Class 17 as a Non-Locative Noun Class in Zulu

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Caveat

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Abstract: Bantu noun class 17 is locative both historically and in many modern languages. However, in Zulu, certain uses of class 17 are clearly non-locative. For example, class 17 demonstrative pronouns can refer to situations but not to places, while the class 17 subject marker is used when the preverbal subject is a conjunction of unlike classes. This paper explores the uses of class 17, to evaluate the traditional notion of its locative nature in Zulu. Syntactic analyses are given of the many constructions in which the class 17 subject marker appears, including inversions and non-verbal existential predication. It is argued that all cases can be reduced to agreement with a class 17 class member or to expletive agreement. It is shown that the unusual agreement pattern in copular constructions is due to agreement with a non-expletive class 17 pro, mirroring a pattern found in French and Dutch. The paper concludes that class 17 is essentially non-locative in Zulu, by arguing that the supposed locative properties can be attributed either to accidental class membership or to the fact that items historically related to class 17 lie outside the modern noun class paradigm.

1   Zulu within the context of Bantu

Zulu (S42) is a Bantu language of the Nguni subgroup, spoken primarily in South Africa and to a large extent mutually intelligible with Xhosa, Swati, and Ndebele.[1] Extensive noun class systems are emblematic of the Bantu languages, and many of them preserve the three reconstructed proto-Bantu locative noun classes, numbered 16, 17, and 18, as active classes in the grammatical system, as can be seen in the ability of these classes to trigger subject agreement on verbs, as well as adjectival agreement (Grégoire, 1975).

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(1) a. Chumba-ni mu-li-kwa muzuri.
   7room-LOC   18-PST-be   18nice
   'In the room was nice.'

b. [Nje   ya chumba] ku-li-kuwa kuzuri.
   outside 9of 7room   17-PST-be   18nice
   'Outside the room was nice.'

Other Bantu languages have eroded locative noun class subsystems, preserving only one or two of these classes. In Zulu, for example, only class 17 is grammatically active. It has been often noted that some uses of noun class 17 in these languages are not locative, or at least not locative in the sense of having a specific locative referent, such as when it is used as expletive subject agreement. However, even in these languages, class 17 is still thought of by most linguists as an essentially locative class. This paper aims to challenge this view, in two ways. First, it will survey the uses of class 17 throughout the grammatical system of Zulu, or, more broadly, of Nguni (see also Marten (2009a)), showing its locative and non-locative uses. And second, it will explore nine different types of cases in which a predicate bears class 17 subject agreement (in the form of the "subject marker"). It will be shown in all these cases not only that the subject marker agrees with some non-locative element, but also that several different analyses are needed to account for the clas 17 agreement in these different contexts. Thus, it is not sufficient simply to say that class 17 is a default class in Zulu rather than a locative class, but that class 17 agreement reflects agreement with elements of different types: expletive and referential; overt and covert; demonstrably theta-related and arguably introduced in their surface position.

Some of the constructions discussed here in relation to class 17 subject markers have parallels in the domain of class 17 object markers, an example of which is given below in (16). Class 17 object markers open up many questions concerning expletive objects, clausal complements, asymmetries in agreement patterns between conjoined subjects and conjoint object, and the problem of distinguishing between class 17 and infinitival class 15, while at the same time failing to bring any new insight to the essentially non-locative nature of subject and object markers. This being the case, the distribution of class 17 object markers will not be discussed in this paper.

There are only a few canonical nouns in class 17, that is, nouns that have an augment (or 'preprefix', here *u-*) and a class prefix (here *ku-*), such as *ukuntoko* 'toy' and *ukwindla* 'autumn', as well as some nouns lacking the augment like *phansi* 'down, below, on the ground; the bottom' Poulos and Msimang (1998).[2] It should be noted that the word meaning 'place' is *indawo*, which does not belong to class 17, but rather to class 9. But this situation is also common among languages in which the locative clauses are grammatically active, such as Herero (p.c., Lutz Marten).

