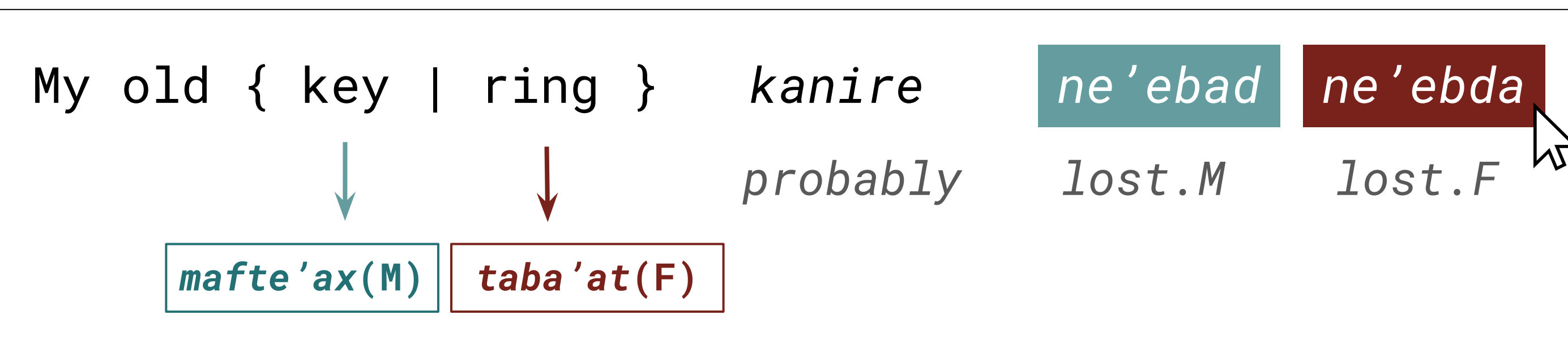


## Representational and processing considerations

## INTRODUCTION

All Hebrew nouns are either feminine or masculine, and trigger gender agreement, a feature lacking in English.

We examine bilinguals' preferences for **gender agreement on a Hebrew element modifying an English inanimate noun**.



- **Default agreement:** default masculine agreement regardless of a noun's Hebrew equivalent.
- **Analogical agreement:** agreement based on the noun's Hebrew equivalent.
- **Random choice.**

