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1 # Syntactic and semantic agreement in Eegimaa (Banjal): an

2 # account of lexical hybrids in an African noun class system[1]

3 ## Abstract

4

5 Typological research on agreement systems recognises syntactic and semantic agreement
6 as the two main types of agreement, with the former considered to be more canonical. An
7 examination of different manifestations of semantic agreement found in the Gújjolaay
8 Eegimaa[2] noun class (non-sex-based gender) system is proposed in this paper from the
9 perspective of Canonical Typology, and the findings are related to the Agreement
10 Hierarchy predictions. The results show that Eegimaa has hybrid nouns and
11 constructional mismatches which trigger semantically based agreement mismatches, both
12 in gender and number between controller nouns and certain targets. This paper shows that
13 Eegimaa has two main subtypes of semantic agreement: human semantic agreement and
14 locative semantic agreement. The data and the analysis proposed here reveal novel results
15 according to which these two types of semantic agreement behave differently in relation
16 to the Agreement Hierarchy.

17 Keywords: Agreement mismatches; noun class; Canonical-typology; Jóola; Atlantic;
18 Niger-Congo

19 # 1 Introduction

20 Agreement may be defined as the "systematic covariance between a semantic or formal

21 property of one element and a formal property of another" (Steele 1978 quoted in Corbett

22 2006: 4). Typological research on agreement systems recognises two main types of

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[22] Gújjolaay Eegimaa (Eegimaa hereafter) is a member of the Jóola cluster of languages which belong to the Northern Atlantic family of the Niger-Congo language Phylum. Jóola languages are spoken in three different countries: The Gambia, Senegal (The Basse-Casamance) and the North of Guinea-Bissau. Eegimaa is spoken in ten villages which are located in the South-West of Ziguinchor, the capital city of the South-western region of Senegal.

*Abbreviations: AGT = agentive; CPL = completive; COP = copula; DEF = definite; EXCL = exclusive; FUT = future; HAB = habitual; MED = medial demonstrative; NEG = negative; OBJ = object; Part-Obsv = participant observation; PASS = passive; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; PREP = preposition; PRO = pronoun; PST = Past; REDUP = reduplication; REL = relative prefix (for relative clauses); Roman numerals = gender; SG = singular; SUBORD = subordination marker; VEN = venitive.

23   agreement. On the one hand there is *Syntactic or formal agreement* in which agreement

24   targets are marked with formal properties of their controller (Corbett 2006: 155). For

25   example, in the English sentence the *committee **has** decided to hire a new coach*, the

26   controller noun *committee* triggers syntactic agreement in number on the singular inflected

27   verb form *has*. Syntactic agreement is contrasted with *Semantic agreement* where targets

28   agree with the semantic properties of the noun. This is illustrated, for instance in English,

29   with the sentence *the committee **have** decided to hire a new coach*, where the verbal

30   agreement target *have* agrees in number with the meaning of the noun *committee*. Because

31   agreement is usually primarily understood as a syntactic phenomenon, syntactic agreement is

32   considered more canonical whereas semantic agreement is seen as less canonical.

33   This paper investigates syntactic and semantic agreement in the Eegimaa noun class system.

34   An example of syntactic agreement in Eegimaa is illustrated in (1) below[3] where the

35   controller noun *fi-ffilo* 'sleeping place' triggers agreement in gender (Gender IV) and number

36   (singular) with its targets[4].

37   (1)   Syntatic agreement with a noun ffrom Gender IV
38   **fi**-ffilo   **fa**fu   **fu**-lo-lof
39   **CLfu-/gu-**sleeping.place(**IV.SG**)   **IV.SG**.DEF   **IV.SG**-be.close-REDUP
40   'The sleeping place is close.'

41   Semantic agreement as found in Eegimaa manifests itself in two different patterns. The first

42   pattern by which semantic agreement manifests itself is with nouns of the *committee* type,

43   which are referred to as *Hybrid nouns* (see e.g. Corbett 1991; 2006; 2015). These kinds of

44   noun control different agreements on different targets as exemplified in (2) below, where the

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[3] The sources of the examples given here are indicated between parentheses on the same line as the free translation. Examples whose sources are not indicated come from my own native speaker intuition.

[4] In this paper a distinction is made between the morphological/inflectional class of a noun and its gender/agreement class as detailed in Section 3. The former is represented in glosses using the phonological forms of the singular and plural pair of nominal class prefixes following a growing tradition in Atlantic linguistics, whereas for the latter, the Roman numerals are used. Atlantic noun class systems do not have an established convention for marking noun classes as it is the case in Bantu noun class systemin these languages, even the same language can have different conventions for marking noun classes since authors do not necessarily agree on what constitutes a class. Note that in the glossing convention used here, the agreement class/gender number that noun controls is put between brackets after the gloss.

45 controller nouns trigger different feature values on different targets, namely the singular for

46 Gender II on the definite determiner and the plural on the of Gender I on the adjective and its

47 dependent[5]. As will be shown in detail in Section 4 below with data from Eegimaa, there is a

48 competition between syntactic and semantic agreements at different levels of the agreement

49 hierarchy.

50 (2) Semantic agreement with a plural hybrid – mismatch in gender and number

51 **é**-jjola   **ya**yu   **gu**-vvugul   **ga**gu
52 **CLa-/e-**jóola(**II.SG/I.PL**)   **II.SG**.DEF   **I.PL**-new   **I.PL**.DEF
53 'The new jóola people.' (ss20130920_AmT)

54 A second manifestation of semantic agreement is found in *Constructional Mismatches*

55 (Corbett 2006: 220-204). Instances of constructional mismatches are found in conjoined noun

56 phrases like in the Eegimaa example (3) below, where a noun of human denotation and a

57 non-human noun from different singular class pairs/genders (Genders I and II) control human

58 plural agreement on the verb (Gender I plural). The plural number value indicates that

59 semantically, more than one entity is involved, whereas Gender I agreement indicates

60 agreement with the entity higher in the animacy hierarchy.

61 (3) Constructional mismatch in an Eegimaa conjoined noun phrase.

62 **a**-kkoñ-a   ni   **e**-joba-ol   **gú**-ggal-e
63 **CLa-/u-**shepherd-AGT(**I.SG**) and **CL**e-/**su-**dog(**II.SG**)-3SG.POSS **I.3PL**-pass-CPL
64 'A shepherd and his dog have gone past.'

65 The main goal of this paper is to draw attention to different types of semantic agreement in

66 Eegimaa from the perspective of canonical typology. I examine the instances of semantic

67 agreement triggered by lexical hybrids, as well as constructional mismatches (see Section 5

68 for a definition), which are found in relative clauses and which arise from human collectivity

69 nouns and location nouns of the 'village' and 'house' types. In addition to triggering syntactic

[5] In an Eegimaa definite noun phrase containing and an adjectival modifier, the definite article appears twice; first, following the controller noun with which it agrees, and then following the adjective which modifies that noun agreeing with it. Whenever there is agreement mismatch at the attributive level of the Agreement Hierarchy (see example (2)), the repeated definite article appears twice in two forms while still referring the same entity.

70   agreement as illustrated in (4) below, these nouns also control human and locative semantic

71   agreement on their targets depending on the sense of the controller noun as exemplified in (5)

72   and (6).

73   (4)   Syntactic agreement

74   **é**-suh   **yayu**   **y-o**   na-juh   me   **e**-tos-ut
75   **CLe-/su**-village(**II.SG**)   **II.SG**.DEF **II.SG**-PRO.REL   REAL.I.3SG-see   SUBORD   **II.SG**-move-NEG
76   'The village that s/he saw has not moved.'

77   (5)   Human semantic agreement.

78   **é**-suh   **yayu**   **bug-o**   na-juh   me   **gu**-tos-ut
79   **CLe-/su**-village(**II.SG/I.PL**)   **II.SG**.DEF **I.PL**-PRO.REL   REAL.I.SG-see   SUBORD   **I.3PL**-move-NEG
80   'Lit: the village (people) that s/he saw have not moved.'

81   (6)   Locative semantic agreement.

82   **é**-suh   **yayu**   **b**-o[6]   nú-pul-lo   me   **e**-tos-ut
83   **CLe-/su**-village(**II.SG/III.SG**) **II.SG**.DEF **III.SG**-PRO.REL REAL.2SG-come.out-VENSUBORD **II.SG**-
84   move-NEG
85   'The village where you came out from has not moved.' (ss20130801_MNS)

86   One of the main goals of this paper is to investigate the relation between different kinds of

87   semantic agreement and Agreement Hierarchy constraints (Corbett 1979; 1983; 2006).

88   Corbett argues that semantic agreement follows a hierarchy which is composed of the four

89   levels as shown in Figure 1 below. The prediction is that if semantic agreement is attested at a

90   level on the left of the hierarchy (e.g. the attributive level), it will also be attested at all levels

91   on the right.

92   Figure 1: The Agreement Hierarchy, based on (Corbett 1979; 1983; 2006).
93
          ┌───┐
          │ Attributive > predicate > relative pronoun > personal pronoun │
          └───┘
94

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[6] The pronoun *o* takes agreement markers (*C-*) from all the genders. It can function as a personal pronoun or an object relative pronoun (see (5)), hence the glosses PRO and PRO.REL respectively. The agreement marker it takes shows the gender of its controller noun. With locative genders, which are used to form adverbs, the pronoun *o* combines with locative agreement markers to form locative adverbs and adverbial relativizers as shown in example (6) (see also Section 5). But its adverbial functions are imposed by the locative markers it combines with. Since all instances of *C-o* belong to the same morphological paradigm and are only different in gender and in syntactic functions, especially between locatives and non-locative genders, I will use the gloss *PRO* for instances where it functions as a personal pronoun and a locative adverb, and the gloss PRO.REL for instances where it functions as an object relative pronoun or an adverbial relativizer.

95   Research on the types of mismatches illustrated in (5) and (6) above are not prominent in the

96   typological literature and their relation to the Agreement Hierarchy is very poorly

97   investigated in African linguistics. In this paper, I will argue that there are two main types of

98   semantic agreement in Eegimaa: human semantic agreement and locative semantic

99   agreement. I will show that these two types of semantic agreement corroborate claims made

100   in the Agreement Hierarchy but behave differently in relation to the hierarchy.

101   This paper begins with a definition of terms in Section 2. Section 3 summarises the Eegimaa

102   noun class/gender system and includes a discussion of properties of syntactic agreement. In

103   Section 4, I examine agreement with Eegimaa lexical hybrids. Section 5 investigates

104   agreement in constructional mismatches[7], and Section 6 summarises the discussion.

2   Definition of terms

2.1   A working definition of agreement

107   As pointed out in the introduction, agreement may be defined following Steele as the

108   "systematic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal

109   property of another" (Steele 1978: 610 quoted in Corbett 2006: 4). This definition of

110   agreement includes aspects of what is both syntactic and semantic agreement outlined above

111   and captures the idea that "a word carries morphological features that originate somewhere

112   else" (Bickel & Nichols 2007: 229) and is fully compatible with the Canonical Agreement

113   approach used in this paper. As will be explained in the next section, the canonical approach

114   includes within its definition instances that are considered to be the best examples of

115   agreement and those that are said to be less good examples. The latter include verbal bound

116   person forms which are called cross-references or cross-indexes and anaphoric pronominal

117   expressions whose treatment as agreement markers is rather controversial (Haspelmath 2013

118   for a detailed discussion). Based on the canonical typological approach used here, the term

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[7] Agreement with conjoined noun phrases, one of the main instances of constructional mismatches, will not be
investigated here. For an overview of gender resolution see Sagna (2008: 210-211).

119   agreement will be used to describe the sharing of features between a controller noun and its

120   targets from the most local domain (the noun phrase) to the least local (anaphoric pronoun).

2.2   Canonical typology

122   As stated above, the Eegimaa agreement[8] data discussed here is analysed from a canonical

123   typological point of view. The idea is that agreement occurs on a scale between the most

124   canonical instances and the least canonical ones. Canonical instances of agreement are, in

125   Corbett's terms, those that are considered to be the best, the clearest and most indisputable

126   ones and which match the canon as a result (Corbett 2006; 2007; 2010a).

