CHAPTER 2

EKEGUSII NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Since Bleek (1862), the terms noun class and gender have been used interchangeably or in a sense in which noun class subsumes gender and vice versa. For example, while Hyman (1979) and Kihm (2000) consider the singular and plural pairs of nouns in Aghem and Manjaku respectively as gender, Corbett (1991) and Demuth (2000) view noun 'class' as a subcategory of gender. For Ibrahim, "it is immaterial whether a group of nouns is called a gender or a class" (Ibrahim 1973:76). Since Bantu languages do not exhibit the three sets of sex-differentiable classification as in Romance, the term noun class is preferred in the literature (Welmers 1973; Kihm 2000; Aikhenvald 2000). Accordingly, the term noun class seems apt for nominal inflection denoting number and size features since these are not motivated by natural gender semantics.

2.2 EKEGUSII NOUN CLASS PREFIXES

Following the tradition established by Meinhoff (1899, 1932), nouns in Bantu are classified into sets termed noun classes. Welmers (1973) identifies at least 22 classes in PB but individual cognate languages have less than the PB number. For example, Kiswahili has 16 (Carstens 1991, 1993), Sesotho 15 (Demuth 2000), Kivunjo 16 (Pinker 1994), Aghem 12 (Aikhenvald 2000) and EkeGusii 20 (Cammenga 2002). Typically, an EkeGusii noun consists of an obligatory prefix and a stem. Barring a few classes, the prefix carries number and size features and has a VCV syllable structure. (1) presents the noun prefixes in the language:

1  (EkeGusii)
   1   omo-  2   aβa-
   1b  ø-
   3   omo-  4   eme-
   5   eri-  6   ama-
   7   eke-  8   eβi-
   9   e-  10   ci-
The choice of these prefixes is co-varies with noun stem gender. The data in (2) show noun stems from two genders and their prefixes:

2 (EkcGusii)

(a) omo-mura aba-mura
    1-boy 2-boy
     'boy' 'boys'
oimo-ng'ina aba-ng'ina
    1-old woman 2-old woman
     'old woman' 'old women'
omo-gaaka aba-gaaka
    1-old man 2-old man
     'old man' 'old men'

(b) eke-rogo ebi-rogo
    7-chair 8-chair
     'chair' 'chairs'
eke-nanda ebi-nanda
    7-gramophone 8-gramophone
     'gramophone' 'gramophones'
eke-burugo ebi-burugo
    7-cooking stick 8-cooking stick
     'cooking stick' 'cooking sticks'

The noun stems in 2 (a) denote 'human' referents and hence co-occur with singular /omo-/ and plural /aba-/ while those in 2 (b) refer to 'inanimate' referents and, accordingly, singular and plural /ebi-/ is preferred. The mutual exclusivity of
these prefixes stems from the gender of the nouns. This means that noun semantics determines prefix choice.

The occurrence of the prefix shows that most nouns in EkeGusii have a bi-morphemic structure. The prefix itself is divisible into two elements, namely an initial vowel, also termed augment or pre-prefix, and the prefix per se.

While it may appear that Bantu noun classification is arbitrary, scrutiny of the sets into which the nouns fall reveal that certain principles come into play in the categorization. These are highlighted in section 2.3.

### 2.3 NOMINAL CLASSIFICATION CRITERIA

Semantics plays a major role in determining noun class membership. Givón (1972) identifies inherent gender as one of the semantic factors which come into play in noun classification. Inherent gender refers to the ontological features of the noun. Aikhenvald (2000) notes that semantic features include, animacy, humanness, sex, shape and size. These ontological or encyclopedic features carry the meaning of the referent (Kihm 2005). In other words, the stem 'core' names an entity, not only in the 'real' but also in the 'mental' world (Kihm 2005). It is on the basis of these nominal features that semantics can be said to impose restrictions on the array of nouns selectable by the prefix. For example, classes 1 and 2 prefixes select nouns denoting 'human' referents in, among others, Aghem (Hyman 1979), Ha (Harjula 2004), Sesotho (Demuth 2000), Kiswahili (Carstens 1991, 1993), Naki (Good 2005), Chichewa (Mchombo 2004) and EkeGusii (Cammenga 2002). Data set (3) attests to this fact:

