (25a) captured by (26)

(26) *Constraint on Lexical Entries*
    *[Adj, f]

- Generalization (25c) requires many adjectives to be lexically specified for declension class.

(27)

	agrícola	belga
Meaning	'agricultural'	'Belgian'
UR of stem	/agricol/	/belg/
Category	A	A
Gender		
Class	]a	]a

- (25d) is explained by the proposal that -*o* is the unmarked case.

  "If there was a lexical diacritic]o parallel to]ø and]a, then adjective stems could bear this diacritic as a lexical peculiarity. In that case there would be no natural way of ruling out the set of forms that does not occur." (p. 48).

- Idiosyncratic class of gentilic adjectives (9c) requires additional machinery. These have no word marker in masculine, but -a in feminine. Harris proposes (28), which supplies the]a diacritic to feminine forms and exempts masculine forms from the Marker Realization rule.

(28) *Gentilic Rule*

$$g \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{]a / [\underline{\hspace{1cm}}, f]} \\ \text{]ø (elsewhere)} \end{cases}$$

(29) Lexical entries

	crudo/-a		verde	
	'raw'		'green'	
	/krud/		/berd/	
	A		A	
			]Ø	

Concord	"	/krud/	"	/berd/
	"	f	"	f
	"		"	]Ø

Gentilic Rule (28)				
Feminine Marker (21)		]a		*block*
Marker Realization (22)	[krud]o	[krud]a	[berd]	[berd]
Syllabification	kru.do	kru.da	ber.de	ber.de

Lexical entries	galés/-a		belga	
	'Welsh'		'Belgian'	
	/gales/		/belg/	
	A		A	
	g		]a	

Concord	"	/gales/	"	/belg/
	"	f	"	f
	"	g	"	]a

Gentilic Rule (28)	]Ø	]a		
Feminine Marker (21)	*block*			
Marker Realization (22)	[gales]	[gales]a	[belg]a	[belg]a
Syllabification	ga.les	ga.le.sa	bel.ga	bel.ga

3.4 Nouns

3.4.1 Core nonhuman nouns

- Machinery developed so far for adverbs and adjectives is sufficient for core non-human nouns.

(30)   *UR*   *Gender*   *Marker*
    a.   libro   /libr/
    b.   libra   /libr/   f
    c.   orden   /orden/   ]∅
    d.   orden   /orden/   f   ]∅
    e.   drama   /dram/   ]a

Libro exemplifies the class of masculine inner core nouns. Gender and word marker class are unspecified; default word marker *-o* is supplied by Marker Realization.
    Libra exemplifies the class of feminine inner core nouns. Gender is specified; word marker class is not. Rule (21), Feminine Marker, predicts marker class]a from marked gender; Marker Realization guarantees the phonological shape /a/ for the word marker.
    Orden (30c) exemplifies the class of masculine outer core nouns. Gender is un-specified; word marker class is specified as]∅, which exempts the stem from Marker Realization.
    Orden (30d) exemplifies the class of feminine outer core nouns. Gender is marked; word marker class is specified as]∅, which exempts the stem from Marker Realization.
    Drama exemplifies the class of residual masculine nouns with word marker *-a*. Gender is unspecified; marker class is idiosyncratically specified as]a, which triggers Marker Realization to guarantee word marker *-a*.   p. 50
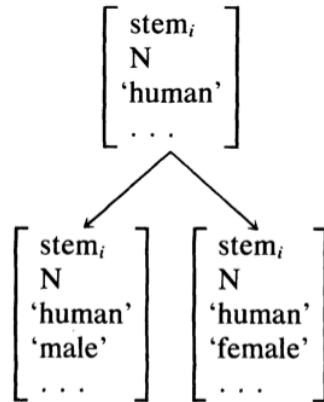
• What about *mano*? It cannot be generated in this system.
    — It must have [f] specified (we know from concord, etc.
    — But [f] cannot be realized as /o/ in this analysis
    — the /o/ must be lexicalized. (Same holds for other residue cases ending with unpredictable V(s)).

3.4.2 Core human nouns

- Two fundamental observations made in 2.3:
    — In human nouns, grammatical gender matches conceptual gender (with rare exceptions)
    — both a masculine and a feminine form exist for each human noun

(32) a. *Human Gender*

'female' → f / [_____, 'human']

  b. *Human Cloning*

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{stem}_i \\ \text{N} \\ \text{'human'} \\ \cdots \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{stem}_i \\ \text{N} \\ \text{'human'} \\ \text{'male'} \\ \cdots \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{stem}_i \\ \text{N} \\ \text{'human'} \\ \text{'female'} \\ \cdots \end{bmatrix}$$

The effect of Human Cloning is this: for every lexical entry L of a noun stem that contains the semantic specification 'human' without specification of sex, Human Cloning replaces L with a pair of entries L_m and L_f, each identical to L except for the addition of the semantic specifications 'male' and 'female', respectively. Of course, Human Cloning is not deeply explanatory; it simply encodes the observation made in English prose in (14). As a structure-building redundancy rule, however, it has the desirable formal property of blocking when its output would duplicate corresponding elements of an existing lexical entry. Consider, for example, the entries in (33), which exemplify the set of suppletive mated pairs illustrated in (15g):

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(33)		padre	madre	yerno	nuera
	Meaning	'parent'	'parent'	'child's spouse'	'child's spouse'
		'male'	'female'	'male'	'female'
	UR	/padr/	/madr/	/yern/	/nuer/
	Category	N	N	N	N
	Gender				
	Class	]Ø	]Ø		

- Suppletive pairs of mated human nouns are exceptional. The vast majority undergo cloning in Harris' analysis.

(34)   Lexical entries   amigo/-a   juez
                                                    /amig/   /xwes/
                                                    N   N
                                                    'friend'   'judge'
                                                                                  ]Ø

Cloning (32b)	/amig/	/amig/	/xwes/	/xwes/
	N	N	N	N
	'friend'	'friend'	'judge'	'judge'
	'male'	'female'	'male'	'female'
			]Ø	]Ø

Gender (32a)		f		f
Feminine Marker (21)		]a		]a
Marker Realization (22)	[amig]o	[amig]a	*block*	*block*
Syllabification	a.mi.go	a.mi.ga	xwes	xwes

- The remaining subtypes of nouns can be dealt with the existing machinery

(35) a.   b.   c.   d.   e.
      jefe/-a   gato/-a   colega   marido   persona
      /xef/   /gat/   /koleg/   /marid/   /person/
      'chief'   'cat'   'colleague'   'spouse'   'person'
      'human'   'human'   'human'   'human'   'human'
                                                                    'male'

      g   ]a   f

- (35a) uses same]g diacritic as gentilic adjectives
- (35b) accommodates exceptional animal nouns that have mated nouns; they are lexically [human] (exploiting diacritic use of features)
- (35c) is lexically marked for]a but not for gender, so we have -a form for both genders. Derivation is like *belga* (29) except cloning rule, rather than concord, generates gender alternatives.
- (35d) and (e) proceed as per what we've already seen

4. Summary

- Spanish morphology has 7 types of word marker used across multiple grammatical categories, interacting with the expression of grammatical and semantic gender in complex ways.

- Harris models this system by dissociates gender from form class and proposes an abstract feature system consisting of
  - a single grammatical gender marker,
  - three form-class diacritics]a,]ø and]g,
- And a rule system consisting of:
  - the redundancy rules (21) and (28)
  - the Marker Realization rule
  - the Gentilic Rule.

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