127   The notion of best example in canonical typology, as (Corbett 2010a: 142) points out, differs

128   from that of a prototype, which is also a kind of best example used in Prototype Theory. A

129   prototype is generally defined as the most central or most representative member of a

130   category. It has a psychological reality in the sense that it is represented in the minds of the

131   speaker. The degree of centrality of the best example in Prototype Theory can be revealed by

132   its Goodness Of Exemplar rating in an experiment. Furthermore, a prototype is a

133   culture-specific construct in that the best example of category in one culture may not be the

134   same in another culture (Croft & Cruse 2004; Rosch 1978; Taylor 2003 for further details).

135   For a canon, on the other hand, the notion of Goodness Of Exemplar is irrelevant, and no

136   claim is made about its psychological status. Most importantly, a canon is a theoretical

137   construct which is "ideally invariant" (cross-cultural variation is irrelevant) and constitutes an

138   anchoring point from which less canonical instances of the phenomena under study are

139   examined (Corbett 2010a: 142). There are important terms used in canonical typology and

140   which I adopt for the analysis of the different kinds of agreement in Eegimaa presented here,

141   and which need to be presented first.

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[8] Agreement is used as a cover term for what some linguists refer to as concord and agreement (see Corbett 2006: 5-6 for a detailed discussion of the use of these terms).

142   Following Corbett (1991; 2006), elements that participate in agreement are divided between

143   *controllers* and *targets*. Controllers are elements which determine agreement, whereas targets

144   are agreeing elements whose feature values are specified by the controllers. The agreement

145   between controllers and targets occurs in syntactic environment such as the noun phrase and

146   the clauses. These are the *domains* of agreement. Another crucial term for the analysis

147   presented here is *features*. Features are "partial descriptions of linguistic object [allowing] to

148   capture regularities" (Corbett 2010b: 18). Features have *values* as their components. For

149   example, the feature 'gender' includes, in sex-based gender systems, values such as

150   masculine and feminine while the 'number' feature may include among other values singular

151   and plural. As shown in the investigation of the Eegimaa noun class system in the next

152   section, biological gender distinctions are irrelevant to the analysis of agreement systems of

153   the Eegimaa type investigated here.

154   3   Summary of the Eegimaa noun class system
155   3.1   The noun class system

156   Eegimaa has a noun class system of the Niger-Congo type. From a broader typological

157   perspective, Niger-Congo noun class systems and gender systems of the Afro-Asiatic and

158   Indo-European types are qualitatively similar because both are agreement-based. The term

159   gender is often used as a cover term for both types of nominal classification, where African

160   noun class systems are referred to as non-sex-based gender systems (Greenberg 1978; Corbett

161   1991; 2011). In the typological literature the term noun class is also used as a cover term for

162   both noun class and sex-based gender systems (Aikhenvald 2000; Seifart 2010); this has the

163   advantage of excluding the common assumption that gender refers to sex-based distinctions. I

164   use the term "noun class system" to refer to African noun class systems, while "gender

165   system" will be used to refer to systems of nominal classification which make a biological

166   sex distinction in their grammar. The term "gender" will appear in this paper in two main

167   contexts. First, as pointed out above, "gender" in the term "gender system" will simply refer

168   to a system of nominal classification where biological sex distinctions are present. Second, in

169   my account of the classification of nouns into sets, "a gender" will be used to mean "an

170   agreement class", where singular and plural number values are analysed together.

171   Niger-Congo noun class systems like Eegimaa are typically overt systems of nominal

172   classification with a large number of classes or genders, and in which affixes - prefixes in the

173   case of Eegimaa[9] - attach to nouns and function as nominal (morphological) class markers.

174   Almost every noun in the language is morphologically classified using these noun class

175   markers. There are a few nouns that take a zero prefix and for count nouns, zero noun class

176   marking tend to appear only in the singular. As is typical in Niger-Congo noun class systems,

177   noun class prefixes (NCPs) jointly express number and gender information[10] (see Di Garbo

178   2014 for a study of how gender and number ineract in African noun class systems). For

179   example, the prefix *e-* in *e-vval* 'stone' indicates singular number and shows membership in

180   traditional class 3, or Gender II singular in the approach used in this paper. Its plural

181   correspondent *si-* in *si-vval* 'stones' indicates plurality and membership in class 4, or Gender

182   II plural.

183   Nouns control agreement on agreement targets. Agreement targets mostly take prefixes as

184   agreement markers, and in most cases, agreement markers are phonologically related to

185   prefixes on the controller nouns, which trigger the same feature values on those targets. But

186   there are many instances where NCPs are not phonologically related to agreement markers,

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[9] Eegimaa agreement markers can also be infixes as in the question word u-AGR-ela 'where is x?', where the agreement markers *AGR* occurs in the middle of the root element *u* and *ela*. The agreement consonant changes depending on the gender and number of the referent. For example, in *u-**m**-ela* 'where is he/she' the agreement marker *-m-* refers to a human from Gender I singular, whereas in *u-**bug**-ela* the infixed agreement marker *-bug-* indicates that the speaker refers to humans from Gender I plural. The only time where agreement markers occur as suffixes is when the definite article is suffixed to the noun. An example is when the definite article ***yayu***, which has double agreement marking with ***y***, occurs as *-ay* when attached to a noun as in *e-vven-**ay*** 'the padle'. In general, however, agreement markers are prefixes in Eegimaa.

[10] The expression of gender (agreement class) information can be more complex as will be shown below with hybrid nouns. Furthermore, prefixes on nouns that have different NCPs but trigger the same agreement do not give information on the gender of the noun.

187   even though their feature values are the same (see example (4) above). There are also other

188   instances where NCPs on nouns are phonologically unrelated to agreement markers, and

189   control different inflectional feature values on different targets. These are hybrid nouns,

190   which will be examined in detail in the section on semantic agreement (Section 4 below).

191   Agreement is the fundamental criterion used to identify classes of nouns in a noun class and

192   in a sex-based gender system. But notice that agreement is used differently to identify classes

193   or genders in the Niger-Congo noun class systems as compared with sex-based gender

194   systems. Moreover, the term "agreement class", which is used in both traditions does not

195   mean the same thing. It is traditional in studies of Niger-Congo noun class systems to treat

196   singular and plural nouns as belonging to different classes (de Wolf 1971; Welmers 1973;

197   Heine 1982; Creissels 1999; Schadeberg 2001). A noun class, in this approach, is a set of

198   nouns that trigger the same agreement patterns in the singular or the plural. From this

199   perspective, the singular and the plural agreement patterns are considered to be

200   manifestations of distinct agreement classes. Thus, all the singular nouns that control the

201   same agreement patterns constitute a singular agreement class, whereas their plural

202   counterparts will constitute a single agreement class because they control different

203   agreements pattern than the singular counterparts. For example, the different agreement

204   markers triggered by the noun -*soddali* 'soldier' in (7) and (8) below[11] indicate, in the

205   traditional approach, that its singular and plural forms belong to different classes, namely the

206   traditional classes 1 and 2, also known as the human class pair.

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[11] I use the traditional Niger-Congo notation convention with Arabic numbers to show the class membership of nouns. According to this notation, the noun 'soldier' takes NCP *a-* (class 1) in the singular and NCP *e-* (class3), the singular default class marker in the plural. Mismatches like these will be examined in detail in the discussion on lexical hybrids.

207   (7)   The noun 'soldier' belongs to traditional Class 1 in the singular

208   a-soddali   anur   **a-**jog-om
209   CL1-soldier   **CL1.**one   **CL1.**3SG-catch-1SG.OBJ
210   'One soldier caught me.'

211   (8)   The noun 'soldier' belongs to traditional Class 2 in the plural

212   e-soddali   **gú-**uba   **gu-**jog-om
213   CL3-soldier   **CL2-**two   **CL2.**3PL-catch-1SG.OBJ
214   'Two soldiers caught me.' (ss20090510_Batings-Gal)

In the traditional approach, the class membership of a noun is decided based on the

agreement it triggers rather than being based on the form of the prefix on the controller noun.

Consequently, when two nouns with the same number value - e.g. singular - have different

prefixes, as is the case for 'panther' and 'hyena' in examples (9) and (10), but trigger the

same agreement, they are treated as members of the same class.

220   (9)   The noun 'panther' triggers traditional Class 3 agreement

221   **ji-**ggaj   uyu   babe
222   **CL11-**panther   **CL3.**COP   around.here
223   'There is a panther around.'

224   (10) The noun 'hyena' triggers traditional Class 3 agreement

225   **é-**mundumo   uyu   babe
226   **CL3-**hyena   **CL3.**COP   around.here
227   'There is a hyena around.'

If two nouns have the same prefix but different agreement markers (cf. examples (8) and

(10)), they are treated as members of different classes, whether their number feature values

are the same or not. However, prefixes on nouns are also referred to as class markers, even

though class membership is determined by agreement. For example, both 'soldier' and

'hyena' in examples (8) and (10) above will be said to take the class 3 NCP *e-*, though these

nouns would be classed as members of classes 2 (human plural) and 3 (default singular)

respectively, based on the agreement they trigger. Note that for the majority of Eegimaa

nouns the shape of the nominal prefix matches that of the agreement marker on agreeing

236   elements. Thus, for most nouns, it is possible to predict the form of the agreement from the

237   form of the nominal prefix.

238   A key criticism of the traditional approach is that the use of "noun class" does not clearly

239   indicate whether the term refers to the morphological form of the noun or the agreement it

240   controls (Corbett 1991: 45). Corbett (1991: 47) proposes to distinguish

241   morphological/nominal inflection classes, that is the set of lexemes whose members each

242   select the same set of inflectional realizations from genders – the agreement classes (see also

243   Aronoff 1994). In this approach, agreement class is defined as a set of nouns which,

244   whenever "they stand in the same morphosyntactic form" (e.g. singular) and "occur in the

245   same agreement domain" (e.g. the noun phrase) and "have the same lexical item as agreement

246   target" (e.g. adjective), they have the same morphological realization on their targets ,

247   (Corbett 1991: 147; 2007: 243). This proposal stems from the idea that syntax and

248   morphology are autonomous linguistic levels and that one level is not entirely reducible to

249   another level but instead follows principles of its own (Aronoff 1994). This approach

250   distinguishes the morphological classes which are indicated by the morphological markers on

251   the nouns from the genders themselves, which are established based on the agreement in

252   features on targets in both the singular and plural forms.

253   The analysis of the Eegimaa agreement system proposed in this paper follows this approach

254   and treats singular and plural agreement forms triggered by the same lexemes as

255   manifestations of one category, called an agreement class or gender. In other words, lexemes

256   are used as the primary units of analysis. A distinction is therefore made between noun

257   classes, i.e., the morphological category membership of a noun as revealed by the prefix it

258   takes, and its gender, that is, its agreement class category membership, as revealed by the

259   agreement morphology on targets, regardless of the nominal morphological marking.

260   Consequently, what is referred to as two separate singular and plural agreement classes in

261   traditional presentations of Niger-Congo noun class systems will be analysed as one

262   agreement class or gender. Further details are given in the next section, which deals with

263   syntactic agreement. Notice that some studies in Niger Congo noun class systems do take the

264   "gender approach" by treating the singular and plural agreements together as a gender. But

265   this way of presenting data is currently less established than the noun class approach.

266   Eegimaa has 15 noun classes based on the traditional approach, but 10 main genders

267   according to the approach used here and two additional inquorate genders, i.e. genders which

268   have only one or two members and thus do not constitute an agreement class (see the dashed

269   lines in Table 1). In Table 1, Arabic numbers are used to indicate the noun classes, as is

270   traditionally done in the description of Niger-Congo noun class systems, whereas Roman

271   numbers are used to present the genders (agreement class pairs of singular and plural). The

272   nominal prefixes corresponding to singular and plural NCPs are also provided in the table. It

273   is important to bear in mind that the lines in the table show agreement correspondences rather

274   than correspondences of the singular and plural forms of nouns. Eegimaa has four dedicated

275   locative classes/genders, three of which are not involved in singular plural pairings. The

276   fourth one is formed using Class 5/Gender III as explained in Section 5.1 below. For a full

277   discussion of the singular-plural correspondences and a detailed analysis of the Eegimaa noun

278   class system using the traditional approach to Niger-Congo languages, see Sagna (2008;

279   2010).

