THE RELATION BETWEEN AGREEMENT CLASSES AND NOUN FORM (MORPHOLOGICAL) CLASSES

Dmitry Idiatov & Mark Van de Velde

LLACAN, CNRS, Sorbonne-Paris Cité, INALCO
dmitry.idiatov@cnrs.fr & mark.vandevelde@cnrs.fr

- Our approach = that of Corbett, Güldemann & Fiedler, …

  ☞ distinguish sets of nouns that trigger the same agreement pattern from sets of nouns that have the same class affix

- Minor **terminology** differences with Güldemann & Fiedler:

  (we prefer to insist on the typologically informed definition of traditional terms)

  - agreement classes = noun classes = sets of nouns that trigger the same agreement pattern = Corbett's (1991) target genders
  - morphological class = noun form class = sets of nouns that have the same class marker

- Minor **conceptual** differences with Güldemann & Fiedler …

  - no real need for the pairs of sets of nouns called *genders* and *declensions*

  - but, following general practice, we have used the term *genders* for agreement class pairings = noun class pairings = singular-plural pairings of noun classes = Corbett's (1991) controller genders

  - Also, for instance in Bantu, no need for a feature Number

- Morphological (noun form) classes & agreement classes in **Bena-Yungur** (BY)

- General discussion on the relation between noun form classes and agreement classes

  - Which scenarios can explain the typological differences between N-C gender systems?
  - Which typological features are innovative vs conservative?

MORPHOLOGICAL (NOUN FORM) CLASSES & AGREEMENT CLASSES IN BENA-YUNGUR
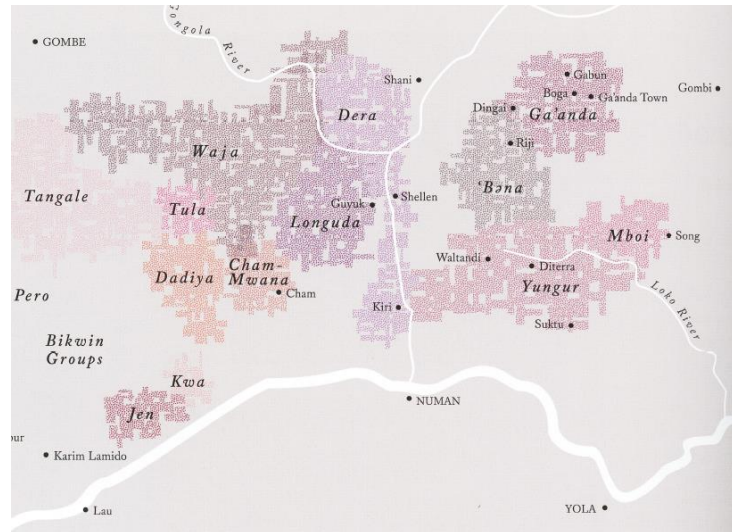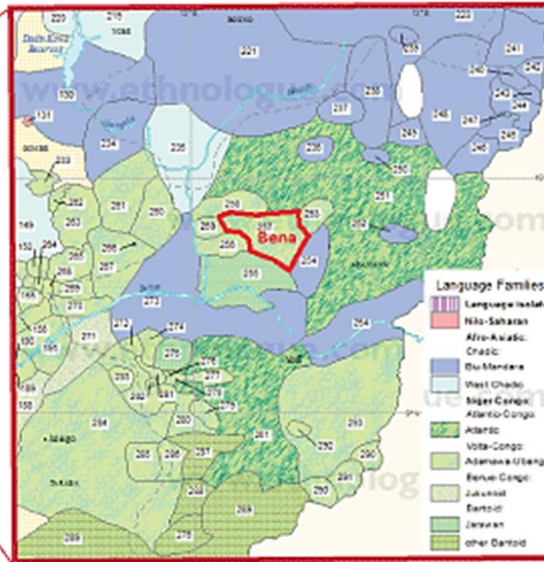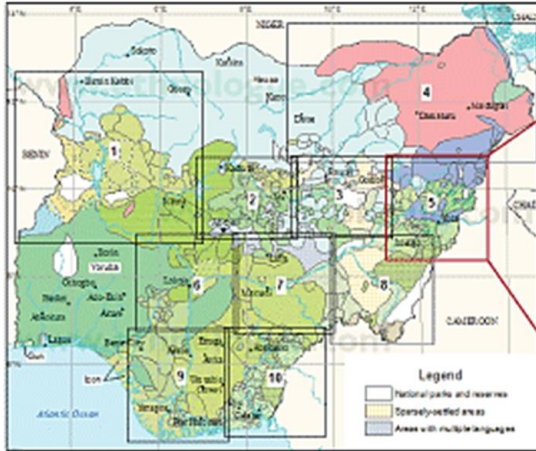
- BY has a beautifully symmetric system of three agreement classes, that can each be triggered by either SG or PL noun