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[2]Poulos and Msimang speak of classes 16 and 18 as if they were active in modern Zulu. However, because they show that nouns they assign to these classes all control the same agreement morphology as class 17, we must infer that they either maintain these two classes for historical and comparative reasons or on the basis of the morphology only of the noun itself.

2 Uses other than subject agreement

Class 17 subject markers will be discussed in detail in section 3. The present section will thus be used to survey other uses of this noun class throughout the language, beginning with the cases that are clearly locative and ending with those that are clearly non-locative.

2.1 Locative uses

***Khona* 'there'.**   On the basis of its form, *khona* 'there' appears to belong to a series of regularly formed pronouns, some of which are shown in (2), all of which end in *-na*.

(2)   mina, thina, lona, sona, kona, khona
       1S.PRON 1P.PRON 5PRON 7PRON 15PRON 17PRON
       'I, we, it, it, it, there'

Khona is used non-deictically. It can be used in matrix clauses, as in (3), as well as resumptively, in locative and temporal relative clauses, as in (4b). That this is an indisputatively locative usage should be evident.

(3)   Ngi-sebenza edolobhe-ni, kodwa a-ngi-hlali   khona.
       1S.SM-work   LOC:5city-LOC but   NEG-1S.SM-stay 17PRON
       'I work in Durban, but I don't live there.'

(4)   a. Ngi-sebenza ku-lesi   sikole.
            1S.SM-work   LOC-7this 7school
            'I work at this school.'
       b. Lesi yi-sikole   lapho ngi-sebenza *(khona).
            7this COP-7school there 1S.SM-work   17PRON
            'This is the school where I work.'

It should be noted that although non-deictic *khona* appears to have class 17 origins, the corresponding deictics 'here' and 'there' do not. Shown in (5), the locative deictics have vestigial class 16 morphology, with its characteristic *ph*, while the corresponding forms with class 17 *kh* are non-locative pronouns meaning 'this' and 'that'. This fact should be taken as an indication of the drastic delocativisation of class 17 in Nguni and has jocularly been referred to as the "Great Locative Shift" Marten (2009a).

(5)   a. *lapha* 'here', *lapho* 'there' (class 16)
       b. *lokhu* 'this', *lokho* 'that' (class 17)

Preposition *ku-* and *e-...-ni* locative morphology.   As in many Bantu languages, many nouns in Zulu have a special locative form, which in Zulu function like prepositional phrases (translated variously as 'in', 'to', 'from', etc., according to context). For most nouns admitting such a form, the augment (pre-prefix) is replaced with *e-* or *o-* and *-ni* (or an allomorph thereof) is suffixed to the end of the noun. The form is ilolustrated in (6), where the usual form *isikole* 'school' is the object in (6a), while the locative form *esikoleni* 'at school' is shown in (6b).

(6) a. B-a-kha   isikole esi-lung-ile   lapha.
         2SM-PST-build 7school REL:7SM-be.good-PERF here
         'They built a good school here.'

     b. Izingane eziningi   zi-ya-funda e-sikole-ni   sethu.
         10.children REL:10many 10SM-DJ-study LOC-7school-LOC 7our
         'A lot of children study at our school.'

These so-called "locative nouns" are relevant to a discussion of class 17 in Zulu because they are traditionally thought of as nouns because of the way they alternate with the preposition *ku-*, which is obviously the reflex of the class 17 noun prefix. Certain constructions and noun types (i.e., human nouns) do not admit the *e-...-ni* locative form, and in these cases the preposition *ku-* is used instead, as illustrated in (7). While the bare noun *izindawo* allows attachment of the *e-...-ni* morphology in (7a), the same noun preceded by a demonstrative does not, and the preposition *ku-* is used instead, as shown in (7b).

(7) a. izindawo, e-zindawe-ni
         10places   LOC-10places-LOC
         '(the) places, in (the) places'

     b. lezi   zindawo, ku-lezi   zindawo
         10these 10places   LOC-10these 10places
         'these places, in these places'

There are no analogous prepositions related to historical classes 16 or 18.