280   Table 1: The main noun classes and genders in Eegimaa

SG trad. class		Gender	PL trad. class	
a-	1	I	2	bug-
e-/y-	3	II	4	su-/si-
bu-/bi-	5	III	6	u-/w-
fu-/fi-	7	IV	8	gu-
		V		
ga-	9	VII		
ju-/ji-	11	VI	10	mu-
ñu-/ñi-	12			
ti-/t-	13	VIII		
d-	14	IX		
n-	15	X		

281   Note that the idea of analyzing morphological classes (nominal paradigms) separately from

282   agreement markers, which I adopt here following Corbett (1991) and Aronoff (1994), has

283   recently been suggested in typological works on African noun class systems (Pozdniakov

284   2010) and in the analyses of individual Atlantic languages (Cobbinah 2013; Watson 2015).

285   Pozdniakov's work focuses on morphological paradigms, not agreement. In Cobbinah (2013)

286   and Watson (2015), noun class paradigms are analysed separately from agreement. However,

287   singular agreement patterns are analysed separately from plural agreement, as in the

288   traditional approach, and the criterion to determine agreement is the form of the agreement

289   markers and alliteration rather than features and their values.

290   In my account of the Eegimaa syntactic and semantic agreement presented in this paper,

291   morphological classes or paradigms are treated separately from agreement paradigms[12].

292   Simply put, singular and plural agreement patterns are treated together as expressions of one

293   gender based on the feature values they show. I show that this is the best way to account for

294   agreement matches, which are examined in the next section, and agreement mismatches

295   between controllers and targets, which I analyze in Section 4.

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[12] It is generally reported in Niger-Congo noun class studies that singular-plural correspondences are complex. This is especially true when the term class does not clearly distinguish nominal class morphology is not analysed distinctly from agreement class morphology. One of the goals of this paper is to show that when morphological classes are separated from agreement classes, the complexity of the singular-plural correspondence poses less problems in the description.

3.2   Syntactic agreement in Eegimaa

This section describes the main characteristics of syntactic agreement, and in doing so it sets

the scene for the discussion of the different kinds of semantic agreement provided in the next

sections.

Table 2, which presents agreement classes, where singular and plural agreement patterns are treated

as one unit referred to as a gender, also shows the patterns of syntactic agreement in Eegimaa.

Genders are labelled using roman numerals as can be seen in the Gender column. Agreement targets

used for illustration are demonstratives, pronouns, adjectives and verbal predicates. Genders VIII to

Gender X are locative genders and do not have singular-plural oppositions. Genders VIII and IX refer

to spatial location whereas Gender X, which has a lacunary distribution for most targets locates events

time. The Eegimaa inquorate genders are V/IV and VI/IV. They take the singular of one gender and

the plural of another gender. Table 2 also shows that agreement targets are mostly alliterative.

However, for some genders, there is no phonological relation between the different

agreement targets (cf. Gender I and Gender II). Several singular gender markers have the

same plural correspondence. Examples are Genders III and V. However, since the agreement

class approach used here combines both singular a plural into one agreement class or gender,

rather than treating singular and plural separately, the plural marker is not treated as a

separate class. Consequently, a syncretic plural like that of Genders III and V is treated as a

manifestation of the same gender as its singular correspondent (cf. Genders III, V and VII in

Table 2).

316   Table 2: The main agreement classes/genders of the Eegimaa noun class system

Gender	SG				PL			
	DEM	PRO	ADJ	VP	DEM	PRO	ADJ	VP
I	*m-*	*m-*	*a-*	*(n)a-*	*bug-*	*bug-*	*gu-*	*gu-*
II	*y-*	*y-*	*e-*	*e-*	*s-*	*s-*	*su-/si-*	*su-/si-*
III	*b-*	*b-*	*bu-/bi-*	*bu-/bi-*	*w-*	*w-*	*u-*	*u-*
IV	*f-*	*f-*	*fu-/fi-*	*fu-/fi-*	*g-*	*g-*	*gu-*	*gu-*
V/IV	*g-*	*g-*	*gu-*	*gu-*	*g-*	*g-*	*gu-*	*gu-*
V	*g-*	*g-*	*gu-*	*gu-*	*w-*	*w-*	*u-*	*u-*
VI	*j-*	*j-*	*ju-/ji-*	*ju-/ji-*	*m-*	*m-*	*mu-*	*mu-*
VI/IV	*j-*	*j-*	*ju-/ji-*	*ju-/ji-*	*g-*	*g-*	*gu-*	*gu-*
VII	*ñ-*	*ñ-*	*ñu-/ñi-*	*ñu-/ñi-*	*w-*	*w-*	*u-*	*u-*
VIII	*t-*	*t-*	*tu-/ti-*	*tu-/ti-*				
IX	*d-*	*d-*	*d-*	*du-/di-*				
X	*-*	*n-*	*-*					

317   The discussion of the Eegimaa syntactic agreement provided here is based on what will be

318   referred to as non-human collective nouns. Eegimaa distinguishes two semantically distinct

319   collective expressions: human collective expressions and non-human collective ones. The

320   former are hybrid nouns and can control both syntactic and semantic agreement, whereas the

321   latter can only trigger syntactic agreement on their dependents. Collectives are defined

322   following Corbett (2000: 119), as nouns that 'indicate that [the entities] they denote are to be

323   construed together as a unit.' Since hybrid nouns are also referred to as collective nouns in

324   the literature (Hundt 2006; Levin 2001; Levin 2006), it is important to show that in Eegimaa

325   not all collectives are hybrids and not all hybrids are collectives. I begin with a description of

326   non-human collectives in this section and examine human collectives in the next sections.

327   Non-human collectives are formed by class and gender alternation through the selection of

328   different NCPs and their corresponding gender agreement markers on targets. This is

329   exemplified in (11) and (12) below, where the singular NCP *ga-* alternates with NCP

330   *bu-/bi-* on the noun root *-ssít* 'feather', distinguishing singular and collective meanings

331 respectively. In both cases, the controller nouns trigger Gender V and Gender III syntactic

332 agreement respectively on all their targets.

333 (11) Singular expression of 'feather' with NCP ga-.

334 **gá**-ssit   **ga**gu   **g**-al   e-hulol   yayu
335 **CLga/u**-feather(**V.SG)** **V.SG**.DEF **V.SG**-of CLe-/su-chicken(II.SG) II.SG.DEF

336 'The feather of the chicken.'

337 (12) Expression of assemblage collectives for 'feather' with NCP bi-.

338 **bí**-ssit   **ba**bu   **b**-al   e-hulol   yayu
339 **CLbu-/bi**-feather(III.SG) **III.SG**.DEF **III.SG**-of CLe-/su-chicken(II.SG) II.SG.DEF

340 'The plumage of the chicken.'

341 Non-human collectives are formed using four NCPs, which in other contexts function as

342 singular markers, yielding four semantically distinct subcategories of collectives. One of

343 these collectives uses a singular NCP *bu-/bi-* and the resulting collective noun triggers

344 Gender III agreement. Collectives that use NCP *bu-/bi-* are referred to as collective for

345 assemblages (Sagna 2011; 2012). This subcategory of collectives includes a limited number

346 of nouns denoting body parts such as the nominal root *-fal* 'body hair' (realised *ga-fal* 'body

347 hair (SG)', *u-fal* ''body hair (PL)' *bu-fal* 'body hair (collective)') and *-ssít* 'feather'

348 illustrated in (12) above.

349 Another kind of non-human collective expression is that of diminutive collectives formed

350 using NCP *ba-*. Diminutive collective means that entities that are construed as a unit, are

351 naturally small, or they are conceptualised or described as such. Collective nouns of this

352 category trigger Gender III as exemplified in (13) below[13].

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[13] Note that the difference in the shape of the prefix in examples (12) and (13) indicates a difference in morphological class within nouns of Gender III. This morphological difference also reflects a semantic difference in that only the prefix *ba-* is used as a diminutive collective prefix. In previous work I analysed these differences as expressions of morphological and semantic subclasses of class 5 and labelled them classes 5a bu-/bi- and 5b ba-, based on the traditional approach.

353   (13)   Diminutive collectives expression with NCP ba-.

354   **b**a-hola   **bu**-rum-ol
355   **CLba**-midge(**III.SG**)   **III.SG**-bite-3.SG.OBJ
356   'Midges bit him/her.' (Part-Obsv)

357 The third type of collective is formed with NCP *fa-*. It only includes nouns denoting insects

358 that live in swarms and have similar life and predatory patterns of behaviour. Such insects are

359 exemplified with *ya-aj*/*sa-aj* 'bee/s' in example (14) which triggers Gender IV agreement.

360   (14)   Collective for swarms.

361   **fa**-aj   ufu   ni   bu-lago   babu
362   **CL7fa**-bee(**IV.SG**)   COP.**IV.SG**.MED   PREP   **CLbu**/u-road(III.SG)   III.SG.DEF
363   'There are bees on the road.' (Part-Obsv)

364 The fourth and last subcategory of non-human collectives is formed with the singular default

365 NCP *e-* and is referred to as collective for colonies (Sagna 2008; 2011) because it is used as a

366 collective for plants that grow as a colony or the refer to other entities like some fruits when

367 they are conceived as non-count or mass. These plants, which are illustrated with

368 *ga-rarah*/*u-rarah* 'Ipomea asarifolia plant/-s' in (15) below, tend to eliminate other small

369 plants and take over the environment they grow in.

370   (15)   Collective for colonies of plants with NCP e-.

371   **e**-rarah   **ya**yu   **e**-ggoñ-e   e-mmano   **ya**yu
372   CLe-Ipomea.asarifolia(**II.SG**)   **II.SG**.DEF   **II.SG**-dominate-CPL   CLe-/su-rice(**II.SG**)   **II.SG**.DEF
373   'The Ipomea asarifolia colony of grass has dominated the rice.' (ss20040412_AS)

374 Like all non-human collective expressions, collectives for colonies control syntactic

375 agreement only with the same feature values appearing on all agreement targets as illustrated

376 from examples (12) to (15) above. Nouns that take NCP *e-* in the singular also trigger

377 syntactic agreement on their dependents as can be observed in example (16). Thus, syntactic

378 agreement occurs both in the singular and the collective illustrated above.

379 (16) Collective for colonies of plants with NCP e-.

380 e-kkar   yayu   é-ggal-e
381 CLe-bus(**II.SG**) **II.SG**.DEF **II.SG**-dominate-CPL

382   'The bus has passed.'

Interestingly, NCP *e-* is also used as a plural (see example (18) below) and collective marker (see example (17)) on a subcategory of nouns of human denotation. These nouns are human collectives and as a result, differ from the non-human collective discussed above. They are hybrids which control agreement from two different gender and number feature values as illustrated with the noun *a-banjal*/*e-banjal* 'inhabitant/s of Banjal' in examples (17) and (18). Hybrid nouns of the type illustrated in (17) are discussed in Section 4.

389 (17) Human colonies 'identity groups' with NCP *e-*.

390 e-banjal   yayu   g-a-jo-ulo   me   figen   gu-ol-e
391 CLa-/e-banjal(**II.SG/I.PL**) **II.SG**.DEF **I.3PL**-REL-go-VEN SUBORD yesterday **I.3PL**-go.home-CPL

392   'The   people   from   Banjal   who   came   yesterday   have   gone   home.'

393   (ss20060420_HB)

394 (18) Plural for human 'identity groups' with NCP *e-*.

395 e-banjal   gúuba   gu-jo-ulo
396 CLa-/e-banjal(**II.SG/I.PL**) **I.PL**.DEF **I.3PL**-go-VEN
397   'Two people from Banjal have come.'

4   Hybrid nouns in Eegimaa

Hybrid nouns are, as pointed out in the introduction, nouns which control different agreement patterns on different targets (Corbett 1991; 2006; 2015). Lexical hybrids have been investigated in various languages especially in Indo-European languages like German and English (Corbett 1979; 2015; Hundt 2006; Levin 2001). In African languages, though the existence of hybrids has been reported (see Corbett 1991 for references), research on hybrid nouns is rare, and their relation with the Agreement Hierarchy has been even less investigated. This section investigates 'full' and 'split' lexical hybrids in Eegimaa and their

406   relation to the Agreement Hierarchy constrains. These terms are borrowed from Corbett

407   (2015) to describe nouns which are hybrids both in the singular and the plural (full hybrids)

408   and those that are hybrids in only one number value like the plural (split hybrids). Full

409   hybrids are a typologically rare phenomenon which has been reported for Old High German

410   and Icelandic (see Corbett 2015). In the next section I examine full and split lexical hybrids

411   in 4.1 as well as what may be referred to as contextual mismatches is Section 4.2.