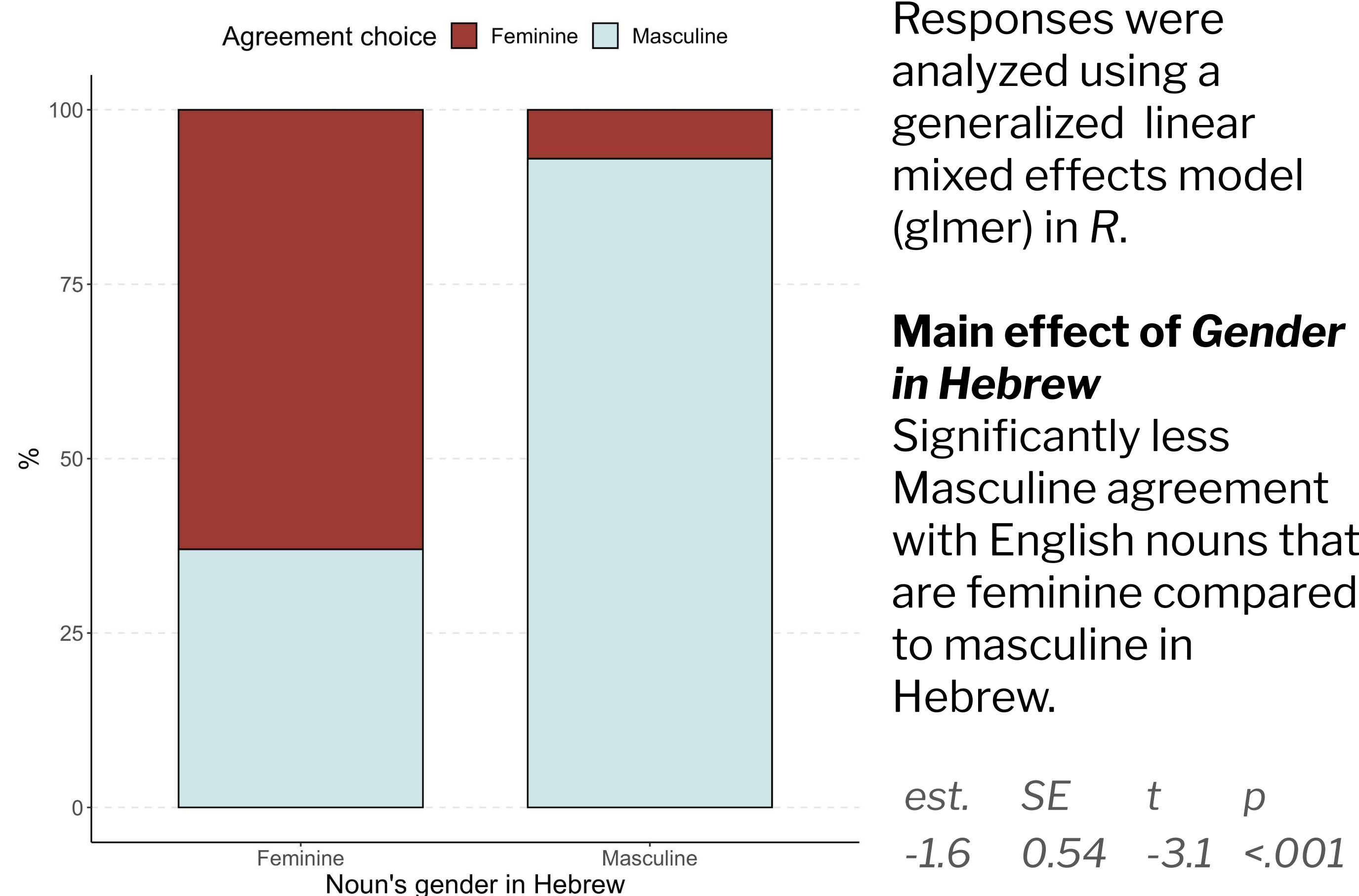
## METHOD

Preambles containing an English inanimate noun  $\Rightarrow$  **2AFC** sentence completion in Hebrew: *Feminine* or *Masculine* form.

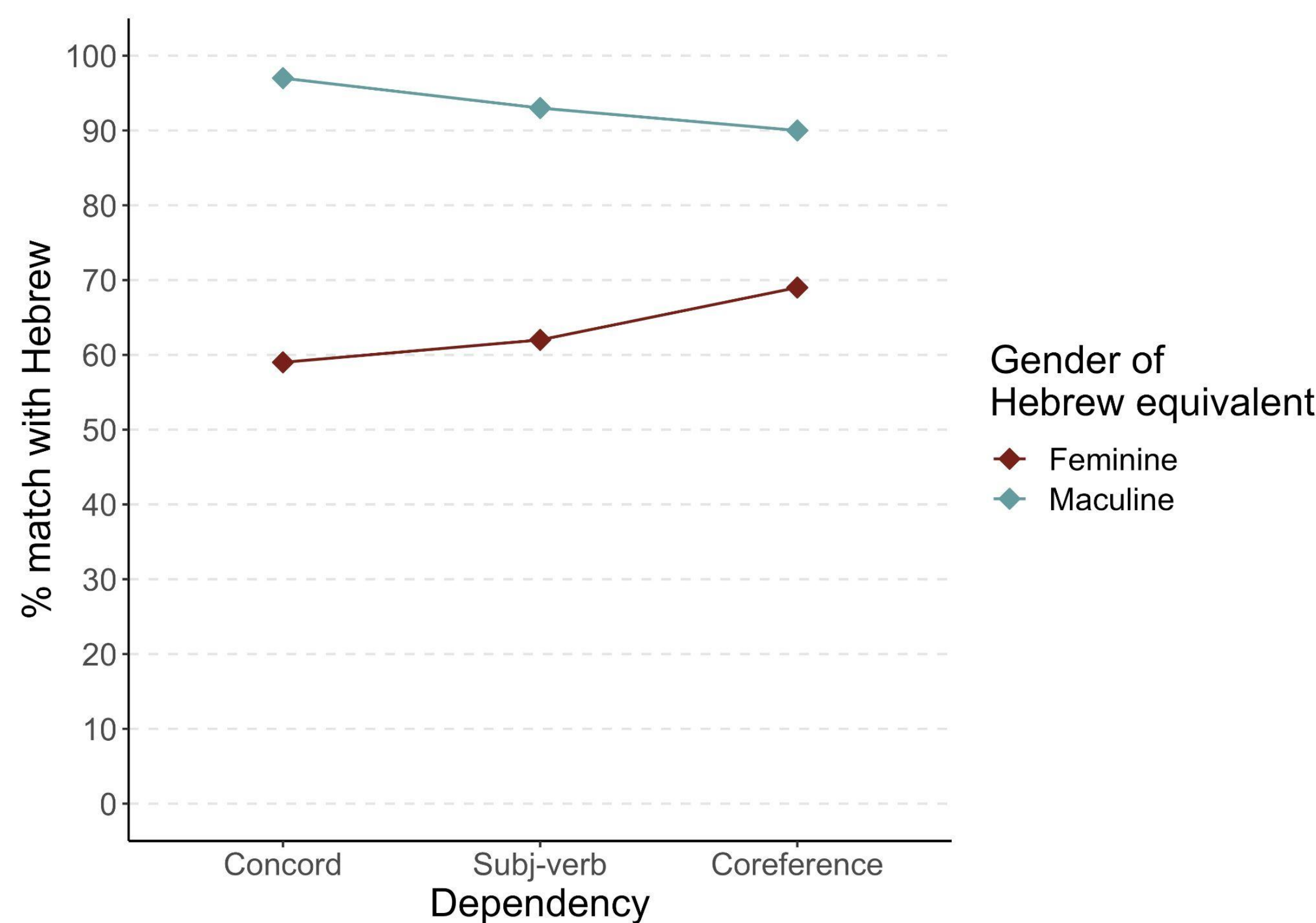
24 sets, 2X3: the noun's **Gender in Hebrew** {F, M}, and the type of **Agreement Dependency** {concord, subj-verb, coreference}.