   Although this morpheme *ku-* is obviously derived from noun class 17, there are reasons to argue that it is a true preposition in the modern language and that have synchronically it should not be viewed as a noun class prefixes deriving class 17 noun phrases. One argument for analysing *ku-* as a preposition is that it displays a distributional property with the uncontested prepositions *nga-* '(instrumental) by, with' and *na-* '(comitative) with' (which is also arguably a conjunction meaning 'and'). *Nga-* and *na-* cannot be directly attached to certain types of noun phrases, including those starting with a form of the qunatifier *-onke* 'all'. This is shown for *nga-* in (8), while (9) shows that the same restriction holds for *ku-*.

(8) a. nge-zilimi   eziningi
         by-10languages 10many
         'in many languages'

     b. * nga-zonke izilimi
          by-10all   10languages
         intended: 'in all languages'

     c. nga-zo   zonke izilimi
         by-10PRON 10all   10languages
         'in all languages'

(9) a. kw-amalunga amaningi
         to-6members   6many
         'to many members'

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   b. * ku-wonke amalunga
         to-6all   6members

      intended: 'to all members'

   c. ku-wo   wonke amalunga
         to-6PRON 6all   6members

      'to all members'

If this analysis is correct, then, given *ku-*'s complemtary distribution with locative nouns of the *e-...-ni* type, the latter should be analysed as prepositional phrases, as well.

    Two additional arguments that *ku-* is a preposition come from Marten (2009b). First, *ku-* can attach to elements which noun class prefixes can never attach to, such as a demonstrative, as shown above in (7a). And second, if the constituent beginning with *ku-* is a class 17 noun (or noun phrase), we expect to be able to modify that noun with a modifier bearing class 17 concord, but this is not the case. As shown in (10), when such a constituent is modified with a possessive, the latter must bear the concord of the embedded canonical noun regardless of whether the noun bears *ku-* or *e-...-ni* morphology.

(10)   a. ku-bangane bakho / *kwakho
           to-2friends   2your   17your

         'to your friends'

      b. e-bhukw-ini   lakho / *kwakho
           LOC-5book-LOC 5your   17your

         'to your book'

    For all tense reasons, *ku-* is better analysed as a preposition than as a noun class prefix, and the phrase it heads is thus a PP. Furthermore, there are three types of evidence that *e-...-ni* forms are of the same grammatical category as *ku-* forms: they cannot be modified with class 17 morphology of (just like *ku-* forms), *e-...-ni* morphology alternates with *ku-* depending on the internal structure of the noun phrase, and (not shown) the distribution of *ku-* forms and *e-...-ni* forms within the sentence is identical. It follows thus that *e-...-ni* forms an also PPs.[3]

Predicate -*kho(na)* 'be present'.   We have already seen that *khona* as an independent word is a pronoun meaning 'there'. However, as a bound morpheme, -*khona* and its lighter form -*kho*, which appears in negative forms, function as a non-verbal predicate meaning 'be present', as in (11).

(11)   a. USipho u-khona.
           1Sipho   1SM-be.present

         'Sipho's here/there/present/in.'

      b. USipho a-ke-kho.
           1Sipho   NEG-1SM-be.present

         'Sipho isn't here/there/present/in.'

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[3]It must be stressed that this claim only holds for Zulu and some other southern Bantu languages. In many other Bantu languages, such as Swahili, the diagnostics discussed here pan out very differently, and *ku-* behaves more like a noun prefix (Marten, 2009a).

In an expletive subject construction, *-kho(na)* is used to formulate existential propositions, as in (12). (The use of the class 17 subject marker in these cases is discussed in section 3.1.8.)

(12)   a. Ku-khona   imali eningi lapha.
              17SM-be.present 9money 9much here

            'There is a lot of money here.'

        b. A-ku-kho   mali   eningi lapha.
              NEG-17SM-be.present 9money 9much here

            'There isn't a lot of money here.'