4.1   Lexical hybrids

4.1.1   One full lexical hybrid

414   In Eegimaa the noun *bá-jur* 'young woman' is the only full lexical hybrid because it occurs

415   as a hybrid in both the singular and the plural. All other nouns denoting humans which

416   function as hybrids do so only in the plural as will be shown in 4.1.2 below. In its singular

417   form, both syntactic and semantic agreements are possible with the full hybrid noun *bá-jur*

418   'young woman'[14]. Example (19) below illustrates a case of syntactic agreement where it

419   controls Gender III agreement on all its agreement targets.

(19)   Syntactic agreement with *bá-jur* 'young woman'.

bá-jur	**ba**bu	**bu**-vvugul	**ba**bu	**bu**-kka-e
CLba-/su-young.woman(III.SG)	III.SG.DEF	III.SG-new	III.SG.DEF	III.SG-go-CPL

'The new young woman has left.' (ss20131221_AmT)

424   Semantic agreement with the noun *bá-jur* 'young woman' is exemplified in (20) and (21)

425   below taken from a folktale. In (20) the noun *bá-jur* 'young woman' controls syntactic

426   agreement using Gender III markers on the definite determiner, but semantic agreement on

427   the demonstrative determiner *umu* 'that' and the verb 'go' with Gender I singular agreement

428   because the denotatum is a human. Here there is a mismatch in gender at the attributive and

429   predicate level of the Agreement Hierarchy. In example (21), syntactic agreement is also

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[14] The occurrence of the prefix *ba-* with *bá-jur* 'young woman' does not indicate collective meaning, but a culture-specific semantic aspect of the categorisation of the entity denoted by that noun (see Sagna, 2012 for a detailed explanation).

430   triggered on the definite determiner while semantic agreement with Gender I occurs on the

431   verb. The attributive level of the Hierarchy is also split.

432   (20)   Split syntactic and semantic agreement at the attributive level.

433   **b**á-jur   **b**abu   u**m**u   **na**kk-a-juh   á-pur…
434   CLba-/su-young.woman(III.SG/I.SG)III.SG.DEF I.SG.MED REAL.I.3SG.go-I.SG-see CLa-/u-boy(I.SG)
435   'That young woman went to see a young man…' (ss2004Oct13_baluten)

436   (21)   Split syntactic and semantic agreement with *bá-jur* 'young woman'.

437   na-re-ol,   min   **b**á-jur   **b**abu   a-at
438   I.SG-stop-3SG.OBJ   so.that CLba-/su-young.woman(III.SG)   III.SG.DEF   I.3SG-go.home
439   'He   stopped   (accompanying)   her   and   the   young   woman   went   home'
440   (ss2004Oct13_baluten).

441   Notice that semantic agreement is impossible with the definite determiner which must take

442   syntactic agreement with the NCP. We can therefore argue, based on the above discussion,

443   that when semantic agreement is triggered in the singular form of the noun *bá-jur* 'young

444   woman', the attributive position is split. However, this is not the case for all other positions in

445   the Agreement Hierarchy since either syntactic or semantic agreement is possible. The

446   possibility to split the attributive level of the Agreement Hierarchy is further illustrated with

447   the adjective 'new' in (22) where the intended referent is either a stranger or a bride.

448   (22)   Split syntactic and semantic agreement at the attributive level.

449   **b**á-jur   **b**abu   a-vvugul a**h**u   **na**-kka-e
450   CLba-/su-young.woman(III.SG/I.SG.)   III.SG.DEF I.SG-new   I.SG.DEF   REAL.I.3SG-go-CPL
451   'The new young woman (bride/stranger) has left.' (ss20130722_MT)

452   Semantic agreement with *bá-jur* 'young woman' corroborates the claims made by the

453   Agreement Hierarchy. The rule is, as the examples above show, that if semantic agreement is

454   possible at one level on the left of the Agreement Hierarchy, it is also possible with other

455   level on the right (see Figure 1 above).

456   In the plural, *sú-jur* 'young women' triggers syntactic agreement in gender and number on

457   the definite determiner only, as exemplified in (23). Syntactic agreement beyond the definite

458   determiner as in (24) below is extremely odd and judged as unacceptable[15]. This shows that

459   as with the singular, the attributive level of the hierarchy is by rule also split between

460   syntactic and semantic agreement in the plural. It also shows a difference between singular

461   and plural in that the tendency towards semantic agreement in the plural is much greater.

462   (23)   Syntactic and semantic agreement with *sú-jur* 'young women'.

463   **sú**-jur   sasu   **gu**-vvugul   **gagu**   **gu**-kka-e
464   CLba-/su-young.woman(**II.PL/I.PL**)   **II.PL**.DEF   **I.PL**-new   **I.PL**.DEF   **I.3PL**-go-CPL
465   'The new young women have left.' (ss20130722_MT)

466   (24)   Ungrammaticality of consistent agreement with *sú-jur* 'young women'.

467   ***sú**-jur   sasu   **su**-vvugul   sasu   **si**-kka-e
468   CLba-/su-young.woman(**II.PL**)   **II.PL**.DEF   **II.PL**-new   **II.SG**.DEF   **II.PL**-go-CPL
469   'The new young women have left.' (ss20131221_AmT)

470   **4.1.2   Hybrids in the plural only**

471   Most hybrid nouns in Eegimaa are, as pointed out above, plural nouns of human denotation

472   This means that their singular correspondents are not hybrids. In Sagna (2012) the agreement

473   mismatches with plural hybrids are analysed as manifestations of multiple morphosyntactic

474   and semantic categorisation of humans. We can distinguish hybrid nouns which in the

475   singular, control Gender I singular agreement (the human gender), and those that control

476   non-human gender agreements such as Genders II and V. We discuss the former first.

477   Nouns which control Gender I agreement in the singular do not all trigger the same

478   agreement in the plural. Rather, they control plural agreement forms from different plural

479   genders, of which one is lexically determined (Sagna 2010). Plural hybrid nouns whose

480   singular correspondents belong to Gender I control obligatory syntactic agreement on

481   determiners as can be seen in examples (25) to (28) below. However, semantic agreement is

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[15] Syntactic agreement of the type illustrated in (24) is never found in natural speech e.g. in conversational data or narratives, nor is it produced when speakers are asked to translate sentences where *sú-jur* 'young women' is a controller noun from French to Eegimaa. Moreover, when these types of sentences are proposed to speakers in the context of grammaticality judgement, they are described as ungrammatical sentences produced by non-fluent speakers. The explanations given for rejecting such constructions is that syntactic agreement suggests that these 'young women' are not humans. I have no explanation why syntactic agreement is attested in the singular for 'young woman' but not in the plural.

482   obligatory on adjectives, verbs and the relative pronouns as shown in (25) and with the

483   ungrammaticality of (26). In example (25) we have a mismatch in gender agreement between

484   the definite determiner on the one hand, and the adjective, the verb and the pronoun on the

485   other hand.

486   (25)   Syntactic and semantic agreement with Gender V.PL and Gender I.

487   **u**-añ-a   **wawu**   **gu**-vvugul **gagu**   **bug**-o
488   CLa-/**u**-cultivate-AGT(**V.PL**/ **I.PL**)   **V.PL**.DEF   **I.PL**-new   **I.PL**.DEF   **I.PL**-PRO

489   ni-juh   me   **gu**-kka-e
490   REAL.1SG-see   SUBORD   **I.3PL**-go-CPL

491   'The new farmers whom I saw have left.' (ss20130722_MT)

492   (26)   Ungrammatical syntactic agreement on the adjective with Gender V.PL.

493   *****u**-añ-a   **wawu**   **u**-vvugul   **wawu**
494   CLa-/**u**-cultivate-AGT(**V.PL**)   **V.PL**.DEF   **V.PL**-new   **V.PL**.DEF

495   **bug**-o   ni-juh   me   **gu**-kka-e
496   **I.PL**-PRO   REAL.1SG-see   SUBORD   **I.3PL**-go-CPL

497   'The new farmers whom I saw have left.' (ss20130722_MT)

498   There are other hybrid nouns from Gender I singular which, in the plural control Gender II

499   singular agreement on some targets, but control Gender I plural agreement on other targets.

500   As can be seen on the agreement targets in example (27), there is an agreement mismatch in

501   both gender and number. The morphological marker on the noun and the agreement marker

502   of the definite determiner are the singular markers for Gender II. However, the agreement

503   markers on the verb and the relative pronoun are plural markers from Gender I, and syntactic

504   agreement is not an option at these levels of the Agreement Hierarchy. Human hybrids from

505   this plural subcategory describe human collectivities such as those that share the same

506   geographical, ethnic, linguistic and professional background, and thus constitute a colony or

507   identity group. I have shown in Section 3.2 above that the nominal prefix of Gender II is used

508   in the formation of collective meaning for nouns denoting plants and human 'identity

509   groups'. Nouns denoting plants, as argued in that section, trigger syntactic agreement on all

510   targets. However, nouns of human denotation which in the collective and plural trigger

511   syntactic agreement on determiners with Gender II singular agreement marker, but obligatory

512   semantic agreement on other targets indicates a strong difference between human and

513   non-human entities.

514   (27)   Semantic agreement (mismatch) in Gender and number with 'identity groups'.

515   é-jjola   yayu   **bug**-o   ni-juh   me   **gu**-kka-e

516   CLa-/e-jóola(**II.SG**)   **II.SG**.DEF   **I.PL**-PRO.REL   REAL.1SG-see   SUBORD   **I.3PL**-go-CPL

517   'The Jóola people whom I saw have left.' (ss20131221_AmT)

518   (28)   Ungrammatical use of syntactic agreement with 'identity groups'.

519   *é-jjola   yayu   y-o   ni-juh   me   **gu**-kka-e

520   CLa-/e-jóola(**II.SG**)   **II.SG**.DEF   **II.SG**-PRO.REL   REAL.1SG-see   SUBORD   **I.3PL**-go-CPL

521   'The Jóola people whom I saw have left.' (ss20131221_AmT)

522   It should be noted that nouns of the human plural subcategory illustrated in (27) above only

523   control semantic agreement with adjectives as exemplified in (29) and (30) below, where the

524   use of syntactic agreement on the adjective produces an ungrammatical noun phrase.

525   (29)   Semantic agreement on the adjective with 'identity groups'.

526   é-jjola   yayu   **gu**-vvugul   gagu

527   CLa-/e-jóola(**II.SG**)   **II.SG**.DEF   **I.PL**-new   **I.PL**.DEF

528   'The new Jóola people.' (ss20130920_AmT)

529   (30)   Ungrammatical syntactic agreement on the adjective with 'identity groups'.

530   *é-jjola   yayu   e-vvugul   yayu

531   CLa-/e-jóola(**II.SG**)   **II.SG**.DEF   **II.SG**-new   **II.SG**.DEF

532   'The new Jóola people.' (ss20130920_AmT)

533   As pointed out earlier in this section, Eegimaa has nouns of human denotation whose singular

534   do not belong to the human Gender I. These include nouns from Gender II which denote

535   special humans (humans having special attributes) and those of Gender V which denote

536   'weak' humans. Human nouns from Gender II should not be confused with the hybrids

537   labelled 'identity groups' and illustrated from examples (27) to (30).

538   As pointed out above, most nouns of human denotation are assigned to gender I based on

539   semantics. There are however other nouns of human denotation in other genders. Those

540 found in Gender II normally control syntactic agreement in the singular and the plural, but

541 they may also function as hybrids, in which case they trigger semantic agreement in the plural

542 only (Bassène 2012; Sagna 2008: 229; Sagna 2012: 140). The noun *é-mbiro* 'champion' for

543 example, is not a hybrid in the singular as shown in example (31) where it triggers syntactic

544 agreement on all its targets. In the plural syntactic agreement is generally the preferred option

545 as illustrated in (32). However, it is possible, though less natural (according to speakers'

546 judgement), for this noun to trigger semantic agreement from the attributive level of the

547 Agreement Hierarchy as illustrated in (33) below. Note as shown in (33), that whenever

548 semantic agreement is possible in with human nouns of Gender II, the attributive level of the

549 Agreement Hierarchy is split between syntactic agreement which is obligatory on the definite

550 determiner (sasu) and semantic agreement which is found with the demonstrative (ubugu).