- The rich morphological class system shows that its complexity can be reduced by subgrouping class markers into sets that consist of a basic marker and one or two markers diachronically derived from it by means of stacking

- This insight has consequences for the reconstruction of class markers

- Agreement targets: demonstratives, indefinite determiners, possessive pronouns, relative clause markers, some adjectives

- Agreement patterns: WA, YA, ƁA

- Pronominal agreement targets agree in animacy with their controller, not gender

  - animacy = the self-locomotion ability of the referent
  - inanimate pronominal targets are mostly realized as absence of an overt pronominal

(1)   gòː wā 'this chicken'
        ét yā́ 'this person'
        ɓót ɓā́ 'this tree'

(2)   gòː wānō 'my chicken'
        rèːké yánē 'my sugar cane'
        ɓót ɓánā 'my tree'

(3)   gòː tʃèɓô 'black horn'
        ét tʃéɓê 'black person'
        ɓót tʃéɓâ 'black tree'

(4)   gòː kǒ 'a certain chicken'
        ét (k)é 'somebody (some person)'
        ɓót ká 'a certain tree'

(5)   wùmsə̄ wā 'these owls'
        bàŋgē yā 'these palm trees'
        ám ɓā̄ 'these children'

- There are 8 (or 9) noun class pairings (controller genders) in BY

SG   PL

wā   wā

yā   yā

ɓā   ɓā
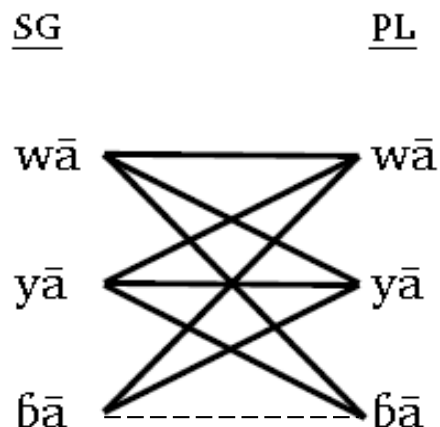
- Exactly the same agreement patterns are used with SG and PL controllers (typologically unusual symmetry & simplicity)

- The only pairing lacking or marginally possible is ƁA↔ƁA

  - probably, this is accidental: agreement pattern ƁA is rare both in SG and PL

  - marginally possible with *á(n)dá* 'place', which is usually ƁA↔WA

- BY has about 30 morphological classes (sets of nouns that have the same number marking)

- Most class markers are postposed, but some plural class markers are preposed or circumposed.

- Not a homogeneous group in terms of their degree of morphological bonding: some are clear affixes, some are more like clitics or separate words.

  (conventionally, we represent them all as affixes)

- Their tone is partly or fully lexically determined

Table 1: The morphological classes of Ɓə́ná

SG / PL	Ø / PL	Ø
-a / -e	(Ø / -a)	SG = PL
(-a / -me)	(Ø / am-)	no PL
(-a / -sa)	(Ø / -ma)	
(-a / -se)	Ø / -me	
-e / -a	Ø / -mse	
-e / am- … -a	Ø / yòː-	
-e / -ma	(Ø / -se)	
(y-)…-e / ɓ- -a	Ø / -sa	
-e / -sa	Ø / -ta	
(-e / -ta)		
-o / -sa		
(-o / am^M-…-a)		
(-o / -ta)		
-o / -a		
-ra / -ta		
suppletion		

- We take a strictly synchronic approach, recognizing a class marker only when it commutes with another one.

(6) a. sàb-ā 'tamarind tree'

     b. dìk-ō 'game'

(7) a. sàb-ē 'tamarind trees'

     b. dìk-sâ 'games'

(8) a. pīrā(ː) 'walking stick'

     b. sóktó 'sieve'

(9) a. pīrāː-mē 'walking sticks'

     b. sóktə́-sâ 'sieves'

- Consequently, we also do not analyze the final *ma* in the mass nouns in (10) as a class marker, although there is no doubt that it is the reflex of one.

(10)   dùːmà 'salt'

hwã̄ːmā 'paste'

mēːmā 'milk'

mūɗmā 'blood'

sómmâ 'urine'

bàːmà 'chaff'

- In some other BM languages (e.g. Lala Roba), nouns ending in *ma* trigger a specific agreement pattern (demonstrative *ma*).

