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1 Syntactic and semantic agreement in Eegimaa (Banjal): an 2 account of lexical hybrids in an African noun class system¹

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 Eegimaa² 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

¹ The Support of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC grant ES/K0011922/1 and ES/P000304/1) is gratefully acknowledged here. I thank Matthew Baerman, Greville G. Corbett and Oliver Bond for reading and commenting on the drafts of this paper. I would also like to thank the other members of the Surrey Morphology Group namely Maris Camilleri, Marina Chumakina, Sebastian Fedden, Timothy Feist, Alexander Kratovitsky and Enrique Palancar for their comments and suggestions on an earlier version of this paper presented at the Surrey Morphology Group. I also thank Eva Schultze-Berndt, Dunstan Brown, Marilyn Vihman and Peter Sells for comments and suggestion. Finally, my thanks go to my audience at the Association for Linguistics Typology (ALT 2013) for their helpful questions and comments. I remain the sole responsible for any controversial claim made in this paper.

² 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) below³ where the
 35 controller noun *fi-ffilo* ‘sleeping place’ triggers agreement in gender (Gender IV) and number
 36 (singular) with its targets⁴.

- 37 (1) Syntactic agreement with a noun from Gender IV
- | | | | |
|----|---|-------------|----------------------|
| 38 | fi-ffilo | fafu | fu-lo-lof |
| 39 | CL fu-/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

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 systems in 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 dependent⁵. 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 yayu gu-vvugul gagu
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 CLe-/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

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 mismatches⁷, and Section 6 summarises the discussion.

105 **2 Definition of terms**

106 **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

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).

121 **2.2 Canonical typology**

122 As stated above, the Eegimaa agreement⁸ 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.

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 Eegimaa⁹ - 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 information¹⁰ (see Di Garbo
178 2014 for a study of how gender and number interact 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,

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 paddle’. 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) below¹¹ 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.

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)

215 In the traditional approach, the class membership of a noun is decided based on the
216 agreement it triggers rather than being based on the form of the prefix on the controller noun.
217 Consequently, when two nouns with the same number value - e.g. singular - have different
218 prefixes, as is the case for ‘panther’ and ‘hyena’ in examples (9) and (10), but trigger the
219 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.’

228 If two nouns have the same prefix but different agreement markers (cf. examples (8) and
229 (10)), they are treated as members of different classes, whether their number feature values
230 are the same or not. However, prefixes on nouns are also referred to as class markers, even
231 though class membership is determined by agreement. For example, both ‘soldier’ and
232 ‘hyena’ in examples (8) and (10) above will be said to take the class 3 NCP *e-*, though these
233 nouns would be classed as members of classes 2 (human plural) and 3 (default singular)
234 respectively, based on the agreement they trigger. Note that for the majority of Eegimaa
235 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 inqorate 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-
fū-/fī-	7	IV	8	gu-
		V		
ga-	9	VII		
ju-/ji-	11	VI	10	mu-
ñu-/ñi-	12			
tī-/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 paradigms¹².
 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.

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.

296 **3.2 Syntactic agreement in Eegimaa**

297 This section describes the main characteristics of syntactic agreement, and in doing so it sets
298 the scene for the discussion of the different kinds of semantic agreement provided in the next
299 sections.

300 Table 2, which presents agreement classes, where singular and plural agreement patterns are treated
301 as one unit referred to as a gender, also shows the patterns of syntactic agreement in Eegimaa.
302 Genders are labelled using roman numerals as can be seen in the Gender column. Agreement targets
303 used for illustration are demonstratives, pronouns, adjectives and verbal predicates. Genders VIII to
304 Gender X are locative genders and do not have singular-plural oppositions. Genders VIII and IX refer
305 to spatial location whereas Gender X, which has a lacunary distribution for most targets locates events
306 time. The Eegimaa inqorate genders are V/IV and VI/IV. They take the singular of one gender and
307 the plural of another gender. Table 2 also shows that agreement targets are mostly alliterative.
308 However, for some genders, there is no phonological relation between the different
309 agreement targets (cf. Gender I and Gender II). Several singular gender markers have the
310 same plural correspondence. Examples are Genders III and V. However, since the agreement
311 class approach used here combines both singular a plural into one agreement class or gender,
312 rather than treating singular and plural separately, the plural marker is not treated as a
313 separate class. Consequently, a syncretic plural like that of Genders III and V is treated as a
314 manifestation of the same gender as its singular correspondent (cf. Genders III, V and VII in
315 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	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>(n)a-</i>	<i>bug-</i>	<i>bug-</i>	<i>gu-</i>	<i>gu-</i>
II	<i>y-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>su-/si-</i>	<i>su-/si-</i>
III	<i>b-</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>bu-/bi-</i>	<i>bu-/bi-</i>	<i>w-</i>	<i>w-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-</i>
IV	<i>f-</i>	<i>f-</i>	<i>fu-/fi-</i>	<i>fu-/fi-</i>	<i>g-</i>	<i>g-</i>	<i>gu-</i>	<i>gu-</i>
V/IV	<i>g-</i>	<i>g-</i>	<i>gu-</i>	<i>gu-</i>	<i>g-</i>	<i>g-</i>	<i>gu-</i>	<i>gu-</i>
V	<i>g-</i>	<i>g-</i>	<i>gu-</i>	<i>gu-</i>	<i>w-</i>	<i>w-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-</i>
VI	<i>j-</i>	<i>j-</i>	<i>ju-/ji-</i>	<i>ju-/ji-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>
VI/IV	<i>j-</i>	<i>j-</i>	<i>ju-/ji-</i>	<i>ju-/ji-</i>	<i>g-</i>	<i>g-</i>	<i>gu-</i>	<i>gu-</i>
VII	<i>ñ-</i>	<i>ñ-</i>	<i>ñu-/ñi-</i>	<i>ñu-/ñi-</i>	<i>w-</i>	<i>w-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-</i>
VIII	<i>t-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>tu-/ti-</i>	<i>tu-/ti-</i>				
IX	<i>d-</i>	<i>d-</i>	<i>d-</i>	<i>du-/di-</i>				
X	-	<i>n-</i>	-					

