

## 論文の英文要旨\*

論文題目：

Gender agreement in modern Russian

氏名：

Mitsui, Asuka

Russian has three morphological genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter. However, many researchers have pointed out that grammatical gender in Russian is not as simple as that statement implies. For example, there is also a group of so-called nouns of common gender that are masculine when referring to males and feminine when referring to females. Moreover, many linguists have noted another important group of nouns indicating occupation or social status that have masculine forms but can be used in reference to women, such as *врач* (doctor). If the doctor mentioned in the sentence is female, the verb can take syntactic (masculine) and semantic (feminine) agreement. This paper provides a descriptive summary of noun gender in modern Russian, especially nouns denoting persons, including the results of four surveys conducted by the author, and attempts to provide a theoretical explanation of their complex behavior.

In Chapter 1, I review Crockett's (1976) classification of animate nouns denoting humans, which was the premise for the discussion in this paper, introduce the purpose of this study, and provide an overview of all four surveys conducted by the author and the questions asked.

In Chapter 2, I review agreement and gender in modern Russian. Based on Crockett's (1976) classification, this study divides animate nouns denoting humans into sex-differentiating and asexual nouns. In this chapter, I summarize previous studies of sex-differentiating and asexual nouns and identify their problems.

In Chapter 3, I describe asexual nouns and present the results of a questionnaire survey I conducted. First, I discuss asexual nouns, whose gender is determined by context, and show that the so-called common gender nouns are not a discrete category, but include a certain gradation from nouns that behave more like masculine nouns to those that behave more like feminine nouns, as in (1).

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\* The English language was reviewed by Editage (<https://www.editage.jp/>)

(1) Gradation of common gender nouns

Common gender nouns		
заводила etc.	пьяница etc.	сирота, шельма, плакса, лакомка etc.
More like masculine nouns	← ————— →	More like feminine nouns

Furthermore, the boundary between common gender nouns and masculine nouns of second declension, such as *судья* (judge), is ambiguous. I show that the gradation of common gender nouns is connected to the masculine nouns of the second declension, as in (2), across an ambiguous boundary.

(2) Gradation of second declension masculine and common gender nouns

Masculine nouns of II declension	Boundary	Common gender nouns	
судья	глава староста	заводила etc.	пьяница etc.  сирота, шельма, плакса, лакомка etc.
More like masculine nouns	← ————— →		More like feminine nouns

I also looked at the asexual nouns listed by Crockett (1976) whose gender is determined by the context: masculine nouns of the first declension such as *врач* (doctor), masculine nouns of the second declension such as *судья* (judge), and indeclinable masculine nouns such as *конферансье* (master of ceremonies). Among these, reference has been made by many previous studies to common gender nouns and masculine nouns of the first declension, with Corbett (1991: 38-39, 183-184) referring to masculine nouns of the first declension such as *врач* (doctor) and *директор* (director), which have variation in agreement when referring to women. Corbett (1991: 38-39, 183-184) called these hybrids and distinguished them from common gender nouns. In this paper, I show that not only masculine nouns of the first declension but also masculine nouns of the second declension should be included in hybrids and call these nouns mixed nouns; I also show that indeclinable masculine nouns belong to the mixed noun category. The results of the survey show that these masculine nouns can be feminine; masculine nouns with a variant in agreement for feminine are called mixed nouns. The results of the questionnaire survey show differences in the acceptability of semantic agreement between mixed

nouns, suggesting that mixed nouns are not a neatly delimited category, but rather form a continuum with gradation from masculine to feminine. This can be thought of as being connected to the gradation between the common gender nouns and the masculine of the second declension shown in (2) as a continuum, with the masculine of the first declension as the most masculine-like and the common gender nouns as the most feminine-like. In other words, asexual nouns, whose gender is determined by context, form a continuum from masculine to feminine. Furthermore, since we find differences in the ease of semantic agreement among words within masculine nouns of first declension, we can conclude that first declension masculine nouns also form a continuum within them, and that asexual nouns whose gender is determined by context form a continuum category from masculine to feminine, including a small continuum within them, as shown in (3) below.

(3) Gradation from more masculine to more feminine nouns

Asexual nouns				
Mixed nouns			Boundary	Common gender nouns
Masculine nouns of first declension	Indeclinable masculine nouns	Masculine nouns of second declension		
like masculine (хипурт)	атташе конферансье	судья	глава староста	like masculine (заводила) ↔ like masculine (якошка)
More like masculine nouns				More like feminine nouns

In Chapter 3, I discuss the behavior of asexual nouns that are not influenced by context; that is, they do not take semantic agreement. It can be said that asexual nouns without semantic agreement are the same as common gender and mixed gender nouns in that they can indicate both masculine and feminine, although they do not show variation in agreement, and therefore, masculine and feminine asexual nouns that are not affected by context can be considered to lie at both ends of the continuum in (3) above. I conclude that masculine and feminine asexual nouns form a gradation from masculine to feminine, as shown in (4).