- Some traces of *ma* agreement pattern in BY

  - Selective agreeing modifiers *ɓēːmā* 'hot' and *sōŋmā* 'cold' with the word *mbə̄rə̰̄ː* 'water'

    sóŋsóŋ 'be cold'

    sōŋrə̄ sōŋsóŋ 'It is cold' (lit. 'The cold is cold').

    mbə̄rə̰̄ː sóŋ(sóŋ) wá 'cold water'

    mbə̄rə̰̄ː sóŋmā 'the water that is cold'

- Some traces of the origin of the *ma* class marker from a demonstrative of the *ma* agreement pattern in BY

  - *mūdmā* 'blood' has a dialectal variant or (in our reference dialect) a special possessed form *mūnmā*

    mūdmō kōdʼsó 'coagulated blood' (lit. 'blood that coagulated')
    mūnmō ētē 'human blood' (lit. 'blood of person')

  - Suggesting an earlier **mū(n)dV* 'blood' that was frequently modified by *mā*, with either the regular change *nd > d / V_V* giving *mūdmā* or the regular construct form final vowel elision and *ndC* cluster simplification > *nC* giving *mūnmā*.

    bì(n)dō 'granary' vs. *bìn wā* 'this granary'

- More than 30% of nouns have no number marking

  - some have no plural (e.g. mass nouns)
  - for some nouns, SG = PL

(11) a. *sè̱:kē* 'flute/s (sp.)'
       b. *ō̱:* 'field/s (sp.)'

(12) a. *tó: dásè* 'Take a bean / a quantity of beans.'
       b. *hā: dàsè* 'Take.PLURAC (several individual) beans.'

(13) a. *tó: dwálò* 'Take a ritual whip.'
   b. *hā: dwàlò* 'Take.PLURAC ritual whips.'

- for many nouns that lack a class marker in the SG, our fluent native speaker consultants say they don't know or have never heard the PL, which is surprising since there is a kind of default plural marker *yòː*, which often shows up in borrowings

(14)   *yòː bwàtɘ́rè*   'white people, Europeans' (< Hausa)
     yòː dàŋkáɗe   'sweet potatoes' (< Hausa)
     yòː máŋgòrò   'mangoes'
     yòː gwéːvà   'guavas'

- Besides SG vs. PL number distinction, some (mostly mass) nouns additionally distinguish distributive plural, marked by *-msè* (triggering agreement YA)

(15) a. *bàlő* 'beer'

b. *bàl-sâ* 'beers (= several containers with beer)'

c. *bàlə́-msê* 'beers (different types of beer, e.g. filtered and unfiltered millet beer, Western style beer)'

(16) a. *kɑ̃́:má* 'seed/s' (SG = PL)

b. *kɑ̃́:mə́-msê* 'different types or containers of seeds'

(17) a. *tàsàw* 'container used to measure things'

b. *yò: tàsàw* 'measure containers (of the same type)'

c. *tàsàw-msè* 'measure containers (of different types)'

Figure 2: Morphological class markers (of nouns marked in the SG and the PL) and noun class pairings

SG   PL

-a   -a

-e   -e

-o   -sa

-ra   -se

-ma

-me

am-…-a

-ta
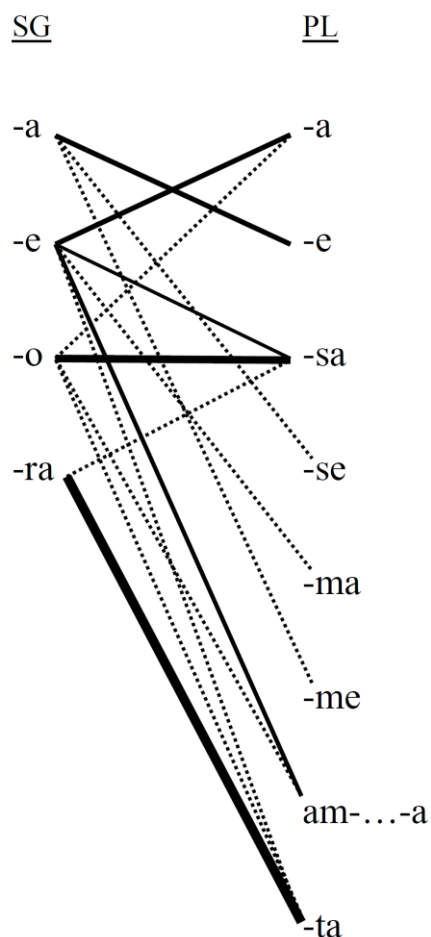
- The system of morphological classes and noun class pairings is structurally very different from the system of agreement classes, and much more complex.

- A seemingly natural hypothesis: The morphological class system is the reflex of a rich noun class system in a proto stage of the language, the breakdown of which is more advanced in the agreement patterns than in the nominal class markers

- But this hypothesis is most likely to be wrong…

- The system of morphological classes of BY shows parallels with its simple and symmetrical gender system, and some further analysis can reduce its complexity.