The predicate *-kho* also sometimes plays a role in more straightforwardly locative predication. First, we need to note that in affirmative clauses, TAM morphology can be prefixed directly to locative lexical DPs, as in (13a). Although *-khona* can also be used in an affirmative clause, as in (13b), here the lexical locative noun appears to function as an adjunct or right-dislocated adverbial phrase, as is evident in the difference in translation between (13a) and (13b), which makes clear that *-khona*, when present, is the semantic nucleus of the predicate.

(13)   a. USipho u-sedolobh-eni.
             1Sipho   1SM-LOC:-5town-LOC

            'Sipho's in town.'

        b. USipho u-khona   edolobh-eni.
              1Sipho   1SM-be.present LOC:-5town-LOC

            'Sipho is present in town.' (Informant's translation.)

The situation with negative clauses, however, is less clear. Negative TAM markers cannot attach directly to the lexical locative. Instead, they are attached to *-kho*, which precedes the lexical locative. This is simply the only way to express a negative locative proposition, and *-kho* can thus not be said to add any semantic content as in the affirmative case in (13b). Whether clauses like the affirmative (13b) and the negative (14b) should receive the same syntactic analysis or not is open to question.

(14)   a. U-se-dolobhe-ni.
              1SM-LOC:-5town-LOC

            'He's in town.'

        b. A-ke-kho   e-dolobhe-ni.
              NEG-1SM-be.present LOC-5town-LOC

            'He's not in town.'

Associative marker.   As our final locative usage of class 17, the associative marker ('of') bears class 17 agreement in certain adverbial expressions that function as prepositions, as illustrated in (15).

(15)   phansi kwe-mithi, phakathi kwa-bantu
       under   17of-4trees, between   17of-2people

       'under the trees, among the people'

Class members.   As mentioned in the introduction, a small number of nouns belonging to class 17. Poulos and Msimang (1998) claim that *phansi* 'down, below, on the ground; the bottom' *kude* 'far' and *muva* 'behind, at the back' are also nouns belong to classes 16, 17, and 18. While their example sentences in which they claim the noun serves as a subject are also amenable to a locative topic analyses, they do give an example, given in (16), where *phansi* controls object agreement, which seems to show its status as an argumental noun phrase.

(16) U-ya-ku-bon-a   phansi.
      2S.SM-DJ-17OM-see-FS 17bottom

      'Do you see (it) the bottom?' (P&M, p. 77)

However, whatever their correct analysis, words such as *phansi* have a different distribution than canonical nouns which could be interpreted as locations. This is shown in (17). While *phansi* can be used as a locative adverbial phrase after the verb *hlala* in (17a), the canonical noun phrase *le ndawo* 'this place' cannot. It must be embedded in a prepositional phrase headed by *ku-*.

(17)   a. Be-ngi-hleli   phansi.
           was-1S.SM-sitting 17bottom

           'I was sitting on the floor.'

        b. Bengihleli   *(ku-)le ndawo.
           was-1S.SM-sitting in-10this 10place

           'I was sitting in this place.'

2.2   Non-locative uses

Now we turn to a couple of non-locative uses of class 17.

Generic pronouns.   Class 17 is in at least two ways used as the agreement feature of a sort of generic pronoun. The first of these is the class 17 demonstrative pronouns referring either to a thing or group of things, without specifying a particular noun to refer to them, such as *lokhu* 'this' and *lokho* 'that' as in (18), or to a situation or action, as in (19).

(18) Ng-ubani o-fak-e   lokhu e-tafule-ni?
      COP-1who REL:1SM-put-PERF 17this LOC-5table-LOC

      'Who put this (stuff) on the table?'

(19) UThandi u-na-manga. A-ngi-ku-thand-i   lokho.
      1Thandi 1SM-with:5lies NEG-1S.SM-17OM-love-NEG 17that

      'Thandi lies. I don't like that.'