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 *-ssit* ‘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 **gagu** **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 **babu** **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) below¹³.

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 **ba-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** **yayu** **e-ggoñ-e** **e-mmano** **yayu**
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.’

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

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

390 **e-banjale** **yayu** **g-a-jo-ulo** **me** **figen** **gu-ol-e**
391 CLa-/e-banjale(II.SG/I.PL) II.SG.DEF I.3PL-REL-go-VEN SUBORD yesterday I.3PL-go.home-CPL
392 ‘The people from Banjale who came yesterday have gone home.’
393 (ss20060420_HB)

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

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

398 4 Hybrid nouns in Eegimaa

399 Hybrid nouns are, as pointed out in the introduction, nouns which control different agreement
400 patterns on different targets (Corbett 1991; 2006; 2015). Lexical hybrids have been
401 investigated in various languages especially in Indo-European languages like German and
402 English (Corbett 1979; 2015; Hundt 2006; Levin 2001). In African languages, though the
403 existence of hybrids has been reported (see Corbett 1991 for references), research on hybrid
404 nouns is rare, and their relation with the Agreement Hierarchy has been even less
405 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 in Section 4.2.

412 **4.1 Lexical hybrids**

413 **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.

420 (19) Syntactic agreement with *bá-jur* ‘young woman’.

421	bá-jur	babu	bu-vvugul	babu	bu-kka-e
422	CL ba-/su -young.woman(III.SG)	III.SG.DEF	III.SG-new	III.SG.DEF	III.SG-go-CPL
423	‘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

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 **bá-jur** **babu umu nakk-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 bá-jur babu 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 **bá-jur babu a-vvugul ahu 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

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 yanoyan pan e-taj ni e-ppal¹⁶ y-o*
 553 **CLe-/su-champion(II.SG) II.SG.each FUT II.SG-fight PREP CLe-/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 sasú pan sí-taj ni sí-ppal s-o*
 557 **CLe-/su-champion(II.PL) II.PL.DEF FUT II.PL-fight PREP CLe-/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 sasú ubugu pan gu-taj ni gu-ppal-il*
 561 **CLe-/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

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** **gagu** 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** **wawu** 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

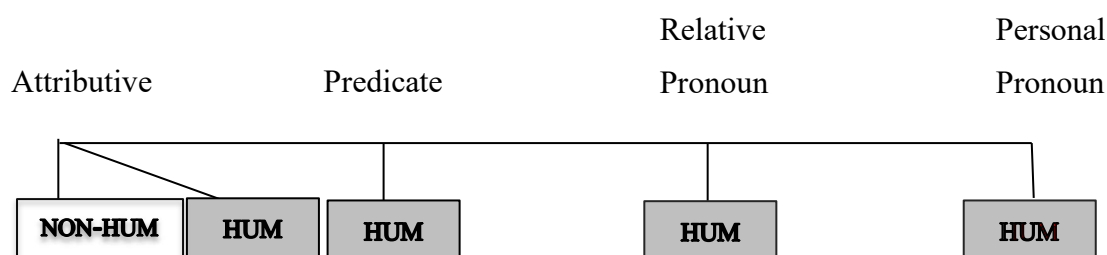
588 **ú-ffannum** **wawu** **ubugu** pan **gu-lob**
 589 **ga-/u-old.person(V.PL/ I.PL)** **V/PL.DEF** **I.PL.MED** FUT **I.3PL-speak**
 590 ni **gu-ppal-il**
 591 PREP **V.SG-friend-3PL.OBJ**
 592 ‘The old people will speak with their fellows.’ (ss20121222_MNS-JB)

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 below¹⁷. 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.