  - (ignoring *-ra/-ta* pairing and 'place' and 'thing')
  - All nouns SG …*a* ↔ PL …*e*
  - All nouns SG …*e* or …*o* ↔ PL …*a*
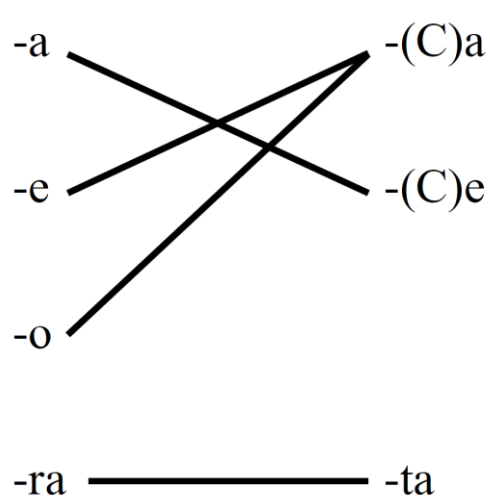
-a   -(C)a

-e   -(C)e

-o

-ra ————— -ta

Figure 3: Morphological class markers (simplified)

- Many of the morphological class markers are historically stacked forms (and not reflexes of numerous proto-forms).

  - *-msè = -m-s-è*
  - *-ma = -m-a*
  - *-me = -m-e*
  - …

- Compare some clear cases of synchronic stacking in plural marking (18), and in denominal derivation (19-21).

(18) *hố:-rá* 'tick' → *hố:-tə́-sâ* 'ticks'

(19) *tã̄:-rā / tã̄:-tā* 'blind person/s' → *tã̄:-tə̄-sô* 'blindness'

(20) *bàt-ā / bàtʃ-ē* 'baobab tree/s' → *bàt-ə̀-rá / bàt-ə̀-tá* 'baobab fruit/s'

(21) *kūml-á(:) / kūml-é(:)* 'tree/s (sp)' → *kūml-ā:-rá / kūml-ā:-tá* 'kumla fruit/s'

- The many nouns that end in a non-commuting *o* or *a* in SG, are likely to have historically stacked suffixes (SG + PL) in their PL form too.

(8) a.   pīrā̄(ː) 'walking stick'

    b.   sóktó 'sieve'

(9) a.   pīrāː-mē 'walking sticks'

    b.   sóktə́-sâ 'sieves'

- In phrasal compounds, commuting and non-commuting final vowels tend to be replaced by a vowel corresponding to the agreement pattern of the head noun.

(22) a. * lóːró* 'slimy food' (WA), *bàt-ā* 'baobab' (YA~WA)

b. *lóːrɔ́ bât-ō* 'baobab leaf soup' (WA)

(23) a. *áwé* 'child' (YA), *tɘ́má(ː)* 'sheep' (WA)

b. *áw tɘ́m-ē* 'lamb' (YA)

(24) a. *ámbá* 'children' (ɓA), *bwàdē(ː)* 'calabash (sp)' (YA)

b. *ám bwàd-ā* 'calabashes' (WA)

- The stacking is also suggested by the strong correlation between the quality of the final vowel of the noun and its agreement pattern (back to this later).

- Some of the stacked elements, such as *-a* in *-Ca,* are likely to have been demonstrative stems (not class markers)

  - Agreeing demonstratives, AG-DEM *w-ā, y-ā, ɓ-ā,* where *-ā* is (historically) a proximal demonstrative stem

(25)   a.   *t-ə́n ɓ-āː*   'here we are' (1PL.EXCL-COP ƁA-PROX)
                           (lit. 'we are these ones')

       b.   *t-ə́n ɓ-ôː*   'there we are' (1PL.EXCL-COP ƁA-DIST)

- Some of the stacked elements, such as *-a* in *-Ca,* are likely to have been demonstrative stems (not class markers)

  - In certain contexts, only the AG is left: *wú, yî*

(26) a. *nà   yāw   ɓūr   wélēwélē w-ã̂*

        1SG.PFV like\PFV porridge$_{WA}$.CF watery   WA-DEM

        'I like watery porridge'

    b. *nà   yāw   ɓūr   wélēwélē wú rě̃ʔ*

        1SG.PFV like\PFV porridge$_{WA}$.CF watery   WA NEG

        'I do not like watery porridge'

- Only for a minority of nouns do we find some semantic regularities in their assignment to morphological classes

  - The names of trees have SG *-a* and PL *-e*, with very few exceptions

  - Conversely, the *-a* ↔ *-e* class pairing is entirely dedicated to names of trees

  - Names of fruits are usually derived from the tree name by suffixing SG *-ra* ↔ PL *-ta*.

  - About 30% of the nouns that are used to refer to human beings have the suffix *-e* in SG and, consequently, a suffix that ends in *a* in PL, sometimes with a *ɓ-* prefix in PL and/or some degree of suppletion in the stem.

  - The nouns for animals with a marked PL form are mostly *-o* ↔ *-sa,* *-ra* ↔ *-ta* or ∅ ↔ *-sa*.

- The gender assignment of nouns is somewhat unstable in BY with inter- and intra-speaker variation

- But gender agreement as such is clearly NOT on its way out.

- Agreement targets HAVE TO agree and only some speakers generalize one agreement pattern to the detriment of the others.

- Certain regularities with the noun class ƁA assignment

  - All nouns that trigger ƁA agreement, whether in SG or PL, can alternatively trigger WA agreement.