3 EkeGusii

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
<th>(c)</th>
<th>(d)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>omo-mura</td>
<td>omo-indi</td>
<td>omo-iseke</td>
<td>omo-Gusii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-boy</td>
<td>1-indian</td>
<td>1-girl</td>
<td>1-person from Gusii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'boy'</td>
<td>'Indian'</td>
<td>'girl'</td>
<td>'a Gusii'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although class membership is not watertight, these data conform to the general trend in classification concerning referents with the feature [+human].

2.4 THE SYNTAX OF THE BANTU NOUN AND PREFIX

The analysis of Bantu nominal morphology is not uncontested. Two divergent accounts have been propounded for the syntax and semantics of the noun class prefix. First, the standard view in Welmers (1973), Sproat (1985), Myers (1987), Bresnan & Mchombo (1989), Mchombo (1998) and Stump (1998), among others, is that 'class' is an amalgam of prefix itself and gender. In these studies, the prefix heads the noun class since it bears class information and, consequently, determines the class of the noun. Since the prefix also bears class information, the 'class' of a noun can be said to consist of the prefix and gender. In X-bar theoretic terms, the structure of, for example, the class 1 noun referring to 'human' in Kiswahili, EkeGusii and Sesotho has the representation in (4):

4 KISWAHILI
β (Class 1)

EKEGUSII
β (Class 1)

SESOTHO
β (Class 1)

m α
CL1 tu
person

omo α
CL1 nto
person

mo α
CL1 tho
person
This means that the head of β in the Kiswahili noun mtu in (4), for example, is the prefix /m-/ which contains number features and selects the noun as its complement. The assumption in this analysis is that the prefix and gender constitute β, thereby conflation both. Another postulate which is more relevant to the current debate is that the prefix contains class information, and, is consequently not only relevant to nominal classification but also determines the 'class'. The head-complement configuration in (4) lends credence to the view that 'class' in Bantu is an amalgam of number and gender.

Conversely, Carstens (1991, 1993) contends that the prefix is number spell out which selects the NP as its complement. In this account, the class features borne by the prefix originate in the stem which is inherently specified for gender. Carstens' assumption is that number and gender are distinct and that the former inherits class features from the latter. The assumption in this proposal is that gender is a lexical property of nouns and is independent of number. Contrary to the assumption in Welmers (1973), Myers (1987) and Bresnan & Mchombo (1989) in which the prefix as the head of the class selects and combines with the noun to yield class, prefix choice is a function of lexical properties of nouns. Put differently, gender is determined by the ontological features of the noun. This means that the prefix need not be yoked to gender in characterizing nominal classes. Carstens reasons that a noun is inherently specified for class and, therefore, carries class information while a prefix is gender-specific number spell out. As Carstens explains, while "gender is a lexical property of nouns, number is a functional head which selects NP as its complement" (Carstens 1991: 6). By seeking to keep gender and number asunder, this framework is a departure from the standard account in which the prefix and gender constitute 'class'.

The evidence Carstens adduces for her claim is the argument-predicate agreement phenomena in Kiswahili. In this language, contrary to prediction, 'animate' nouns bearing class 7 or 8 prefixes, cannot trigger classes 7 and 8 grammatical agreement. This is because the stem semantics controls agreement, thereby making the verbs to agree with it notionally. The following clauses containing the class 8 prefix /vi-/ illustrate these anomalous but grammatically acceptable agreement patterns:
(Kiswahili)

(a) Vi-jana wa-wili wa-me-lal-a.
   8-youth 2-two 2-PFCT-sleep-FV
   'Two youths have slept.'

(b) *Vi-jana vi-wili vi-me-lal-a.
   8-youth 8-two 8-PFCT-sleep-FV
   'Two youths have slept.'