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 (classes 1 & 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 personified¹⁸. 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.

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** **ff-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-see(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 agreement²⁰ 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 *Acacia 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 inqorate 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** **dóutu** *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-mañ-e*
 798 **n-whensoever(X)** **X-PRO.REL** **REAL.2SG-want-CPL**
 799 ‘Whenever you want.’

800 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 *larne* ‘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 *lar*me **yayu** **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 *lar*me **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 *lar*me **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 *lar*me 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 *lar*me *yayu* *b-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 *lar*me 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 *lar*me *yayu* *d-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 **lar*me *yayu* *to* *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)

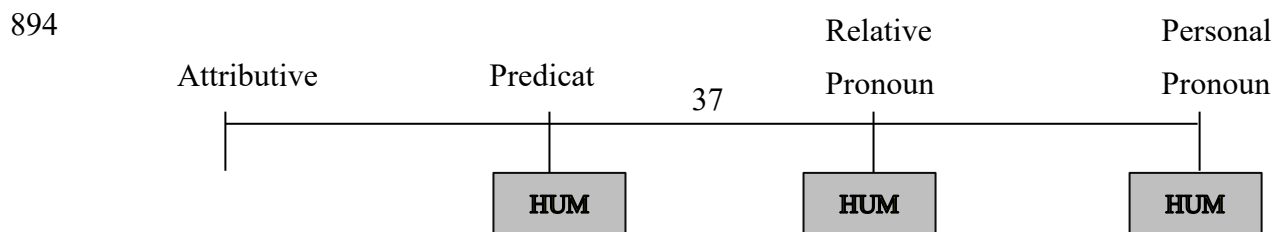
876 Human collectivity nouns of the army type cannot control locative semantic agreement on the
 877 verb as shown in (61), or at a higher level as would be expected following the Agreement
 878 Hierarchy predictions.

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

880 *Iarme 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



895

896

NON HUM

897 **5.3 Pure location nouns**

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

904 **5.3.1 Pure location nouns describing human collectivities**

905 The nouns investigated in this section are those which can function both as *location* nouns
906 and collective nouns of the *committee* type. These nouns denote places where humans live or
907 congregate. Examples include *village* and *house*, which denote physical location as well as
908 groups of people. The different uses of these nouns to describe either a location of a group of
909 peoples have consequences for the agreements they trigger on some of their targets. When a
910 location noun triggers syntactic agreement on all its dependents it refers to the physical
911 location denoted by the noun as in (62) and (63) below. Thus, the nouns in these examples
912 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* *yayu* *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* *Faṅot*
 917 *ga-name(V.SG)* *II.SG-PRO* *Faṅot*
 918 ‘The village which the bandits have destroyed is called Faṅot.’
 919 (ss20130801_MNS)

920 (63) Syntactic agreement with the location noun *y-aṅ* ‘house’.
 921 *y-aṅ* *yayu* *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)

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

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

- 939 (64) Locative semantic agreement with Gender III - General location.
 940 **é-suh** **yayu** **b-o** **e-soddali** **yayu** **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** **yayu** **t-o** **e-soddali** **yayu** **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** **yayu** **d-ó** **e-soddali** **yayu** **goom 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** **yayu** ***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 *yay* ‘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 *yay* ‘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)

971 When location nouns are used as collectives for humans, semantic agreement is only
972 permissible on verbs (see example (71)), and as a result it is also permissible at the level of
973 the relative pronoun and personal pronoun, but not with attributive modifiers as shown in
974 examples (70) and (72) below where only syntactic agreement is possible with the
975 adjective *-ámah* ‘big’.

976 (70) Syntactic agreement with adjectives triggered by *yay* ‘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 *yay* ‘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 *yay* ‘house’.

985 ***y-áŋ-oli** **yayu** **bug-ámah** **bugagu** **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)

988 Locative nouns denoting humans behave like human collectivity nouns in the Agreement
989 Hierarchy (see Figure 3 above), in that they can control locative semantic agreement on the
990 adverbial relativizers and locative adverbs, but they also trigger human semantic agreement
991 which is only attested from the predicate position of the Agreement Hierarchy.

992 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 **ba-ha** **babu** **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 **ba-ha** **babu** **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 **ba-ha** **babu** **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 **ba-ha** **babu** **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 ***ba-ha** **babu** **t-ámah** **tatu**
1026 ba-/u-forest(III.SG) III.SG.DEF VIII-big VIII.SG.DEF
1027 ‘The big forest...’ (ss20130801_MNS)

1028 5.3.3 Agreement with nouns denoting containers

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** **gagu** **g-ámah** **gagu** **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** **gagu** **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** **gagu**
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** **yayu** **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 yayu n-o na-lob me é-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.I.SG-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.

1084 **5.4 Conjoined noun phrases**

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.’

1108 **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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