551 (31) Syntactic agreement with a human-denoting noun from Gender II singular.
552 **é**-mbiro **ɲanoɲan** pan **e**-taj ni e-ppal[16] **y-o**
553 CL**e**-/**su**-champion(**II.SG**) **II.SG**.each FUT **II.SG**-fight PREP CL**e**-/**su**-friend(**II.SG**) **II.SG**-PRO
554 'Each champion will fight with his fellow.' (ss20121222_MNS-JB)

555 (32) Syntactic agreement with a human-denoting noun from Gender II plural.
556 **sí**-mbiro **sa**su pan **si**-taj ni **si**-ppal **s-o**
557 CL**e**-/**su**-champion(**II.PL**) **II.PL**.DEF FUT **II.PL**-fight PREp CL**e**-/**su**-friend(**II.PL**) **II.PL**-PRO
558 'The champions will fight with their fellows.' (ss20121222_MNS-JB)

559 (33) Semantic agreement with a human-denoting noun from Gender II plural.
560 **sí**-mbiro **sa**su **ubug**u pan **gu**-taj ni gu-ppal-il
561 CL**e**-/**si**-champion(**II.PL**) **II.PL**.def **I.PL**.MED FUT **I.3PL**-fight PREP CLa/gu-friend-3PL.OBJ(**I.PL**)
562 'The champions will fight with their fellows.' (ss20121222_MNS-JB)

563 Nouns of human denotation from Gender V are never hybrids in the singular, just like those

564 of Gender II. The singular and plural nominal prefixes of Gender V are used to express

565 augmentative and derogative meanings as noted in Sagna (2008). Nouns of human denotation

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[16] When the nominal root *-pal* occurs with the abstractness suffix *-ay* as in *a-ppal-ay* 'friend', it belongs to morphological class *a-/gu-* of Gender I. Without this suffix, it must take a possessive suffix or occur in possessive NP as do possessed kinship term like pay 'father of' or jaw 'mother of'. In this context it takes the agreement marker of the controller noun as can be seen in examples (31) to (36).

566   in this gender denote weak humans like very old persons who have lost most of their physical

567   and mental abilities, and lazy and weak-minded people. Nouns from this gender control

568   syntactic agreement as in examples (34) and (35) in the singular and plural genders

569   respectively. However, human nouns of this gender can control semantic agreement as

570   illustrated in (36) below where semantic agreement in the plural is attested from the

571   attributive level on the demonstrative determiner and all other elements on the right side of

572   the Agreement Hierarchy. The agreement mismatch is in gender only. Here again, the

573   attributive level of the agreement hierarchy is split as in examples (33) above. The use of

574   semantic agreement is described as a respectful way of referring to a very old person and

575   could be described as pragmatic agreement since speaker's intention is to attenuate the

576   derogatory reference to the old person.

577   (34)   Syntactic agreement with a noun of human denotation from Gender V singular.

578   **gá**-ffannum   **ga**gu   pan   **gu**-lob   ni   **ga**-ppal   **g**-o

579   ga-/u-old.person(**V.SG**) **V.SG**.DEF FUT **V.SG**-speak PREP **V.SG**-friend **V.SG**-PRO

580   'The old person will speak with his/her fellow.' (ss20121222_MNS-JB)

581   (35)   Syntactic agreement with a noun of human denotation from Gender V plural.

582   **ú**-ffannum   **wa**wu   pan   **u**-lob   ni

583   ga-/u-old.person(**V.PL**) **V.PL**.DEF FUT **V.PL**-speak PREP

584   **u**-ppal   **w**-o

585   V.SG-friend V-PRO

586   'The old people will speak with their fellows.' (ss20121222_MNS-JB)

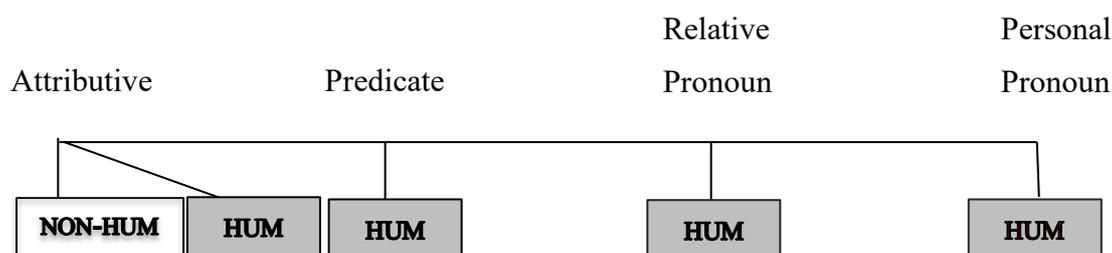587   (36)   Semantic agreement with a noun of human denotation from Gender V plural

588   **ú**-ffannum   **wa**wu   u**bu**gu   pan   **gu**-lob

589   ga-/u-old.person(**V.PL/ I.PL**) **V/PL**.DEF **I.PL**.MED FUT **I.3PL**-speak

590   ni   **gu**-ppal-il

591   PREP **V.SG**-friend-3PL.OBJ

592   'The old people will speak with their fellows.' (ss20121222_MNS-JB)

593   In summary, nouns of human denotation that are assigned to other genders based on

594   agreement criteria control syntactic agreement in the singular and plural, but semantic

595   agreement is also possible. As illustrated from examples (31) to (36) above, the attributive

596   level of the Agreement Hierarchy is always split as is the case for the examples discussed in

597   previous paragraphs.

598   Overall, the discussion of hybrid nouns of human denotation in the paragraphs above showed

599   that there is only one noun which is a hybrid in both the singular and the plural and which

600   allows an optional use of syntactic or semantic agreement in the singular. I have shown in the

601   discussion above that this example of a singular hybrid shows less of a preference for

602   semantic agreement than the plural hybrids. All other hybrids are only found in the plural.

603   With respect to agreement marking, the examples above have shown that Eegimaa hybrids

604   always control obligatory syntactic agreement on definite determiners, but semantic

605   agreement is strongly preferred on demonstratives, adjectives and on agreement targets from

606   the rightmost levels of the Agreement Hierarchy (e.g. relative clauses). The attributive level

607   of the Agreement Hierarchy is therefore split with Eegimaa hybrid nouns as summarized in

608   Figure 2 below[17]. The distribution of syntactic and semantic agreement with pure hybrids

609   corroborates predictions made by the Agreement Hierarchy that, if semantic agreement is

610   attested on the left position in the hierarchy it will also be attested in all right positions.

611   Figure 2: Hybrids in the Agreement Hierarchy.

612   Attributive   Predicate   Relative   Personal
                                               Pronoun   Pronoun

613

614 | NON-HUM | HUM | | HUM | | HUM | | HUM |
615
616
617

618   ## 4.2   Genre-specific mismatches: proverbs, songs and generic propositions

[17] The abbreviations HUM indicate that the agreement markers used at the relevant level of the Agreement Hierarchy is a marker of the 'human' Gender I (classes1 & 2 in the Africanist traditional approach). NON-HUM indicates that agreement markers from non-human genders are used at the attributive level with definite determiner. In other words, human-denoting hybrids discussed above use syntactic agreement markers from other genders but their semantic agreement on targets are those of the human gender.

619   There are contexts in which, non-human nouns which are not hybrids, and which belong to

620   genders other than Gender I, can optionally control semantic agreement with Gender I

621   singular on the verb, instead of the expected syntactic agreement. These are generally

622   situations where the non-human entity denoted by the controller noun is personified[18]. The

623   use of agreement mismatch is contextual rather than required. I have found these mismatches

624   mainly in fixed expression (some songs (cf. (37) and (38)) and in some proverbs (see (39)

625   and (40) below)[19]) and in spontaneous speech when a generic proposition is asserted as in

626   (46) below. Generic propositions, as Lyons (Lyons 1977: 194) defines them, say something

627   about the class of entities rather than a specific individual. Bassène (2015) describes the

628   agreement mismatches in proverbs in several Jóola languages (Kaasa Fulup, Kuwaataay,

629   Keerak, Fogni and Eegimaa (Banjal)), and analyses the mismatches as expressions of generic

630   expression. Creissels (2013) also analyzes the difference between syntactic and semantic

631   agreement in cases like these, as a distinction between a reference to an individual and a

632   reference to a kind respectively. In all the contexts in which these agreement mismatches are

633   found, semantic agreement occurs at only the predicate level of the Agreement Hierarchy

634   where it alternates with syntactic agreement without change in meaning. Note that in

635   elicitation context, syntactic agreement is generally the only form produced.

636   Examples (37) and (38) are two consecutive lines of a song in which the first one shows a

637   noun from Gender IV singular, 'bull', which triggers human Gender I singular agreement on

638   the verb 'chase', but in the next line in (38), syntactic agreement is produced at the

639   pronominal level on the object marker, with no possibility to alternate with semantic

---

[18] Personification is done in Eegimaa by attaching NCP *ja-* to nouns denoting non-human entities e.g. *ja-jjamen* 'Goat' instead of *e-jjamen* 'a goat', and by using GI agreement on all targets in the singular and the plural. In the plural the associative suffix *-i* must be added to the noun as in *ja-jjamen-i* 'Goat and his fellows' to express plurality of personified entities. This kind of personification is mostly found in folktales. In instances of mismatches discussed here, only the verb takes GI agreement.

[19] These proverbs were provided in written form by one of my consultants (Matar Jibas Manga) who compiled a list of proverbs and popular expressions in Eegimaa in 2004. Note that the mismatch in agreement cannot be attributed to the written register since the Eegimaa orthography was not available yet. The consultant wrote these proverbs using the French orthography.

640 agreement. In both lines of the song, agreement with the human singular Gender I indicates a

641 form of personification of the bull. Such personification is however not maintained

642 throughout the text as can be seen in examples (38). Note that the plural of Gender I is never

643 used in this context. This form of semantic agreement, which has not been reported in

644 previous work, does not fit the generic reference interpretation which is applicable for

645 proverbs, since the referent is an individual entity. I analyse this as a form of genre-specific

646 mismatches resulting from personification.

647   (37)   Non-human semantic agreement at the predicate level in a song.

648   **fí**-jjin   **a**-ham   bu-yyan

649   **fu-/gu**-bull(IV.SG)   **I.3SG**-chase bu-/u-heifer(III.SG)

650   'A bull chases a heifer.' (ss20040820_búhut)

651   (38)   Non-human semantic agreement at the pronoun level.

652   Elubalir   gu-jo-lo   **fo**

653   Elubalir(**I.PL/II.SG**)   I.3PL-catch-VEN **IV.SG.PRO**

654   'People from Elubalir caught it and brought it.' (ss20040820_búhut)

655 Examples (39) and (40) also illustrates other genre-specific mismatches in proverbs similar to

656 mismatches in (37) above. In example (39) a noun from Gender IV singular controls Gender I

657 singular agreement on the verb, while in (40) it is a noun from Gender VI singular that

658 controls Gender I singular agreement at the same level of the hierarchy. As it is the case for

659 (37) above, these mismatches in gender illustrate cases of personification of the entities

660 described by the controller nouns in these examples. The alternation between syntactic

661 agreement and semantic agreement with Gender I Singular is not attested in all proverbs.

662 Agreement mismatches such as those in (39) and (40) may be termed deliberate mismatches,

663 where a non-human entity is given human attributes, and where the speaker can choose

664 between syntactic and semantic agreement. In proverbs such as the one illustrated in (41)

665 there is no personification, and syntactic agreement is obligatory.

28

666 (39) Semantic agreement at the predicate level with proverbs.

667 **fú**-hun **á**-bu-rit / **fú**-bu-rit ga-poroh
668 fu-/gu-kind.of.fish(IV.SG) I.3SG-beget-HAB.NEG/ IV.SG-beget-HAB.NEG ga-/u-carp(V.SG)
669 'A 'fúhun' fish does not beget a carp.' (ss-Jibas2004_Proverbs)

670 (40) Semantic agreement at the predicate level with proverbs.