(c) Vi-boko wa-tatu wa-me-lal-a.
   8-hippo 2-three 2-PFCT-sleep-FV
   'Three hippos have slept'

(d) *Vi-boko vi-tatu vi-me-lal-a.
   8-hippo 8-two 8-PFCF-sleep-FV
   'Three hippos have slept.'

(e) Vi-ongozi wa-tano wa-me-lal-a.
   8-leader 2-five 2-sleep-PFCT-FV
   'Five leaders have slept.'

(f) *Vi-ongozi vi-tano vi-me-lal-a.
   8-leader 8-five 8-PFCT-sleep-FV
   'Five leaders have slept.'

(g) Vi-faru ø-sita wa-me-lal-a.
   8-buffalo 2-six 2-PFCT-sleep-FV
   'Six buffaloes have slept.'

(h) *Vi-faru ø-sita vi-me-lal-a.
   8-buffalo 8-six 8-PFCT-sleep-FV
   'Six buffaloes have slept.'
Agreement marking in Bantu is a function of the noun class prefix but in these data the noun prefix, /vi-/, which ought to appear on the numerals and verb does not. Carstens considers that if the prefix were to be the controller of agreement, then, as a corollary and in conformity with Bantu agreement morphology, the class 8 marker, /vi-/, should attach to its targets in 5 (b), (d) (f) and (h).

On the contrary, the choice of the class 2 marker /wa-/ which is realized on the determiners and verb depends on the semantic content of the noun which demand class 2 agreement since the referents are 'animate'. The inherent lexical properties of the 'animate' nouns block the prefix from occurring as an agreement marker on the rest of the word classes. For Carstens, this clearly indicates that the prefix may be lacking in class information since the numerals and VP agree in number with the noun but prefer class 2 /wa-/ instead of /vi-/ for agreement marking.

In this way, the clause effects agreement triggered by the 'animate' stem rather than the prefix. In a nutshell, prefix-triggered morpho-syntactic agreement in (5) would be considered semantically odd and, therefore, disallowed. It is because of such notional agreement phenomena that the noun prefix is held to play no role in determining noun class in Carstens' account.

The foregoing agreement phenomena persuade Carstens to conclude that gender is a lexical property of the noun while the prefix is number spell out. She further advances the view that the singular and plural pairing in Bantu constitutes a noun gender. This categorization of nouns is reminiscent of Hyman (1979) in which Aghem singular and plural pairs are analyzed as genders. In such a view, Kiswahili class 1 and 2, for example, belong to one gender since both denote number in the same noun. In Carstens' proposal, the Kiswahili noun vifaruu, 'rhinos', for example, has the structure in (6):

(6) \[ \beta \quad \alpha \\
\quad \quad \text{vifaru} \\
\quad \quad \quad \text{faru} \\
\quad \quad \quad \quad \text{rhino} \\
\quad \quad \quad \text{Group A} \\
\quad \text{plural} \quad \text{vi} \]

19
In this relation, the plural group A morpheme, /vi-/, occurs as a number spell—which selects the noun in which gender is independently specified.

While Carstens' proposal as presented above is grounded on Kiswahili agreement phenomena, it should be noted that not all Bantu languages corroborate the Kiswahili pattern and, therefore, Bantu cannot uniformly fit in with Carstens' analysis. For example, in EkeGusii, agreement is not blocked on grounds of noun semantics, that is, whichever prefix occurs in the noun is borne by the target(s) irrespective of the semantics of the noun as (7) shows:

7 EkeGusii

(a) omw-ana o-ne  (b) aba-ana ba-ne
1-child 1-my     2-child 2-my
'my child'       'my children'

(c) e-sese y-ane  (d) chi-sese chi-ane
9-dog 9-my       10-dog 10-my
'my dog'         'my dogs'

(e) eki-ara ki-ane  (f) ebi-ara bi-ane
7-finger 7-my    8-finger 8-my
'my finger'      'my fingers'