	Gender in Hebrew: {masculine feminine}		
<b>Concord</b>	I bought a {key ring} <i>mamaš</i> very 'I bought a very small key/ring'	<i>katan</i> small.M	<i>ktana</i> small.F
<b>Subj-verb</b>	My old {key ring} <i>kanire</i> probably 'My old key/ring probably got lost'	<i>ne'ebad</i> lost.M	<i>ne'ebda</i> lost.F
<b>Coreference</b>	I just had my {key ring} <i>ve-ibadeti</i> and-lost 'I just had my key/ring but i lost it'	<i>oto</i> it.M	<i>ota</i> it.F

## RESULTS



This effect provides evidence for the **analogical agreement** strategy. However, the overall frequent choice of masculine reflects reliance on the **masculine as default** in ICS.



The effect of *Hebrew Gender* was greater in the *coreference* compared to the *concord* condition. No other contrasts reached significance.

est.	SE	t	p
1.6	0.54	-3.1	<.001

## DISCUSSION

Hebrew-English bilinguals agree with English nouns based on the grammatical gender of their Hebrew equivalent.

This finding motivates a **shared lexicon** in bilingual grammar consisting of abstract lexical items, independently motivated in the generative framework Distributed Morphology (DM) [4-5].

$$\begin{aligned}\sqrt{\alpha}[+F] &\rightarrow \{ \text{ring} , \text{taba'at} \} \\ \sqrt{\beta}[-F] &\rightarrow \{ \text{key} , \text{mafte'ax} \}\end{aligned}$$

Alongside analogical agreement, masculine agreement was still frequently chosen for nouns that are feminine in Hebrew.

We propose that the **default choice** is relied on when the gender of the noun in Hebrew was **not successfully accessed**.

Previous studies report conflicting patterns of agreement in ICS [1-3, 6].

We found that the **type of agreement dependency** modulates the occurrence of analogical agreement vs. default masculine: more default agreement is observed in the *concord* condition compared to the *coreference* condition [cf. 7].

Gender marking in the *Concord* and *Subj-verb* cases is the result of a **grammatical agreement process**. A coreferential pronoun matching its antecedent in features, however, does not involve a formal grammatical dependency but **retrieval of a lexical item**.

We propose that while the abstract lexical representation is shared and includes gender specification, successfully accessing an English form’s gender is more difficult in the **formally driven grammatical agreement** process, especially if assumed to apply after Vocabulary insertion [8]. In such cases, speakers may rely on the masculine default instead.