671 **jí**-çil **a**-ffas-ut / **ji**-ffas-ut a-ssanum
672 ji-/gu-eye(VI.SG) I.3SG-know-NEG / VI.SG-know-NEG a-/u-rich.person(I.SG)
673 'lit: an eye does not know a rich person. (The mere sight of a person does not
674 reveal how rich they are.' (ss-Jibas2004_Proverbs)

675 (41) Obligatory syntactic agreement with proverbs.

676 **f-al** **fí**-ssikki mánoman **fu**-baj-e e-ttam
677 f-/g-river(IV.SG) IV.SG-be.deep however IV.SG-have-CPL e-/si-earth(II.SG)
678 'No matter how deep a river is, it has a bottom.' (ss-Jibas2004_Proverbs)

679 In terms of restrictions imposed by the Agreement Hierarchy, it is difficult to find a context

680 in which semantic agreement would be acceptable at the attributive level with proverbs.

681 However one could easily imagine a situation in which a speaker may want to restrict the

682 general truth expressed by a proverb to a specific situation, for example by modifying the

683 head nouns with an adjective in the proverbs illustrated in (39) and (40) above. As shown in

684 examples (42) and (43) below, only the use of syntactic agreement at the attributive level

685 would produce grammatical sentences.

686 (42) Ungrammatical semantic agreement at the attributive level with proverbs.

687 **fú**-hun **fú**-ttut/ *á-ttut **á**-bu-rit ga-poroh
688 fu-/gu-kind.of.fish(IV.SG) IV.SG.original /*I.SG.original I.3SG-beget-HAB.NEG ga-/u-carp(V.SG)
689 'A original 'fúhun' fish does not beget a carp.' (ss20130920_AmT)

690 (43) Ungrammatical semantic agreement at the attributive level with proverbs.

691 **jí**-çil **ji**-rakkel/ *a-rakkel **a**-ffas-ut a-ssanum
692 ji-/gu-eye(VI.SG) VI.SG-nude/ *I.SG-nude I.3SG-know-NEG a-/u-rich.person(I.SG)
693 'lit: A naked eye cannot identify a rich person.' (ss20130920_AmT)

694 With respect to the positions in the Agreement Hierarchy beyond the predicate level, it is also

695 possible to imagine a situation in which a speaker follows up the utterance of the proverbs

696   above with their explanations by adding (44) below as an explanation to (39) above and (45)

697   below as an explanation to (40) above.

698   (44)   Possible semantic agreement at the pronominal level with proverbs.

699   mata   e-ogil-**ol**   e-let   y-aa   ga-poroh
700   because   e-/su-seed(II.SG)-**3SG.POSS**   II.SG-not.be   II.SG-of   ga-/u-carp(V.SG)
701   'Lit: Because his milt is not that of a carp.' (ss20130920_AmT)

702   (45)   Possible semantic agreement at the pronominal level with proverbs.

703   mata   bu-jug-**ol**   nahi   bí-ti-ttij
704   because   bu-/u-see(III.SG)-**3SG.POSS**   HAB   III.SG-stop-REDUP
705   'Lit: Because his sight does have a limit.' (ss20130920_AmT)

706   In both cases, only semantic agreement is acceptable. Consequently, when semantic

707   agreement occurs in proverbs as those illustrated here, it follows the predictions of the

708   Agreement Hierarchy. Since semantic agreement is attested at the predicate level, it is, as

709   expected from the prediction also found at the personal pronoun level which is located to the

710   right of the predicate level. However, as shown in (42) and (43) above, the attributive level of

711   the hierarchy is not split as it is the case for human hybrids discussed in Section 4.1 above.

712   Example (46) below illustrates a third and previously unstudied subtype of semantic

713   agreement mismatch collected from spontaneous speech, where semantic agreement on the

714   verb is chosen over syntactic agreement[20] exemplified in (47). These examples illustrate

715   instances where generic propositions are asserted to describe habitual facts, experience or the

716   general truth about the characteristics of an entity.

---

[20] The speaker was describing the medicinal properties of the Acasia albida tree.

717   (46)   Semantic agreement in generic propositions.

718   **bú**-taful   náh-**á**-sotte-ssotten

719   bu-/u-Acacia.albida(**III.SG**)   HAB-**I.3SG**-cure-REDUP

720   'lit: The Acacia albida tree does treat illnesses.' (ss20130930_bútaful)

721   (47)   Syntactic agreement in generic propositions.

722   **bú**-taful   nahi   **bú**-sotte-ssotten

723   bu-/u-Acacia.albida(**III.SG**)   HAB   **III.SG**-cure-REDUP

724   'lit: The Acacia albida tree does cure (produce medicine).'

725   Similar to (39) and (40) above, semantic agreement with Gender I singular in the examples

726   above, is an instance of personification of a non-human entity in a context where something

727   is said about the properties of a class of entities. The genericity interpretation proposed for

728   proverbs can also be applied here. In this case it is the use of parts of a kind of tree for

729   medicinal purposes which is explained. Example (46) shows an instance of personification

730   where a non-human entity is conceived of as an agent performing an action like treating,

731   normally performed by humans, hence the human agreement. Example (47) may be

732   interpreted differently from (46) with the meaning that the tree produces medicine, and then

733   can be used by a human for treatment, but it is not metaphorically viewed as doing the

734   treatment. In addition to semantic agreement of the type exemplified in (46) above, it is also

735   possible as with proverbs discussed above, to imagine a situation in which an adjective

736   modifies the controller noun of example (47) above. However, the agreement marker in this

737   case must show consistent agreement with the controller, and semantic agreement is not

738   acceptable. Example (49) shows that it is possible to have semantic agreement at the position

739   of the personal pronoun in the hierarchy if the personification of the non-human entity is

740   expressed beyond the predicate level.

741   (48)   Possible syntactic agreement at the attributive level with habitual expressions.

742   **bú**-taful   **bu**-ffan/ *a-ffan   náh-**á**-sotte-ssotten

743   bu-/u-Acacia.albida(**III.SG**)   **III.SG**-old/ *I.SG-old   HAB-**I.3SG**-cure-REDUP

744   'lit: The old Acacia albida tree does cure (produce medicine).'

745   (49)   Possible semantic agreement at the pronoun level with habitual expressions.

746   mata   u-pal-**ol**   bu-bun

747   because   ga-/u-bark(V.PL)-**3SG.POSS**   bu-/u-medicine(III.SG)

748   'Because 'his/her' barks are medicine.'

749 In summary, this section has shown instances of agreement mismatches where the choice

750 between syntactic and semantic agreement is motivated by personification (see example (37)

751 above) in genres including songs, proverbs, and in the assertion of generic propositions. In

752 terms of Agreement Hierarchy, we have seen the case of example (38) where semantic

753 agreement occurs at the predicate level, but syntactic agreement is used on the pronoun where

754 any attempts to use semantic agreement produces an ungrammatical sentence. We have also

755 seen that with proverbs and expressions of generic propositions, semantic agreement occurs

756 on the verbs.

757   5   Constructional mismatches

758 The nouns examined in this section include those which, in addition to controlling syntactic

759 agreement can, as will be shown in 5.2 below, also function as hybrids. However, these nouns

760 differ from 'pure' hybrids examined in Section 4 above, in that they have the property of also

761 controlling locative semantic agreement in adverbial clauses and with adverbial relativizes,

762 which are in the same paradigm as object pronouns. This is why they are treated in this

763 section, along with 'pure location nouns', which also trigger locative semantic agreement, but

764 do not all function as hybrids (see Section 5.3 below). Since the variation in agreement

765 features in locative semantic agreement is predominantly due to the type of constructions

766 (e.g. relative clauses) the nouns appear in, and not specific lexemes, they are analysed as

767 kinds of constructional mismatches. I begin this section with a presentation of locative in

768 Eegimaa.

769   5.1   Locatives in Eegimaa

770   Eegimaa has three types of spatial locatives which take NCPs *t(i)-*, *b-*, and *d-*

771   and express the meanings of precise location (see example (50)), general location (see (51))

772   and location inside as exemplified in (52). General location is expressed with Gender III

773   singular agreement as can be seen in (51). The nouns with which these locatives attach to are

774   *ti-nah* 'sun/precise time' and *t-iñ* 'precise location', *b-iñ* 'general location' and *d-iñ* 'location

775   inside'. Spatial locatives comparable to inquorate genders in that they combine with very few

776   nouns. They all combine with one nominal root; *-iñ* 'location', except 'precise location'

777   which has *ti-nah* 'sun/precise time' as an additional noun. There is also one temporal locative

778   gender marker *n-*. Although no lexeme is associated with it, it is used in some agreement

779   targets to indicate the time when an event occurs (see (53)). The Eegimaa locatives are

780   dedicated locative genders and do not participate in singular plural pairing. More examples of

781   locative agreement are given in the next section, supporting the argument that they behave

782   like other genders in terms of agreement. As can be seen in the examples below, locatives

783   control syntactic agreement.

784   (50)   Precise location with *t-*.

785   t-iñ   **toutu**   tí-jjebi-jjebi

786   t-place(**VIII**)   **VIII**.DEF   **VIII**.be.wet-**REDUP**

787   'That place is wet'

788   (51)   General location with *b-* (Gender III.SG).

789   b-iñ   **boubu**   bu-mmo-moç

790   b-place(**VIII.SG**)   **III.SG**.DEF   **III.SG**-be.dark-**REDUP**

791   'That place is dark'

792   (52)   Location inside *d-*.

793   **d**-iñ   **d**óutu   dí-ssikki-ssikki

794   d-place(**IX**)   **IX**.DEF   **IX**-be.deep-**REDUP**

795   'That place deep'

796   (53)   Temporal location *n-*.

797   **n**-ánonan   **n**-o   nu-maŋ-e

798   **n**-whenever(**X**)   **X**-PRO.REL   **REAL.2SG**-want-CPL

799   'Whenever you want.'

5.2   Human collectivity nouns

801 Nouns referred to as human collectivity nouns are those which denote associations or

802 institutions. They can control two types of semantic agreement in addition to syntactic

803 agreement. The first type of semantic agreement which will be termed human semantic

804 agreement occurs when these nouns function as hybrids, whereas the second one which will

805 be called locative semantic agreement is found in adverbial relativizations. The loanword

806 *larme* 'the army' is a prefixless noun in the singular. It triggers syntactic agreement as in

807 exemplified in (54) and (55), but plural human semantic agreements as illustrated in

808 examples (56).

809   (54)   Syntactic agreement with human collectivity nouns.

810   larme   **ɣayu**   **y**-aa   Senegal   **e**-baj-e   s-embe
811   [∅-]army(**II.SG**)   **II.SG**.DEF   **II.SG**-of   Senegal   **II.SG**-have-CPL   CLs-strength(**II.PL**)
812   'The Senegalese army is strong (lit: has strength).' (s20130801_MNS)

813   (55)   Syntactic agreement – collective meaning.

814   larme   **e**-eg-e   u-jow
815   [∅-]army(**II.SG**)   **II.SG**-say-CPL   2SG-go
816   'The army is calling you (lit: says you go).' (s20130801_MNS)

817   (56)   Semantic agreement (mismatch in Gender and Number).

818   larme   **gu**-og-e   u-jow
819   [∅-]army(**II.SG**)   **I.PL**-say-CPL   2SG-go
820   'The army is calling you (lit: they say you go).' (ss20130801_MNS)

821   Syntactic agreement as exemplified in (54) and (55) point at the entity which the noun refers

822   to. In example (56) the singular noun *larme* functions as a hybrid, and semantic agreement is

823   expressed by a mismatch in gender and number with the target taking human plural

824   agreement.

825   In addition to cases of human semantic agreement like the one discussed in (56) above, where

826   the referents are humans, human collectivity nouns also control semantic agreement with

827   locative genders. Locative expressions, as discussed above, always trigger syntactic

828   agreement in Eegimaa. However, although human collectivity nouns are not primarily

829   locative expressions, they can trigger semantic agreement with locative genders, resulting in

830   mismatches at the level of the adverbial relativizer pronoun. This would correspond to

831   semantic agreement at the levels of the relative pronoun and the personal pronouns in the

832   Agreement Hierarchy. Example (57) which expresses general location shows syntactic

833   agreement on the noun phrase and human semantic agreement on the verb, but it controls

834   locative semantic agreement on the adverbial relativizer. In this example, the army is

835   conceptualised as an unspecified geographical location and the individual referred to is

836 associated with the army but may not be a member of it. Note that syntactic agreement with

837 Gender II agreement is also possible on the verb.

838   (57)   Human semantic agreement (GI) on verb & locative semantic agreement (GIII)
839   on the adverbial relativizer (general location).