This use of class 17 can be compared to the so-called neuter pronouns of Spanish. Consider the pairs in (20) and (21). In the (a) examples, using the agreeing form of the pronoun (masculine *ese* in Spanish, and class 5 *lelo* in Zulu), the demonstrative refers to the gift (*reloj* is masculine, *igugu/amagugu* is class 5/6). In contrast, in the (b) examples, using the 'neuter' *eso* and class 17 *lokho* forms, respectively, the demonstrative refers to the situation or the act of giving.

(20) a. USipho u-ngi-ph-e   imigexo e-hlukene,   kodwa lowo
          1Sipho   1SM-1S.OM-give-PERF 4necklaces REL:4SM-different, but   3that
          a-wu-lung-ile.
          NEG-3SM-be.good-PERF

          'Sipho has given me various necklaces, but that one isn't good.'

      b. USipho u-ngi-ph-e   imigexo e-hlukene,   kodwa lokho
          1Sipho   1SM-1S.OM-give-PERF 4necklaces REL:4SM-different, but   17that
          a-ku-lung-ile.
          NEG-17SM-be.good-PERF

          'Sipho has given me various necklaces, but that (the fact that he does that)
          isn't good.'

(21) a. Eduardo me ha regalado varios   relojes, pero ese   no me gusta.
          Eduardo   me has given   several:MP clock:MP, but   this:MS no me please:3S

          'Eduardo has given me several watches, but I don't like that one.'

      b. Eduardo me ha regalado varios   relojes, pero eso   no me gusta.
          Eduardo   me has given   several:MP clock:MP, but   this:NEUT no me please:3S

          'Eduardo has given me several watches, but I don't like that (the fact that he
          does that).'

A second way in which this 'generic' use of class 17 frequently manifests itself as a
form of -*onke* 'all', which it is best translated as 'everything'. This usage is shown in
(22).

(22) S-enza   konke oku-semandle-ni   ethu.
      1P.SM-do 17all   REL:17SMLOC:6power-LOC 6our

      'We're doing everything in our power.'

The fact that these generic class 17 pronouns can control subject and object agreement
is shown, for example, in (20) and (19).

Swati -*ko*. Here we step outside of Zulu proper and note a morphological fact in Swati.
All the Nguni languages have an invariable suffix which appears in some contexts in
relative clauses (Doke 1973:§773).[4] While in Zulu and Xhosa this morpheme appears
as -*yo*, which resembles class 9 morphology, in Swati it is -*ko*, which suggests it was
originally a class 17 form. The morphemes in Zulu and Swati are shown in (23).

(23) a. la   maswidi eni-sa-wa-dla-yo   (Zulu)
          6those 6sweets   REL:2P.SM-still-6om-eat-REL

      b. la-maswidi   leni-sa-wa-dla-ko   (Swati)
          6those-6sweets REL:2P.SM-still-6om-eat-REL

          'those sweets that you're still eating'

Class members. A small number of nouns belonging to class 17 cannot be in any way
construed to be locative, such as *ukunto* 'thing' and *ukuntoko* 'toy'.

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[4]The distribution of this morpheme in some ways mirrors that of disjoint verb forms Buell (2006).

3 Class 17 subject agreement

We now turn our attention to class 17 subject agreement. As we shall see, only in one case (the subject of -*na* in existential constructions, section 3.1.9) is the subject arguably locative.

At this point something must be said about terminology. There is a long-standing debate whether Bantu subject and object markers are agreement morphemes or incorporated pronouns. While the discussion here will not have any bearing on that question, the choice has been made here to frame the discussion from the perspective that subject markers are agreement morphemes which agree with some subject, whether overt or silent. Further, it will be assumed that the subject markers are agreement features spelt out on the T^0 head and that the specifier of T^0 is always filled with some DP, whether in the form of an overt noun phrase or a *pro* (silent pronoun) of either the referential or expletive type. This analysis is illustrated in the two sentences in (24).

(24)   a. [$_{TP}$ Umfana [$_{T'}$ u-fik-ile.   ]]
              1boy   1SM-arrive-PERF
          'The boy has arrived.'

       b. [$_{TP}$ *pro*$_{[nc1]}$ [$_{T'}$ u-fik-ile.   ]]
                                1SM-arrive-PERF
          'He has arrived.'