  - Phrasal compounds headed by the few nouns that belong to the ƁA class in SG have ƁA agreement within the compound but WA agreement outside of it.

(27) a. *mbú* 'thing' (ƁA), *kə̄f-ō* 'eaten' (WA)

       b. *mbú kə́f-ā* 'food' (WA)

  - In PL, the ƁA class contains almost only nouns referring to humans, but not all PL human nouns are in the ƁA class.

  - assignment to the ƁA class in PL is clearly semantically motivated

(28) *ká:mə́ wá* 'these seeds'

      ká:mə́ ɓá 'these paternal consanguinal relatives'

- The choice between agreement patterns WA and YA can usually be predicted on the basis of the last segment of the noun, whether it synchronically has a suffix or not:

  - Final *a* or *o* tend to → WA class

  - Final *i, e, u, C* tend to → YA class

- This suggests that historical noun class suffixes have been integrated in stems as morphological class markers.

- In certain contexts with controllers of noun class WA, the agreeing demonstrative WA (agreement target) may be replaced by a non-agreeing demonstrative YA to mark **selectivity**

  - With modifiers that require an agreeing DEM as a NMLZ, a non-agreeing YA indicates that the modifier is to be interpreted selectively (or restrictively)

(29) a. *nɔ̀* *yāw* *ɓūr*   *wélēwélē* *w-ā̂*
   1SG.PFV like\PFV porridge$_{WA}$.CF watery WA-DEM
   'I like watery porridge (in general)'

  b. *nɔ̀* *yāw* *ɓūr*   *wélēwélē* *y-ā̂*
   1SG.PFV like\PFV porridge$_{WA}$.CF watery YA-DEM
   'I like the porridge that is watery (e.g., when there are different types of porridge present)'

- With PL nouns of various morphological classes of the noun class WA, such as *-ta*, the agreeing DEM WA points to the totality or an unspecified PL of the referents, while a non-agreeing DEM YA selects to a restricted PL subset of the referents present in the situation ('a bunch of')

(30) a. *hā:*   *bɔ̀m-tɔ̀*   *w-ā*
    take.PLURAC bracelet-PL$_{WA}$.CF WA-DEM
    'Take these bracelets!' (all of them or whichever several of them)

   b. *hā:*   *bɔ̀m-tɔ̀*   *y-ā*
    take.PLURAC bracelet-PL$_{WA}$.CF YA-DEM
    'Take these bracelets!' (this bunch of bracelets, when there are several bunches of them)

- Something similar semantically but formally the reverse…

  With mass nouns of class YA, the agreeing DEM YA selects a restricted quantity of the mass (= "SG"), while a non-agreeing DEM WA points to a PL of the mass, either in terms of containers or types

(31) a. *ʃúgà y-ā* 'this sugar'

 b. *ʃúgà w-ā* 'this sugar (in different containers)' or 'these sugars (different types)'

(32) a. *bàrè y-ā* 'this yeast'

 b. *bàrè w-ā* 'this yeast (in different containers)'

 c. *bàrə̀-msè y-ā* 'these yeasts (different types)'

- BY has a strong tendency for having only one class marker per noun phrase (at its right end)

  - Nouns tend to have a reduced or no class marker when accompanied by a modifier → construct forms of modified nouns

(33)   *été* 'person' vs. *ét yā́* 'this person'

(34)   a.   *ɗə́m-rá* 'tooth'

      b.   *ɗə́m-rə́ gwálàŋrâ* 'molar tooth' (lit. 'cheek tooth')

      c.   *ɗə́m_ gwálàŋrâ* 'molar tooth'

- In phrasal compounds, commuting and non-commuting final vowels tend to be replaced by a vowel corresponding to the agreement pattern of the head noun.

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(23) a. *áwé* 'child' (YA), *tə́má(ː)* 'sheep' (WA), *tə́má(ː)-sâ* 'sheep (PL)' (WA)

  b. *áw tə́m-ē̄* 'lamb' (YA)

(35) a. *áwé* 'child' (YA), *núː* 'eye' (WA), *núː-sâ* 'eyes' (WA)

  b. *áw n-ē̄ː* 'eyeball' (YA)

- Phrasal compounds headed by the few nouns that belong to the Ɓʌ class in SG have Ɓʌ agreement within the compound but WA agreement outside of it.

(27) a. *mbú* 'thing' (Ɓʌ), *kə̄f-ō* 'eaten' (WA)

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GENERAL DISCUSSIONON THE RELATION BETWEEN NOUN FORM CLASSES AND AGREEMENT CLASSES

- Which scenarios can explain the typological differences between N-C gender systems?

- Which typological features are innovative vs conservative?

