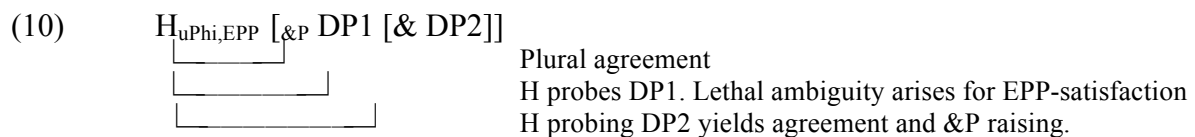


Mitchley (2015) reports that when Xhosa plurals of mismatching classes are conjoined, the dominant pattern is last conjunct agreement (LCA), for speakers in her study. Hierarchical sensitivity is clear in (9), ruling out an account based on linear proximity.

(8) A-ba-pheki ne-zi-caka zi-ya-pheka. [Xhosa; Mitchley 2015:117]  
 2-2-cook and.8-8-servants SM8-DJ-cook  
 ‘The cooks and the servants are cooking.’

(9) A-ma-qanda nezi-tya z-a-ba-fazi zi-/\*ba-nyamelele. [Xhosa]  
 6-6-eggs and.8-8-plates 8-of.2-2women 8SA-/2SA-be.missing  
 ‘The eggs and the women’s plates are gone.’

Taraldsen et al consider only singulars; their approach yields no insight into (8). But LCA follows from the absence of [gender] on &P and other aspects of Boskovic's (2009) approach (see (10)).  $H_{[uNum, uGen, EPP]}$  probes &P and, via Multiple Agree, DP1 for gender iff DP1 matches &P in plurality. Since DP1 can extract (adopting Safir, Sikuku, & Baker (2013) for (11)a; see (11)b), lethal ambiguity re: whether &P or DP1 should satisfy EPP causes H to try again, probing DP2. DP2 can't raise, so Agree (H, &P, DP2) yields no problem; &P raises.



(11) a. U-m-ntwana u-bon-ene no-m-fundi.  
 1-1-child SC1-see- recip and.1-1-student  
 'The child and the student saw each other.'  
 [Lit: the child saw each other and/with the student]

b. [TP [DP<sub>sg</sub> child] [T...[vP [&P<sub>pl</sub> <child> [ne student]] [v' v [vP see each other] ]]]]

In sum, default agreement with conjoined singulars of the same Bantu class is compatible with treating odd/even pairs of classes as s/pl of single gender, and striking parallels to conjunct agreement phenomena in languages like SC support it. Noun class is gender, and should have the same locus as in other languages – not in an added specifier, but on *n/N*.

**2. Default agreement and the semantics of gender.** (4)a, (5)a motivate default rules: conjoined [+human]<sub>sing</sub> → class 2 agr; conjoined [-human]<sub>sing</sub> → class 8 agr. For Mitchley (2015), Corbett & Mtenje (1987) classes 2 and 8 have semantic [+human] and [-human] features respectively. But conjoined class 1/1a nouns resist the default rule, controlling class 2 agr whether human or not (12)a, and conjoined class 7 humans control class 8 agr (12)b.

(12) a. U-loliwe no-matshini ba-/\*zi-se galaji-ni. [Xhosa]  
 1a-train and.1a-machine SM2-/\*SM8-be garage-LOC  
 ‘The train and the machine are in the garage.’

b. I-sanuse ne-s-angoma zi-/\*ba-sebenza ndawonye.  
 7-7diviner and.7-7-healer SM8-/\* SM2-work together  
 ‘The diviner and the healer work together.’

Modifying Boskovic (2009) I propose that the gender features of both conjuncts always copy onto the probe, even where the conjuncts are singular. Following Kramer (2015), instances of a given gender may be *i* or *u*. An impoverishment rule deletes *u*gender features that mismatch each other or the plurality of &P, but cannot distinguish *i* from *u* varieties of a single gender. As a result, these gender features cannot delete, yielding the exceptional patterns in (12).