(g) ri-toke ri-ane  (h) ama-toke a-ne
5-banana 5-my    6-banana 6-my
'my banana'      'my bananas'

(i) eke-rema ki-ao  (j) ebi-rema bi-aino
7-cripple 7-your (sg.) 7-cripple 7-your (pl.)
'your cripple'   'your cripples'

The data is (7) show that choice of class prefix in each pair of DPs in the set co-varies with number and gender. In other words, unlike the facts in Kiswahili, in EkeGusii the class prefix remains invariable irrespective of gender. Therefore, although Carstens' account of Bantu nominal morphology separates number from gender, the
lack of cross-linguistic evidence from agreement in these languages is an indication that the standard reasoning that the prefix is yoked to stem semantics in the characterization of 'class' cannot be discarded.

The contention by Bresnan & Mchombo (1989), among others, that both prefix and gender contain class information may be supported by evidence from diminutives and augmentatives in EkeGusii. For example, the class of nouns which fall under diminutives are so named and categorized because of size features. To illustrate, the class 12 prefix selects nouns which refer to referents of abnormally small size as in (8):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUN</th>
<th>DIMUNITIVE</th>
<th>NOUN</th>
<th>DIMUNITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oko-goro</td>
<td>aka-goro</td>
<td>oko-boko</td>
<td>aka-boko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-leg</td>
<td>12-leg</td>
<td>15-hand</td>
<td>12-hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'leg'</td>
<td>'small hand'</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
<td>'small hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-nyoni</td>
<td>aka-nyoni</td>
<td>e-nda</td>
<td>aka-nda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-bird</td>
<td>12-bird</td>
<td>9-stomach</td>
<td>12-stomach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bird'</td>
<td>'small hand'</td>
<td>'stomach'</td>
<td>'small stomach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-manwa</td>
<td>aka-manwa</td>
<td>ege-nto</td>
<td>aga-nto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-lamb</td>
<td>12-lamb</td>
<td>7-thing</td>
<td>12-thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'lamb/kid'</td>
<td>'small lamb/kid'</td>
<td>'thing'</td>
<td>'small thing'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in (8) show not only that semantic criteria are crucial for prefix choice but also that prefixes are partially loaded with class information. This is the reason why the prefix is capable of altering noun semantics transferring them to other noun classes. In this case, it appears that the noun per se does not belong to a specific class since its membership is determined by the prefix which selects it. In other words, the class 12 prefix in the data in (8) allocates the various nouns variable membership. The capacity of the prefix to alter class membership suggests that Carstens' (1991, 1993) gender-based account of noun classification remains contested. What the data reveal is that the prefix, in which number features are packaged, is also relevant in the characterization of noun classes as Bresnan & Mchombo (1989) have reasoned. The problem Carstens' proposal faces is that the prefix in the case of augmentatives and
diminutives encodes not only number but also size features. By its nature a diminutive prefix, for example, is semantically loaded with the features which can be used to define the noun it selects.

2.5 THE DETERMINER PHRASE (DP)

Following Abney (1987) and Ritter (1988, 1990), among others, Carstens (1991, 1993) posits that the NP is embedded within two functional heads, namely the Number Phrase and Determiner Phrase (DP). This section addresses the structure of the DP in EkeGusii.

As the data in (9) shows, the EkeGusii DP has a noun-initial order:

9 EkeGusii

(a) omo-nto omo-nene mono o-ø-ch-ir-e.
   1-person 1-big very 3SGSM-PST-come-PFCT-FV
   'A very big person has come'

(b) Aba-nto aba-nene mono ba-ø-ch-ir-e.
   2-person 2-big very 3SGSM-PST-come-PFCT-FV
   'Very big people have come'

(c) Chi-sese chi-nene mono chi-á-ch-ir-e.
   10-dog 10-dog very 10-PST-come-PFCT-FV
   'Very big dogs have come'