- Gender agreement on every potential target, on top of overt class marking on the noun is innovative

- More typical / original (?) situation:
  - one class marker per NP, or at least no nominal marker if agreeing modifier
  - reflecting demonstrative classifier origin (exception for numerals)

- In the Bantu languages (also elsewhere?), exuberant agreement is due to the AMAI cycle (= Adnominal Modifier Apposition-Integration), which may have helped protect agreement classes from merging

- Proper names lacked a classifier

- Lack of morphological class marker: several well known examples, e.g. Aghem. Good (2012) cites it as an example of class marker **loss** (cf. H).

(1)

bvʉ́	′táŋá
10.dog	10.my

"my dogs"

bvʉ́	′tɨn
10.dog	10.these

"these dogs"

bvʉ́	′tɨ	′wɛ́
10.dog	10.ASS	1.child

"the dogs of the child"

bvʉ́	′tɨ	mɔ̂	bvʉ̀	nò
10.dog	10.SM	RPST	fall	FOC

"The dogs fell (today)."

tɨ-bvʉ́	tɨ-bɨghà
10-dog	10-two

"two dogs"

- When class marking goes on adnominal modifiers, this leads to **construct form of nouns**, which may develop into non-final allomorphs.

- Interesting for comparative noun class research, because these may be the last visible traces of noun classes.

- Most BY nouns have two (sometimes three) forms, the choice of which is determined by their syntactic environment.

(2)   *háːtə́mō* 'onion'

        háːtə́m wā 'this onion'

but

(3)   *gòmló* 'okra'

        gòmló ~ gòmlə́ wā̄ 'this okra'

(4) a. *été* 'person'

b. *étɔ́ kwálkwāl* 'the person is beautiful'

c. *ét kwálkwāl yā* 'a beautiful person'
ét yá̄ 'this person'
ét bárè 'a man'

- In **Wam** (aka Kugama) (Yendang group), such construct forms of nouns are the only (potential) remnants of noun form class suffixes, and of a former gender system.

- They appear when the noun has a possessive modifier.

  (the data are from Lora Litvinova)

- Extensions (= elements that disappear in the construct form):

+ *ī* (many terms for body parts)

+ *m̄*

+ *ŋ̄*

+ ᴹ

+ *ké* (word for 'house')

- Intriguing detail: several nouns with a segmental extension, such as *ɓǽī* 'belly, inside' have three syntactically conditioned allomorphs

  - a full form *ɓǽī*

  - a construct form without the extension, *ɓá*, used with common noun possessors and PL or non-human SG possessive pronouns

  - a construct form without the segmental extension but with the M tone, *ɓā́*, used with proper name possessors and human SG possessive pronouns

(5) *ɓá nákī* 'stomach of the cow'

(6) *ɓā̄ Lúkpêwà* 'stomach of Lukpewa'

with *zǣī* 'leg'

(7) *zǣī ɓíní* 'one leg'

(8) *zà nákī* 'leg of the cow'

(9) *zā Lúkpêwà* 'leg of Lukpewa'

NB: Many examples of *état d'annexion* in the Gur languages.

- **NP-internal class agreement markers begin their life as nominalizers.**

  Chumburung (Guang, cited via Güldemann & Fiedler)

(10) *à-wààgyà   dìdáá   á-nyɔ́   mɔ̀*
      A-cloth[6]   old   6-two   DEM
      'these two old cloths'

(11)   *wààgyà   gyígyíí nà   ó-pípéé*
       cloth[1]   black   and 1-red
       'a black cloth and a red one'

- In the Bantu languages, there is a tendency to put adnominal modifiers in focus by nominalizing them and postposing them in apposition to the rest of the NP.

- They are subsequently reintegrated in the NP.

- This accounts for:
  - weird word order patterns in the NP
  - exuberant class agreement (often double: aug-pp-modifier)
  - different types of prosodic breaks in the NP

(12) Bemba M42 (Givón 1974: 132, Kasonde 2009: 167)

a. *a-ba-ntu*   *ba-suma*
   AUG-2-person NP$_2$-good
   'The good people.'

b. *a-ba-ntu*   *a-ba-suma*
   AUG-2-person AUG-NP$_2$-good
   'The people, the good ones.'

c. *a-ba-ana*   *ba-andi*
   AUG-2-child PP$_2$-POSS$_{1SG}$
   'My children.'

d. *a-ba-ana*   *a-ba-andi*
   AUG-2-child AUG-PP$_2$-POSS$_{1SG}$
   'The children, mine.'

- A numeral can only be inserted between the noun and the adjective if the latter is augmented/apposed.

(13) Bemba M42 (Kasonde 2009)

a. *à-báá-ntù   bà-bìlì   á-bà-kúlú*
   AUG-2-person   NP$_2$-two   AUG-NP$_2$-big
   'The two men, the big ones.'

b. **à-báá-ntù bà-bìlì bà-kúlú*

(14) Nen (Bantu A44; Mous 2003: 345)

mè-ná   ìmìtɜ̀   yè   mʷɜ̀nífî̃   índî̃   mè-ŋéŋ   ò   hè-lɔ́bátɔ̀

1SG-PST 9.calabash CON$_9$ 6.water give.PST NP$_9$-big LOC 19.child

'I gave the BIG water calabash to the child.'