(4) Gradation of asexual nouns

Asexual nouns						
Masculine nouns (ребенок)	Mixed nouns			Boundary	Common gender nouns	Feminine nouns (персона)
	Masculine nouns of first declension	Indeclinable masculine nouns	Masculine nouns of second declension			
	like masculine (хипур) ↔ like masculine (бухгалтер)	атташе конференсье	судья	глава староста	like masculine (заводила) ↔ like masculine (лакомка)	
More like masculine	←————— —————→				→	More like feminine

In Chapter 4, I adopt Pesetsky’s (2013) feminized morpheme Ж for the behavior of mixed and common gender nouns, which is summarized descriptively in Chapter 3, and further attempt to provide a theoretical explanation by means of grammatical feature possession. First, in addition to gender, number, and case, declension types are considered as features related to agreement in this study, as indicated as follows.

(5) The grammatical features of this discussion

Gender: masculine [+m, -f], feminine [-m, +f], common [+m, +f]

Numbers: singular [+sg, -pl], plural [-sg, +pl], paucal [+sg, +pl].

Case: nominative [NOM], non-nominative [OBL], genitive of quantification [OBL(GEN(Q))]

Declension type: first [I], second [II], indeclinable [INDC]

A theoretical explanation for the factors underlying the differences in the behavior of mixed nouns is attempted using Pesetsky’s (2013) feminized morpheme Ж. Mixed nouns have in common that they can indicate both masculine and feminine, and show variation in agreement when indicating feminine, but they behave differently with respect to agreement with definite words outside the genitive case, with *два (две)* (two), with *оба (обе)* (both), and with *один* (one). To explain these differences in behavior between mixed nouns, this paper utilizes Pesetsky’s (2013) feminized morpheme Ж and further shows that when certain agreement features align with the controller noun, as shown in (6), Ж is deactivated and semantic agreement is inhibited.

(6) Conditions under which Ж is deactivated

Gender [+m, -f], Declension type [I], Number [+sg], Case [OBL]

However, the fact that semantic agreement is possible even when the case of the whole clause is other than genitive in combination with *oba (obe)* (two) for masculine nouns of the first variation cannot be explained by the condition in (6) alone, so the following rewriting rule is proposed.

(7)

When the GEN(Q) changes to the lexical case, [+sg] is rewritten to [-sg].

Next, I try to explain theoretically the factors that cause differences in the behavior of common gender nouns. First, I point out the possibility that the common gender nouns do not agree “only semantically” but also syntactically, and I establish the following conditions under which the feminine form appears in such cases.

(8) Feature conditions for the appearance of feminine forms in syntactic agreement

[+f  $\wedge$  II]

Since common gender nouns can be masculine or feminine depending on the nature of the target, the null morpheme  $\mathcal{K}$  adopted in the study of the behavior of mixed nouns is not sufficient to explain the behavior of common gender nouns. The behavior of common gender nouns is that the voluntary null morpheme M or  $\mathcal{K}$  merges with the optional null morpheme M or  $\mathcal{K}$  to produce semantic agreement when indicating a specific person, and syntactic agreement also occurs depending on the position of the merging, in which case copying the gender feature [+m] makes the finite word masculine, otherwise the feature condition [+f  $\wedge$  II] causes the definite word to become feminine by [+f  $\wedge$  II]. Furthermore, I show that null morphemes do not merge when they do not designate a specific person and that syntactic agreement occurs according to the grammatical features possessed by the gross gender noun.

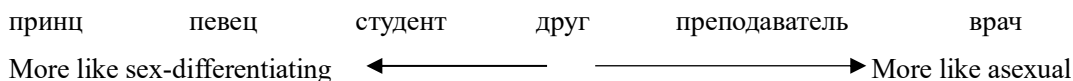
In Chapter 5, I descriptively summarize the behavior of nouns that describe persons, especially those that form masculine-feminine noun pairs. In a descriptive review of Bobaljik and Zocca (2011), it is shown that there exists what might be called an “intermediate stage” between sex-differentiating nouns that can be clearly distinguished by gender and asexual nouns, and that there is some kind of gradation between the two, forming a continuum-like category. Thus, the possibility that there is some kind of gradient between sex-differentiating and asexual nouns is observed. Based on the results of the interviews with informants and the questionnaire survey, I conclude that there is an “intermediate stage” between sex-differentiating and asexual nouns, i.e., sex-differentiating and asexual nouns may not each form a discrete category, but rather a continuum category, as shown in (9).

(9) Masculine nouns with feminine counterparts

	принц	певец	студент	друг	преподаватель	врач
Plural forms	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Она + masculine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Verb	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Determiner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

I conclude that among nouns with gender pairs, masculine nouns may form a continuum from sex-differentiating nouns that exclusively denote male or female to asexual nouns influenced by context, as in (10).

(10) Gradation from sex-differentiating to asexual nouns



I have also shown that masculine nouns in the first declension type of mixed nouns of asexual nouns, and nouns with gender pairs may form a continuum, as shown below:

(11) Gradation from masculine nouns with feminine counterparts to mixed noun



The results of the 2018 survey also examined the correspondence between masculine and feminine nouns having gender pairs, and found that the choice of unmarked forms of nouns with gender pairs varied by lexical item, with many choosing the unmarked form, as in *преподаватель* (lecturer), when indicating a female, while others rarely chose the masculine form, as in *певец* (singer).