(d) Eke-baki eke-nene mono gi-á-ch-ir-e
   7-egle 7-big very 7-PST-come-PFCT-FV
   'A very big eagle has come'

(e) Ebi-baki ebi-nene mono bi-á-ch-ir-e.
   8-eagle 8-big very 8-PST-come-PFCT-FV
   'Very big eagles have come'
In 9 (a), for example, the subject DP, *omonto omonene mono*, comprises two modifiers, namely, the adjective *omonene*, ‘big’ and the intensifier *mono*, ‘very’. The prefix */omo-/* attaching to the adjective originates in the noun and is copied onto the adjective to yield DP-intemal concord. Ordinarily, all DP-intemal constituents except intensifiers exhibit agreement morphology in the language. More importantly, what the data in (9) show is that the noun precedes its modifiers as is the case in, for example, Kiswahili and Chichewa (Carstens 1991, 1993; Mchombo 2004). The assumption here is that the occurrence of N-initial surface order in Bantu languages such as that exemplified in (9) results from an operation involving noun raising to an empty Determiner (D) position (Carstens 1991).

Besides adjectives and intensifiers, other DP constituents include possessive pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, associatives, quantifiers and relative clauses. All these exhibit agreement morphology in EkeGusii and the syntax of each one of them is examined below.

2.5.1. ADJECTIVES

In conformity with most Bantu languages, for example, Aghem (Hyman 1979), some adjectives in EkeGusii are derived from other word classes, especially verbs, adverbs and nouns, thereby making adjective formation a derivational process. Adjectives must bear the noun class prefix of the noun they modify as (10) shows:

(a)  
EkeGusii

*omo nto*  *omo mwamu*  *o ch a.*

1-person 1-black 3SGSM-PST-come-FV

‘A black person came.’

(b)  
EkeGusii

*Aba nto*  *aba mwamu*  *ba ch a.*

2-person 2-black 3SGSM-PST-come-FV

‘Black people come.’

(c)  
EkeGusii

*Eke busi*  *eke mwamu*  *gi a ch a.*

7-cat 7-black 7-PST-come-FV

‘A black cat came.’
(d) Ebi-busi ebi-mwamu bi-aØ-ch-a.
8-cat 8-black 8-PST-come-FV
'Black cats came.'

(e) Ege-nto eke-mwamu gi-aØ-ch-a.
7-thing 7-black 7-PST-come-FV
'A black thing came.'

(f) Ebi-nto ebi-mwamu bi-a-ch-a.
8-thing 8-black 8-PST-come-FV
'Black things came.'

The data in (10) show that an EkeGusii DP containing an adjective has the structure noun-prefix + noun stem + noun prefix + adjective, where the noun prefix preceding the adjective marks concord.

2.5.2. DEMONSTRATIVES

EkeGusii deictic pronouns make a three-way spatial distinction. Proximal demonstratives express the distance between the speaker and the referent, medial ones between the hearer and referent and distal ones between the speaker or addressee and the referent. In other words, the three demonstratives encode adjacency to the speaker, adjacency to the hearer and farness from the speaker and hearer as in (11):

11 EkeGusii
(a) omo-nto o-yo
1-person 1-this
'this person'

(b) omo-nto o-yio
1-person 1-that
'that person' i.e. near the hearer'
(c) omo-nto o-ria
1-person 1-that
'that person, i.e. far from speaker and hearer.'

(d) eki-ara eke
7-finger this
'this finger'

(e) eki-ara ek-io
7-finger 7-that
'that finger i.e. near the hearer'

(f) eki-ara ke-ria
7-eagle 7-that
that finger, i.e. far from the speaker and hearer.'

Although the demonstrative pronouns oyo, eyio, oria eke, ekio and keria may occur independent of nouns, they are noun modifiers in the case of the DPs in (11).