- Something else: the picture of noun form classes vs. agreement classes, neatly separated, is complicated by semantic agreement, especially when it gives rise to mixed agreement patterns (cf. the agreement hierarchy).

- Widespread in N-C? It is in Bantu, much more than previously thought.

- The noun class system is more clearly semantically grounded in the grammar (agreement) than in the lexicon (gender assignment).

- Semantic agreement vs. syntactic agreement

- Semantic agreement has been more or less synonymous with animate agreement in Bantu studies

- At least 5 types of semantic agreement can be distinguished

- Five types of semantic agreement:

1. Animate agreement

2. Superclassing

3. Basic level term agreement

4. Evaluative agreement

5. Locative agreement

(15)   Swahili (Wald 1975: 271, 272)

a.   *ki-le*   *hi-su,*   *ni-li-ki-ona*
     7.PP-DEM   7.NP-knife   1SG-PST-7.OM-see
     'That knife, I saw it.'

b.   *yu-le*   *ki-boko,*   *ni-li-mw-ona*
     1.PP-DEM   7.NP-hippo   1SG-PST-1.OM-see
     'That hippo, I saw it.'

- It is found especially in zone K, and in coastal languages of zones G and E.

- some variation between languages concerning:
  - the obligatoriness of its application
  - the agreement targets that are involved

The Agreement Hierarchy (Corbett 1979)

attributive < predicate < relative pronoun < personal pronoun

NB: Animate agreement is not to be confounded with gender assignment based on animacy in reduced noun class systems.

	SG	PL
1/2	*mo-*	*ba-*
1a	*∅-*	
3/4	*mo-*	*mi-*
5/6	*li-*	*ma-*
7/8	*e-*	*bi-*
7a	*ki-*	
9/10	*∅-*	*ba-*
11	*lo-*	
14	*bo-*	
15	*ko-*	

Kinshasa Lingala

agreement only on the verb

- animate SG: *a-*
- animate PL: *ba-*
- inanimate: *e-*

Superclassing = hierarchical organization of class markers

- Typical organization:
  - default (non-human) entity: class 7
  - default human entity: class 1
  - default location: class 16
  - (general default: class 9)

- On which targets?
  - pronominals (indefinite pronouns, interrogatives, …)
  - agreement with conjoined NPs, no need for [Number]
  - other types of "enforced" agreement

(16)   Luba (van den Eynde & Mufuta 1994: 102)

a. *apa*   *tu-di*   *ku*-*n-zubu*   or   *eku*   *tu-di*   *ku*-*n-zubu*
16.DEM 1PL-COP 17-9-house   17.DEM 1PL-COP 17-9-house
'Here, we are towards the house'

b. *apa* *tu-di* *mu*-*n-zubu*   or   *emu* *tu-di* *mu*-*n-zubu*
'Here, we are in the house'

c. *apa* *tu-di*   *pa-n-zubu*
'Here, we are on the house'

(17)   Luba (van den Eynde & Mufuta 1994: 102)

a. *emu tu-di ku-n-zubu*

b. *emu tu-di pa-n-zubu*

c. *eku tu-di mu-n-zubu*

d. *eku tu-di pa-n-zubu*

Superclassing: Among the locative classes, class 16 is dominant

- In Kirundi (and Kikuyu, …) proper names and suppletive kinship terms trigger the same agreement pattern as **the basic level term** that expresses their **categorical presuppositional meaning.**

(18) Kirundi (Bantu JD62; Van de Velde 2009)

a. *urukara* 'black' (11); *umuuntu* 'person' (1); *imbwá* 'dog' (9)

b. *Rukara   a-rikó   a-rafuungura*
    Rukara   1-is   1-eating
    'Rukara (a person) is eating.'

c. *Rukara   i-rikó   i-iraryá*
    Rukara   9-is   9-eating
    'Rukara (a dog) is eating.'

(19) Kirundi (Bantu JD62; Van de Velde 2009)

a. *u-muu-ntu* 'person' (cl. 1); *i-nká* 'cow' (cl. 9)

b. *nyina*   *a-raryamye*
   mother   1-is.sleeping
   'His/her mother is sleeping.' (person)

c. *nyina*   *i-raryamye*
   mother   9-is.sleeping
   'His/her mother is sleeping.' (cow)

- This is NOT a type of animate agreement.

(20) Kirundi (Bantu JD62; Van de Velde 2009)

a. *u-rú-uzi* 'river' (cl. 11)

b. *Maragaraazi* **ru**-*gabanya* *u-bu-Ha* *n* *ú-bu-Ruúndi*
   Maragaraazi 11-separates AU-14-Buha from AU-14-Burundi
   'The Maragarazi separates Buha from Burundi.' (Meeussen 1959: 189)

(21) Kirundi (Bantu JD62; Van de Velde 2009)

a. *u-kw-êzi* 'month' (cl. 15)

b. *Kigarama* **gu**-*kwirikira munyoonyó*
December **15**-follows   November
'December follows November'

- This type of agreement defines a **grammatical category of Proper Names** in languages like Kirundi.