840   larme   yayu   ɓ-o   na-am-en me   **gu**-ham-ul-ol-ham
841   [∅-]army(**II.SG**) **II.SG**.DEF **III.SG**-PRO.REL I.SG-COP-PST SUBORD **I.PL**-chase-VEN-3SG.OBJ-REDUP
842   '(People in) the army where he was have chased him away.' (Part-Obsv)

843 In example (58), the controller noun *larme* also triggers syntactic agreement on the definite

844 determiner, but human semantic agreement on the verb, and locative semantic agreement on

845 the adverbial relativizer. Here, the army is conceived of as a location inside a place. The

846 sentence describes a situation in which the individual referred to is a member of the army,

847 conceived of as an entity with an inside.

848   (58)   Human semantic agreement on the verb and locative agreement on adverbial
849   relativizer (location inside).

850   larme   yayu   ɗ-ó   na-am-en   me   **gu**-ham-ul-ol-ham
851   [∅-]army(**II.SG**) **II.SG**.DEF **IX**-PRO.REL REAL.I.SG-COP-PST SUBORD **I.PL**-chase-VEN-3SG.OBJ-
852   REDUP
853   '(People in) the army of which he was part have kicked him out.'
854   (ss20130801_MNS)

855 Precise location is odd with human collectivity nouns of the 'army' type as exemplified in

856 (59) below, probably because of nouns like 'army' do not refer to entities that are confined to

857 a precise place.

858   (59)   Ungrammatical use of human collectivity nouns with precise location.
859   *larme   yayu   ʈo   na-am-en   me   **gu**-ham-ul-ol-ham
860   [∅-]army(**II.SG**) **II.SG**.DEF **VIII**-PRO.REL REAL.I.SG-COP-PST SUBORD   **I.PL**-chase-VEN-3SG.OBJ-
861   REDUP
862   '(People in) the army where (precise location) he was have kicked him out.'
863   (ss20130801_MNS)

864 Examples (57) to (59) show that with human collectivity nouns, human semantic agreement

865 always occurs at the predicate position of the Agreement Hierarchy, whereas locative

866 semantic agreement is only attested with the adverbial relativizer. As predicted by the

867 Hierarchy when semantic agreement is attested at the level of the relative pronoun, it is also

868 found at the level of the personal pronouns. Here these levels of the Agreement Hierarchy are

869 illustrated with adverbial relativizers exemplified above, and locative adverbs shown in

870 example (60) below. Note that these adverbs occur in the same paradigm as relative pronouns

871 and personal pronouns, hence the gloss PRO.

872   (60)   Semantic agreement with locative adverbs.

873   na-ag-e   mati   a-bbañ   **b**-o/**d**-ó

874   REAL.I.SG-say-CPL   FUT.NEG   I.SG-return   **III.SG**-PRO/**IX**-PRO

875   'He said he will not go back there/in there.' (ss20130801_MNS)

876 Human collectivity nouns of the army type cannot control locative semantic agreement on the

877 verb as shown in (61), or at a higher level as would be expected following the Agreement

878 Hierarchy predictions.

879   (61)   Ungrammaticality of locative semantic agreement with verbs.

880   *larme   **yayu**   **du**-ham-ul-ol-ham

881   [∅-]army(**II.SG**)   **II.SG**.DEF   **IX**-chase-VEN-3SG.OBJ-REDUP

882   '(People in) the army where he was have chased him away.' (Part-Obsv)

883 In summary, human collectivity nouns can control both syntactic and semantic agreement.

884 There are two kinds of semantic agreement which can be controlled by human collectivity

885 nouns; human semantic agreement and locative semantic agreement. The discussion above

886 showed that whenever semantic agreement occurs, syntactic agreement is obligatory at the

887 attributive level of the Agreement Hierarchy, but it is not split as it is the case for the hybrids

888 discussed in Section 4 above. Human semantic agreement is only found from the predicate

889 position of the hierarchy whereas locative agreement only occurs from the relative pronoun

890 positions, on the adverbial relativizers and the locative adverbs as shown in Figure 3 below.

891 A key observation with human collectivity nouns is that these two types of agreement behave

892 differently in the Agreement Hierarchy.

893 Figure 3: Semantic agreement with human collectivity nouns

894

895

896
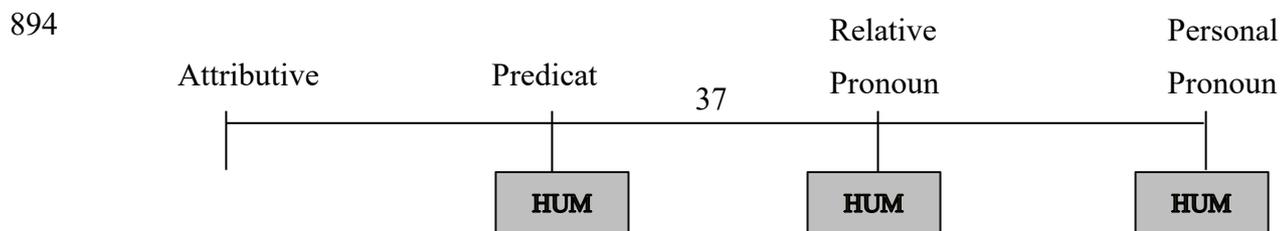
> NON HUM

5.3 Pure location nouns

Location nouns are nouns that denote spatial or temporal locations. We can distinguish three semantic subcategories of what is referred to as *pure location nouns*. The first subcategory includes nouns like 'village' which denote places and additionally, human referents who are associated with those places. The second subcategory describes nouns like 'forest' which denote places but cannot have human referents, and third subcategory of pure location nouns are those describing time location.

5.3.1 Pure location nouns describing human collectivities

The nouns investigated in this section are those which can function both as *location* nouns and collective nouns of the *committee* type. These nouns denote places where humans live or congregate. Examples include *village* and *house,* which denote physical location as well as groups of people. The different uses of these nouns to describe either a location of a group of peoples have consequences for the agreements they trigger on some of their targets. When a location noun triggers syntactic agreement on all its dependents it refers to the physical location denoted by the noun as in (62) and (63) below. Thus, the nouns in these examples denote a village as a geographical location and a house as a building respectively.

913   (62)   Syntactic agreement with the location noun *é-suh* 'village'.

914   é-suh   **ya**yu   **y-**o   si-bandi   sasu   su-fum   me
915   e-/su-village(**II.SG**) **II.SG**.DEF **II.SG**-PRO.REL e-/su-bandit(II.PL) II.PL.DEF II.PL-break SUBORD

916   ga-jow   **y-**o   Faŋot
917   ga-name(V.SG)   **II.SG**-PRO   Faŋot
918   'The   village   which   the   bandits   have   destroyed   is   called   Faŋot:'
919   (ss20130801_MNS)

920   (63)   Syntactic agreement with the location noun *y-aŋ* 'house'.

921   y-aŋ   **ya**yu   **y-**o   na-ttep   me   **e**-mmo-moç
922   y-/s-house(**II.SG**) **II.SG**.DEF **II.SG**-PRO.REL REAL.I.3SG-build SUBORD **II.SG**-dark-REDUP
923   'The house which he built is dark.' (ss20130801_MNS)

As can be seen in the examples above, when nouns denote physical locations they trigger syntactic agreement on all targets. This is evident from the agreement markers on the definite determiners and the relative pronouns in both examples (62) and (63), but also on the independent pronoun in (62) and the agreeing verbal target in (63), which all take Gender II singular agreement consistently. Notice that the change in the form of the agreement marker is phonologically conditioned, with the semi-vowel *y-* occurring before vowels, whereas the vowel *e-* occurs before consonants.

In addition to syntactic agreement, locative nouns of the 'village' and 'house' types can also trigger semantic agreement on adverbial relativizers and locative adverbs using Gender III singular agreement marker, and the agreement markers of the non-pairing locatives Gender VIII and IX to express general location as exemplified in (64), precise location as in (65), and location inside a place as in (66), respectively. However, semantic agreement using locatives is not acceptable with targets at the attributive level and with verbs as shown by the ungrammaticality of example (67) below, where the agreement markers from Gender III, VIII are attempted at the predicate level.

939 (64) Locative semantic agreement with Gender III - General location.

940 é-suh   ɣayu   b-o   e-soddali   ɣayu   g-oom me
941 e-/su-village(II.SG) II.SG.DEF III.SG-PRO.REL e-/su-soldier(II.SG/I.PL) II.SG.DEF I.3PL.be SUBORD
942   'The village where (general location) the soldiers are.' (ss20130801_MNS)

943 (65) Locative semantic agreement with Gender VIII - Precise location.

944 é-suh   ɣayu   t-o   e-soddali   ɣayu   g-oom me
945 e-/su-village(II.SG) II.SG.DEF VIII-PRO.REL e-/su-soldier(II.SG/I.PL) II.SG.DEF I.3PL.be SUBORD
946   'The village where (precise location) the soldiers are.'

947 (66) Locative semantic agreement with Gender IX - location inside a place.

948 é-suh   ɣayu   d-ó   e-soddali   ɣayu   **g**oom me
949 e-/su-village(II.SG) II.SG.DEF IX-PRO.REL e-/su-soldier(II.SG/I.PL) II.SG.DEF I.3PL.be SUBORD
950   'The village in which the soldiers are (location inside)' (ss20130801_MNS)

951 (67) Ungrammatical locative semantic agreement on the verb.

952 é-suh   ɣayu   *bu-mmo-moç   / *ti-mmo-moç /*dí-mmo-moç
953 e-/su-village(II.SG) II.SG.DEF III.SG-dark-REDUP / VIII-dark-REDUP /IX-dark-REDUP
954   'The village is dark.' (ss20130801_MNS)

955 Location nouns also describe human collectivities as pointed out earlier. In this context, a

956 noun like *é-suh* 'village' would refer to the inhabitants of the place, while *yaŋ* 'house' refers

957 to the members of a family or a lineage. When used in a collective sense for humans, locative

958 nouns of the 'house' and 'village' types control two types of agreement. Syntactic agreement

959 as in (68), where the controller noun triggers Gender II agreement on the verb and semantic

960 agreement as in (69), where there is a mismatch in gender and number with the singular noun

961 *yaŋ* 'house' triggering human Gender I plural agreement on the verb. Semantically, example

962 (68) can be interpreted as describing a group of individuals conceptualised as a unit.

963   (68)   Syntactic agreement with collective meaning.

964   **y-**áŋ-oli   **e-**joj-erut

965   **y-/s-**house(**II.SG**)-1PL.EXCL   **II.SG**-meet-FUT.NEG

966   'Our house (family) has not met yet.' (ss20130801_MNS)

967   (69)   Semantic agreement with a mismatch in gender and number.

968   **y-**áŋ-oli   **gu-**joj-erut

969   **y-/s-**house(**II.SG**)-1PL.EXCL   **I.3PL**-meet-FUT.NEG

970   'Our house (family) have not met yet.' (ss20130801_MNS)

When location nouns are used as collectives for humans, semantic agreement is only

permissible on verbs (see example (71)), and as a result it is also permissible at the level of

the relative pronoun and personal pronoun, but not with attributive modifiers as shown in

examples (70) and (72) below where only syntactic agreement is possible with the

adjective -*ámah* 'big'.

976   (70)   Syntactic agreement with adjectives triggered by *yaŋ* 'house'.

977   **y-**áŋ-oli   yayu   **y-**ámah   yayu   **e-**joj-erut

978   **y-/s-**house(**II.SG**)-1PL.EXCL **II.SG.DEF**   **II.SG**-big   **II.SG.DEF**   **II.SG**-meet-FUT.NEG

979   'Our big family has not met yet.' (ss20130801_MNS)

980   (71)   Semantic agreement on predicate triggered by *yaŋ* 'house'.

981   **y-**áŋ-oli   yayu   **y-**ámah   yayu   **gu-**joj-erut

982   **y-/s-**house(**II.SG**)-1PL.EXCL **II.SG.DEF**   **II.SG**-big   **II.SG.DEF**   **I.3PL**-meet-FUT.NEG

983   'Our big family have not met yet.' (ss20130801_MNS)

984   (72)   Ungrammatical semantic agreement with adjectives triggered by *yaŋ* 'house'.