2.5.3. POSSESSIVES

Possessive pronouns also make a three-way distinction corresponding to first, second and third person semantics. The three pronouns may occur as independent pronouns as well as modifiers of nouns. They also have plural counterparts as the concord in (12) shows:

12 EkeGusii
(a) omw-ana o-ne (b) aba-ana ba-ne
1-child 1-my 2-child 2-my
my child' 'my children'

(c) omw-ana o-ito (d) aba-ana ba-ito
1-child 1-our 2-child 2-our
our child' our children'
These pronouns can be used anaphorically and deictically.

2.5.4. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Disregarding for the moment the question as to whether personal pronouns occur in EkeGusii, it is worth while to observe that these morphemes occur independent of their antecedents and their forms are determined by number, person and case as data set (13) shows:

13 EkeGusii

(a) Omw-ana o-o-n-sun-ir-e.
    1-child 3SGSM-PST-1SG-pinche-PFCT-FV
    'The child has pinched me.'

(b) Omw-ana o-o-to-sun-ir-c.
    1-child 3SGSM-PST-1PL-pinche-PFCT-FV
    The child has pinched us.'
'The child has pinched you.'

'The child has pinched you.'

'The child has pinched him.'

'The child has pinched them.'

/--n-/, /-go-/ and /-mo-/ together with their plural counterparts, namely /-to-/ and /-ba-/ mark first, second and third person. As will emerge in this study the treatment of these forms as full pronouns has been contested in the literature as they are often analyzed as either subject and complement clitics or agreement morphology.

2.5.5. QUANTIFIERS

EkeGusii quantifiers such as those in (14) indicate that they are not exempt from agreement:

14    EkeGusii

(a)    chi-besa chi-nke
     10-money 10-little
     'a little money'

(b)    chi-besa chi-nyinge
     10-money 10-lot
     'a lot of money'
Pervasive DP-level agreement phenomena of this kind are not unique to EkeGusii as they occur in many other Bantu languages.

2.5.6 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Nouns can also be modified by relative clauses embedded in a DP in which the noun is the head. Relativization involves a pronominal clitic or a complementizer as in 15 (b) and (c):

15 (Kiswahili; Ngonyani 2006)

(a) Amina a-li-wa-on-a wa-geni.

Amina 1SM-PST-2OM-see-FV 2-guest

‘Amina saw the quest.’

(b) Tu-li-wa-it-a wa-geni [a-li-o-wa-on-a Amina].

We-PST-2OM-CALL-FV 2SM-guest 2SM-PST-2RM-2OM-see-FV

Amina

‘We called the guests that Amina saw.’

(c) Kitabu amba-cho ni-li-ki-soma (Kiswahili; Carstens 1991:162)

7-book comp-7RA 1S-PST-7OA-read

‘the book I read’

In EkeGusii, the noun class prefix functions as the relative pronoun as in (16):

16 (a) Aba-nto ba-ø-i-b-a ba-ø-bwat-ir-w-e

2-person 3PLRM-PST-steal-FV 3PLSM-PST-arrest-PFCT-PASS-FV

‘The people who stole have been arrested.’
(b) Chi-ngoko chi-á-gor-w-a chi-á-k-ur-e.
10-chicken 10RM-PST-buy-PASS-FV 10-PST-die-PFCT-FV
'The chicken which were bought have died.'

(c) Ebi-busi bi-á-gor-w-a bi-á-tam-ir-e
8-cat 8RM-PST-buy-PASS-FV 8SM-PST-escape-PFCT-FV
'The cats which were bought have escaped.'

(d) omo-nto o-teer-a n-omo-tambe.
1-person 1RM-sing-FV FOC-l-tall
'The person who sang is tall.'

In (d), for example, it is the resumptive pronominal clitic attaching to the verb, whose antecedent is the noun omonto, which yields the relative clause reading of the construction.