(22) Ndengeleko (Bantu P11; Ström 2013: 163, 195)

a. *m-bésa*   *a-úu*
10-hare   2-white
'white hares'   animate agreement

b. *ka-pésa*   *ka-úu*
12-hare   12-white
'little white hare'   evaluative agreement

- Evaluative agreement overrides animate agreement.

(23) Swahili (Bantu G40)

a. *yu-le   ki-pofu,   ni-li-mw-on-a*
    1-DEM   7-blind   1SG-PST-1OM-see-FV
    'That blind man, I saw him.'   animate agreement

b. *ki-le   ki-pofu,   ni-li-ki-on-a*
    7-DEM   7-blind   1SG-PST-7OM-see-FV
    'That tiny blind man, I saw him.'   evaluative agreement

NB1: Interesting derivation!

NB2: For Wald (1975) and others (b) = syntactic agreement, BUT random exception on animate agreement, to be described in semantic terms anyway

- very prominent, overriding

- but hard to observe, since evaluative meanings are derived by change in noun class

- independent evidence for the existence of evaluative agreement?

Yes, with **proper names** in languages like Kirundi!

(24) Kirundi (Bantu JD62; Van de Velde 2009)

a. *Taama   a-raaje*
Taama   1-arrives
'Taama arrives'   basic level agreement

b. *Taama   ki-raaje*
Taama   7-arrives
'(big/horrible) Taama arrives.'   evaluative agreement

c. *Taama   ka-raaje*
Taama   12-arrives
'(little/dear) Taama arrives.'   evaluative agreement

- Again, hard to observe, due to the existence of locative classes

- But unmistakably existent in languages that mark locatives uniquely by means of a suffix

(25) Bondei (Bantu G24; Grégoire 1975: 192)

a. *nyumba-ni mw-ako* (18-2SG.POS) 'in your house'

b. *nyumba-ni ha-kwe* (16-3SG.POS) 'close to his house'

c. *nyumba-ni kw-etu* (17-1PL.POS) 'at our house'

Güldemann & Fiedler p. 101:

"Later approaches to Bantu gender systems have introduced yet other conventions that may have enhanced philological comparability but blur cross-linguistic transparency. (…) [N-C scholars] make an additional "noun class" distinction of *1 vs. *1a (…). The first class of each pair comprises human nouns with the expected prefix and the latter containing prefixless kinship nouns and proper names. While descriptively adequate, this class differentiation is irrelevant for the inventory of agreement classes but more importantly hides the necessity of taking into account an additional noun form class Ø that has no unique counterpart in the agreement system."

Footnote 7:

"See Van de Velde (2006) for an extensive recent discussion of such nouns in Eton and Bantu in general. We do not follow his proposal of considering them as "genderless" nouns, because gender is defined here by agreement and their behaviour in this respect clearly assigns them to the human gender."

Van de Velde (2009 = 2012) on the basic level term agreement triggered by Kirundi proper names:

"There are two alternative analyses for the different behaviour of Proper names and Common nouns. According to the first, they have different principles of gender assignment, viz. formal (Common nouns) versus semantic (Proper names). According to the second, semantically motivated Proper Name agreement is a strategy for providing enforced agreement with a controller that does not have a gender specification. The first analysis is probably the most elegant solution for a synchronic grammatical description, but the second is more insightful from a comparative perspective."

- Some observations & questions:

  - ∅ marked noun form classes are trivial, duly acknowledged in my experience. Class 9/10 are often zero marked in the Bantu languages, and plenty others can have lost their nominal prefix too.

  - Special about 1a is that it has never had marking, very many indications (e.g. downstep on Ewe objects)

  - If proper names are assigned to the "human gender", then why also names for rivers, mountains, biological species low on the taxonomy, versus the majority of common nouns for humans, which are not in class 1?

- Why is gender assignement 0% predictable for Common nouns in Eton and 100% predictable for Proper names, if there is no basic difference between the two?

- Why does plural formation involve a plural word in **those nouns that belong to morphological class zero and to agreement class 1** ("class 1a"), versus derivation by means of a class marker in all the other cases?

- Why do Proper names belong to morphological class zero across Bantu, but to many different sometimes dedicated agreement classes?

- And why are their agreement properties also those used in clear cases of enforced agreement? (cf. Orungu)

	Mark	Tom & Ines
∅ prefix	☺	☺
Eton cl1 agreement	☺	☺
Orungu cl 1+9 agreement	☺	☹
Kirundi basic level term agr	☺	☹
Eton gender assignment	☺	☹
Eton plural formation	☺	☹
behaviour of proper names throughout N-C	☺	☹
objective assessment	☺	☹