985   *****y-**áŋ-oli   yayu   **bug-**ámah   **bug**agu   **gu-**joj-erut

986   **y-/s-**house(**II.SG**)-1PL.EXCL **II.SG.DEF**   **I.PL**-big   **I.PL.DEF**   **I.3PL**-meet-FUT.NEG

987   'The big family have not met yet.' (ss20130801_MNS)

Locative nouns denoting humans behave like human collectivity nouns in the Agreement

Hierarchy (see Figure 3 above), in that they can control locative semantic agreement on the

adverbial relativizers and locative adverbs, but they also trigger human semantic agreement

which is only attested from the predicate position of the Agreement Hierarchy.

5.3.2   Pure location nouns with no human referents

993 'Pure' location nouns are those that trigger syntactic agreement and locative semantic

994 agreement only. They never control human semantic agreement. Syntactic agreement is

995 illustrated by the consistent use of Gender III agreement in all dependents of the controller

996 noun *ba-ha* 'forest' in example (73) below. The form of the agreement markers on targets in

997 example (74) is similar to those of example (73). However, example (74) is a case of

998 semantic agreement because the adverbial relativizer denotes a location rather than the forest

999 itself. As in example (64) above the agreement on the adverbial relativizer is a semantic

1000 agreement which expresses general location with Gender III singular.

1001   (73)   Syntactic agreement with Gender III.

1002   **b**a-ha   **b**abu   **b**-o   ná-ggat   me   **bi**-çi-ccin

1003   ba-/u-forest**(III.SG)** **III.SG**.DEF **III.SG**-PRO.REL REAL.I.3SG-pass SUBORD **III.SG**-inhabit-REDUP

1004   'The forest which he passed is haunted.' (ss20130801_MNS)

1005   (74)   Semantic agreement with Gender III – General location.

1006   **b**a-ha   **b**abu   **b**-o   ná-mmori   me   **bi**-çi-ccin

1007   ba-/u-forest**(III.SG)** **III.SG**.DEF **III.SG**-PRO.REL REAL.I.3SG-sleep SUBORD **III.SG**-inhabit-REDUP

1008   'The forest where s/he slept is haunted (general location).' (ss20130801_MNS)

1009 The other cases of semantic agreement found with pure location nouns as those exemplified

1010 in (75) and (76), express precise location and location inside a place. Location nouns of the

1011 *ba-ha* 'forest' types cannot control locative semantic agreement on the verb.

1012   (75)   Semantic agreement with Gender IX - location inside.

1013   **b**a-ha   **b**abu   **d**-ó   ná-mmori   me   **bi**-çi-ccin

1014   ba-/u-forest**(III.SG)** **III.SG**.DEF **IX**-PRO.REL REAL.I.SG-sleep SUBORD **III.SG**-inhabit-REDUP

1015   'The forest in which s/he slept is haunted.' (ss20130801_MNS)

1016   (76)   Semantic agreement with Gender VIII - precise location.

1017   **b**a-ha   **b**abu   **t**-o   ná-mmori   me   **bi**-çi-ccin

1018   ba-/u-forest**(III.SG)** **III.SG**.DEF **VIII**-PRO.REL REAL.I.SG-sleep SUBORD **III.SG**-inhabit-REDUP

1019   'The forest where he slept is haunted (precise location).' (ss20130801_MNS)

1020 In terms of Agreement Hierarchy, only the levels of the relative pronoun and the personal

1021 pronoun can take locative semantic agreement. Semantic agreement with attributive

1022 modifiers is not possible as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (77) where the precise

1023 location is used with the adjective and the definite determiner.

1024   (77)   Ungrammatical semantic agreement at the attributive level with location nouns.

1025   ***b**a-ha   **b**a**b**u   **t**-ámah   **t**a**t**u

1026   ba-/u-forest**(III.SG)**   **III.SG**.DEF   **VIII**-big   **VIII.SG**.DEF

1027   'The big forest…' (ss20130801_MNS)

5.3.3   Agreement with nouns denoting containers

1028

1029 Nouns denoting containers such as utensils also show both syntactic and semantic agreement.

1030 Semantic agreement is only possible with adverbial relativizers and locative adverbs as

1031 exemplified in (79) and (80) below. In all other cases, only syntactic agreement illustrated in

1032 (78) is attested. Notice that the only kind of semantic agreement attested with containers is

1033 with Gender IX which expressed location inside a place. Precise location and general location

1034 are not acceptable with nouns denoting containers. Similarly, to the other instances of

1035 semantic agreement discussed above, semantic agreement with containers follows the

1036 predictions made by the Agreement Hierarchy.

1037   (78)   Syntactic agreement with container nouns.

1038   **ga**-riloŋ   **g**a**g**u   **g**-ámah **g**a**g**u   **g**-a-pos-i   me   u-**g**-u

1039   ga-/u-pot**(V.SG)**   **V.SG**.DEF **V.SG**-big **V.SG**.DEF **V.SG**-REL-wash-PASS SUBORD COP-**V.SG**-MED

1040   'Here is the cooking pot that was washed.' (ss20130801_MNS)

1041   (79)   Semantic agreement at the attributive level with Gender IX - location inside.

1042   **ga**-riloŋ   **g**a**g**u   **d**-ó   nú-ssil   me

1043   ga-/u-pot**(V.SG)**   **V.SG**.DEF **IX**-PRO.REL   REAL.2SG-cook   SUBORD

1044   'The cooking pot in which you cooked.' (ss20130801_MNS)

1045   (80)   Semantic agreement on locative adverbs with Gender IX – location inside.

1046   pan   i-tiñ   **d**-ó,   ni   **ga**-riloŋ   **g**a**g**u

1047   FUT   1SG-eat   **IX**-PRO.REL PREP   ga-/u-pot**(V.SG)** **V.SG**.DEF

1048   'Lit: I will eat inside, in the cooking pot.' (ss20130801_MNS)

1049 In summary, pure location nouns differ from those which can also be used as collective nouns

1050 for humans in that they cannot trigger human semantic agreement. However, they are similar

1051 to the latter in that they can control locative semantic agreement in which case semantic

1052 agreement is only attested at the level of the relative pronoun and the personal pronoun in the

1053 Agreement Hierarchy.

1054 **5.3.4 Time location nouns**

1055 Nouns denoting time location trigger syntactic agreement on their dependents using the

1056 agreement markers of the gender to which they belong. This is illustrated in (81) below where

1057 the loanword *e-taŋ* 'time' controls Gender II agreement on all its dependents. Syntactic

1058 agreement indicates that the speakers is saying something about a particular time location

1059 rather than locating an event in a precise time.

1060   (81)   Syntactic agreement with Gender II - time location.

1061   **e-**taŋ   **ya**yu   **y-**o   na-lob   me   **e-**çig-erut
1062   e-/su-time(**II.SG**) **II.SG**.DEF **II.SG**-PRO.REL REAL.I.SG-say   SUBORD   **II.SG**-arrive-FUT.NEG
1063   'The time he talked about has not come yet.' (ss20131221_AmT)

1064 Nouns denoting time location also trigger semantic agreement to express precise time

1065 location when an event took place. With this category of nouns, only semantic agreement

1066 with Gender X is acceptable. As one would expect, they are not compatible with human

1067 semantic agreement or locative semantic agreement. Semantic agreement with time location

1068 nouns only occurs with adverbial relativizers at the level of the relative pronoun in the

1069 Agreement Hierarchy and with the locative adverb at the level of the personal pronouns as

1070 illustrated in (82) and (83) below. This confirms the Agreement Hierarchy predictions that if

1071 semantic agreement is acceptable in one position on the left of the hierarchy, it will also be

1072 accepted on the positions on the right.

1073   (82)   Semantic agreement with Gender X - precise time location.

1074   e-taŋ   ɣaɣu   **n**-o   na-lob   me   ɛ́-ggal-e

1075   e-/su-time(**II.SG**)   **II.SG**.DEF   **X**-PRO.REL   REAL.I.SG-say   SUBORD   **II.SG**-arrive-FUT.NEG

1076   'The time when he spoke has passed.' (ss20131221_AmT)

1077   (83)   Semantic agreement with a locative adverb *no*.

1078   **n**-o   may   ni-jug-ol

1079   **X**-PRO   also   REAL.1SG-see-3SG.OBJ

1080   'That is also when I saw him.' (ss20131221_AmT)

1081 In short, nouns denoting time location can only trigger semantic agreement using Gender X.

1082 They are not compatible with human semantic agreement or other expression locative

1083 semantic agreement.

5.4 Conjoined noun phrases

1084

1085 When the controller is a conjoined NP, resolution rules are needed to specify the form of the

1086 targets (see Corbett 1991; 2006 for a typology). In Eegimaa (see Sagna 2008), different

1087 agreement mismatches occur when conjoined NPs belonging to the same or different genders

1088 control agreement. When one of the conjuncts denotes a human as in (84), the plural of

1089 Gender I is used as the agreement marker from the predicate level of the Agreement

1090 Hierarchy. If the two conjuncts belong to the same non-human gender as in (85), the default

1091 plural (Gender II) is used as an agreement marker on the verbs and the targets to its right in

1092 the Agreement Hierarchy. If two conjuncts denoting non-humans belong to different genders

1093 as in (86) the default agreement is also used. In the three cases of agreement mismatches,

1094 only the first, namely (84), is a case of semantic agreement according to the meaning of one

1095 of the conjuncts. The other two exemplified are instances default agreement.

1096 (84) Agreement mismatch in a conjoined NP - one conjuncts denotes a human.

1097 a-ssa-a   ahu   ni   e-joba-ol   **gú**-ggal-e

1098 a-/u-hunt-AGT(I.SG)   I.SG.DEF   and   e-/su-joba (II.SG)-1.SG.POSS   **I.3PL**-pass-CPL

1099 'The hunter and his dog have passed.'

1100 (85) Agreement mismatch in a conjoined NP - conjuncts from the same gender.

1101 m-al   mamu   ni   mú-hum   mamu   **sú**-uyyo-e

1102 m-water-(VI.PL)   VI.PL.DEF   and   mu-honey(II.PL)   VI.PL.DEF   **II.PL**-spill-CPL

1103 'The water and the honey spilled.'

1104 (86) Agreement mismatch in a conjoined NP – conjuncts from different genders.

1105 m-al   mamu   ni   bu-nuh   babu   **sú**-uyyo-e

1106 m-water-(VI.PL)   VI.PL.DEF   and   bu-palm.wine(III.SG)   III.SG.DEF   **II.PL**-spill-CPL

1107 'The water and the palm wine spilled.'

6   Conclusion

1109 Research on different manifestations of semantic agreement is rare in noun class system.

1110 There are however interesting observations to be made in a language like Eegimaa, especially

1111 when the analysis of semantic agreement is related to the Agreement Hierarchy. In this paper

1112 I examined both syntactic and semantic agreement in the Eegimaa noun class system. I

1113 showed that Eegimaa has collectives which are formed by nominal class and gender shift and

1114 which trigger syntactic agreement only. The investigation of various instances of semantic

1115 agreement revealed that there are two main types: human semantic agreement and locative

1116 semantic agreement. Human semantic agreement occurs with lexical hybrids, human

1117 collectivity nouns and location nouns of the 'house' and 'family' types which can also

1118 describe human collectivities. The data discussed in the paper demonstrates that most hybrids

1119 are split in that they behave as hybrids in the plural (there is only one noun that is a hybrid in

1120 both the singular and the plural). In this paper, I showed that human hybrids from Gender I

1121 and those from other genders (Gender II and V) trigger split syntactic and semantic

1122 agreement at the attributive level. However human collectivity nouns and location nouns do

1123 not trigger such a split when they control human semantic agreement in this case is only

1124   attested from the predicate level of the Agreement Hierarchy. The discussion in this paper

1125   also showed that locative semantic agreement which includes expressions of general location,

1126   precise location and location inside a place, only trigger locative semantic agreement on

1127   adverbial relativizers and locative adverbs, but never at the predicate level of the agreement

1128   hierarchy. The distribution of syntactic and semantic agreement on different levels of the

1129   hierarchy corroborates predictions made by the Agreement Hierarchy. An important finding

1130   presented in this paper is that human semantic agreement and locative semantic agreement

1131   behave differently in the Agreement Hierarchy.

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