2.6 AGREEMENT IN COORDINATE DPs

The assumption that the noun prefix encodes agreement features and consequently determines agreement morphology requires comment in the case of co-ordination in which the DPs belong to different noun classes and, therefore bear different prefixes. As defined in chapter 6, agreement involves a morpho-syntactic feature which originates in an element called the controller and which is copied onto another element called the controller or target (Lapointe 1988; Ferguson & Barlow 1988). Demuth's (2000:272) observation that Bantu "nominal modifiers, pronouns and the verb all agree with the head noun in terms of its class features" is applicable to EkeGusii as the DPs in (17) show:

17 EkeGusii
(a) ri-toke ri-ria ri-ane ri-nene
5-banana 5-that 5-my 5-big
'that big banana of mine'
In 17 (a), for example, the number feature originating in the noun and coded as 5 is marked on all the post-modifiers of the noun. Accordingly, modifier-noun concord is reflected in the head of the DP and its targets. The relation between the DP and its targets may be captured in Lehman’s postulates in (18):

18 Constituent B agrees with constituent A (in category c) if and only if the following conditions hold true:

(a) There is a syntactic of anaphoric relation between A and B
(b) A belongs to a subcategory c of a grammatical category C and A’s belonging to c is independent of the presence or nature of B
(c) c is expressed on B and forms a constituent with it.

(Lehman 1988: 55)

Lehman’s conditions account for the anaphoric relation obtaining between the agreement marker expressed on the target and its source. In the case of the DPs in (17, for example, the agreement markers are anaphorically related to the features of the noun from which they are inherited.

As is shown in chapter 6, agreement phenomena of the sort in (17) span the largest domain of grammatical analysis, the sentence. Obviously, as is the case in agreement within the DP, the controller of agreement in the entire clause is the noun.
in the subject DP whose prefix is copied within the DP and the rest of the constituents in the clause as in (19):

19 EkeGusii

(a) Aba-ana ba-tato ba-á-kor-ir-e e-sukuru.
2-child 2-three 2-PST-complete-PFCT-FV 9-school
'Three children have competed school.'

(b) Ebi-tabu bi-bere bi-á-sir-ir-e
8-book 8-two 8-PST-get lost-PFCT-FV
'Two books have got lost.'

(c) Chi-sese chi-ndabu chi-á-raage-ir-e.
10-dog 10-white 10-PST-eat-PFCT-FV
'The white dogs have eaten.'

(d) Ebi-busi bi-tano bi-á-raage-ir-e.
8-cat 8-five 8-PST-eat-PFCT-FV
'Five cats have eaten.'

In 19 (a), for example, the plural morpheme /aba-/ in the subject DP is prefixed to the numeral tato, 'three', as well as the VP 'á-kor-ir-e e-sukuru', thereby spreading the number features from the DP to the rest of the sentence constituents. To account for the occurrence of agreement morphology on the verb in Bantu, Demuth & Mmusi (1999) suggest that the subject DP raises from a vP-internal position to [Spec IP] and, in the process, leaves the subject marker on the verb after agreement. The syntax of this derivation is the concern of chapter 6. The argument being advanced here is that the DP is the controller of agreement in order to explain agreement in co-ordinate DPs.

In co-ordinate subject DPs comprising nouns from different noun classes, two strategies of effecting agreement are involved. One entails the use of a prefix from neither nouns in both conjuncts as in 20 (a) - (d):
EkeGusii

(a) Ama-kombe ne-chi-nyundo bi-á-gor-ir-w-e.
   Hoes and hammers have been bought.

(b) Chi-sese ne-bi-kondo bi-á-gor-ir-w-e.
   Dogs and monkeys have been bought.

(c) Chi-karamu ne-e-mesa bi-á-gor-ir-w-e.
   Pencils and a table have been bought.

(d) Chi-nyundo ne-emc-sumari bi-á-gor-ir-w-e.
   Hammers and nails have been bought.

(e) Omw-ana ne-chi-sese o-ø-ik-ir-e.
   The child and dogs have arrived.

The other resolution rule in the case of agreement in such DPs is to use the agreement marker of one of the conjuncts as in 20 (e) in which case the agreement marker on the verb is that of the conjunct DP viewed as the possible agent or possessor.

However, if both conjoined DPs are singular, it is possible to use the class 8 prefix which denotes 'things' as the agreement marker as in (21):

21 EkeGusii

(a) E-sese ne- eke-busi bi-raage-ir-e.
   The dog and the cat have eaten.
The use of the class 8 prefix solves two problems. One, it ensures that plural number is checked. Secondly, the strategy reanalyses the nouns as belonging to the set of ‘things’ and assigns them to this semantic class.

The claim that phenomena such as those in (21) exemplify predicate-argument agreement in EkeGusii requires proof. Some of the confirmatory diagnostics which may be used to verify that predicate-argument agreement obtains in EkeGusii include constructions involving raising, unaccusatives, passives and wh-movement. For example, raising is a movement operation in which an argument in an A-position within an embedded TP vacates this position and lands in a specifier position of the higher TP as in data set (22)

22 EkeGusii
(a) Aba-mura ba-ko-rorekan-a ko-b-a aba-ango ko-rer-a.
   2-boy 3PL-PROG-seem-FV INF-be-FV 2-quick INF-dig-FV
   ‘The boys seem to be quick to cry.’

(b) Omo-iseke a-ko-rorekan-a ko-b-a omw-ango ko-rer-a.
   1-girl 3SG-PROG-seem-FV INF-be-FV 1-quick INF-cry-FV
   ‘The girl seems to be quick to cry.’

(c) Chi-sese chi-ko-rorekan-a ko-b-a chi-nene ko-gonk-a.
   10-dog 10-PROG-seem-FV INF-be-FV 10-big INF-suckle-FV
   ‘The dogs seem to be too old to suckle.’

A further peculiarity of Bantu DPs is that objects can also be marked on the verbal complex as incorporated prononominals as in 23 (b) and (e):
EkeGusii

(a) Bosibori  o-ø-gach-ir-e  chi-sani.
Bosibori  1SM-PST-keep-PFCT-FV  10-plate
'Bosibori has kept the plates.'

(b) Bosibori  o-ø-chi-gach-ir-e
Bosibori  1SM-PST-10-keep-PFCT-FV
'Bosibori has kept them.'

(c) *Bosibori  o-ø-chi-gach-ir-e  chi-sani.
Bosibori  1SM-PST-10-keep-PFCT-FV  10-plate
'Bosibori has kept the plates.'

(d) Kerubo  o-ø-at-ir-e  ege-kombe.
Kerubo  1SM-PST-break-PFCT-FV  7-cup
'Kerubo has broken the cup.'

(e) Kerubo  o-ø-gi-at-ir-e.
Kerubo  1SM-PST-7-break-PFCT-FV
'Kerubo has broken it.'

(f) *Kerubo  o-ø-gi-at-ir-e  ege-kombe.
Kerubo  1SM-PST-7-break-PFCT-FV  7-cup
'Kerubo has broken the cup.'

Unlike the subject DPs which permit doubling by agreement marking as in 23 (a) to (f), the object DPs in (c) and (f) cannot be doubled as the unacceptability of (c) and (f) attests. In these cases, the incorporated pronominal and the lexical DPs are in complementary distribution as both are mutually exclusive. However, Bantu does not exhibit uniformity in this regard. In Kiswahili, for example, incorporated pronominals permit the syntactic doubling banned in EkeGusii as (24) exemplifies:
While the incorporated pronominal and full lexical DPs co-occur in (24), it should be noted that dropping either the DP or the pronominal does not result in ungrammaticality once the contextual clues are in place.

In conclusion, the morphology of the EkeGusii DP determines, to a large extent, the morphology and syntax of the verbal complex in the language. As has been shown, barring nouns referring to humans, the form of the agreement morphemes which are pro-clitic on the verbal complex are copies of the noun class prefixes of the noun in the DP. Further, while any theory which ignores the role of gender in the characterization of noun classes is not feasible, it also appears that gender works in tandem with the noun prefix in the definition of noun ‘class’.