3.1 The distribution of class 17 subject markers

Here follows a description of nine different situations or constructions in which a class 17 subject marker occurs in Zulu. A basic analysis is given for each of these. In section 3.2, the distribution of the class 17 subject marker is emxamined from the perspective of the nature of the element licensing it in spec-TP.

3.1.1 Class member subjects

We begin with the most staightforward case. Although unambiguous cases could not be found to test with my consultant,[5] it is expected noun phrases headed by class 17 nouns to be able to serve as subjects, as *ukwindla* does in the hypothetic (untested) sentence in (25).

(25)   Ukwindla se-ku-phel-ile.   (untested)
       17autumn   already-17SM-finish-PERF
       'Autumn is over.'

Like any other canonical subject agreement case, this would be analysed as agreement between the T^0 head and the subject in its specifier. It is expected that such a class 17 noun phrase could be dropped, resulting in a pronominal reading, just as with any other referential subject noun phrase. As shown in the untested example in (26), this would

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[5]The unambiguous cases involve non-locative class 17 members, but my consultant does not appear to have any such vocabulary items. As noted by Poulos and Msimang (1998), there has been a tendency to shift from class 17 to class 5 in these cases, such as class 5 *ikwindla* instead of class 17 *ukwindla*.

be analysed as a referential class 17 *pro* in spec-TP, just like the class 1 referential *pro* above in (24b).

(26) *pro* Se-ku-phel-ile.   (untested)
          already-17SM-finish-PERF
      'It is over.' (speaking of *ukwindla* 'autumn')

Clauses whose subject is a class 17 pronoun as discussed in section 2.2 also fall under this analysis.

3.1.2   Generic pronominal subjects

We saw in section 2.2 the that demonstrative *lokhu* 'this' and *lokho* 'that' and the word *konke* 'everything' are non-locative elements which bear class 17 morphology and which can control subject or object agreement. An additional example of subject agreement is given in (27), in which *konke* controls subject agreement on the verb *ba* 'be'.

(27) Bheka, ng-enza   konke ku-be   kusha.
      look   1S.SM-make 17all   17SM-be 17new
      'Behold, I make all things new.' (Revelation 20:4)

Since these subjects are obviously non-locative, it is evident that this class 17 subject agreement is also unrelated to locativity in any sense.

A class 17 subject marker is frequently encountered with no lexical subject antecedent when it appears that the subject is the situation at hand or the situation under discussion, as in (28) and (29).

(28) *pro* Ku-lung-ile.
          17SM-be.fine-PERF
      'Okay. That's fine.'

(29) *pro* Ku-hle   kakhulu.
          17SM-beautiful very
      'Very good!'

Because the demonstrative pronouns *lokhu* and *lokho* can be used to refer to situations, this use of the class 17 subject marker is probably best viewed simply as a subcase of the case where such a demonstrative controls subject agreement. The subject marker thus agrees with a class 17 *pro* corresponding to a dropped instance of a class 17 demonstrative.

3.1.3   *Seem*-like predicates

Zulu uses class 17 for expletive subject agreement with predicates like 'seem', as seen in (30).

(30) Ku-bonakala ukuthi ba-zo-fika   kusasa. (Zulu)
      17SM-DJ-seem that   2SM-FUT-arrive tomorrow
      'It seems that they'll arrive tomorrow.' _{Buell (2007)}

There seem to be two kinds of languages with respect to expletives, which we could call "mono-expletive" and "di-expletive" languages. In languages like English, there are two different expletives, namely *it* and *there*, which stand in complementary distribution, as shown in (31), where predicates like *seem* (when it has a tensed clause complement) or *be possible* takes *it* as their subject, while an existential predicate takes *there* as its subject.

(31)   a. It/*There seems that pigs can't fly.

           b. There/*It is a unicorn in the garden.

In Zulu there is no observable distinction between these two types of expletive. A predicate like 'seem' has no overt subject and the verb has class 17 subject agreement, and the same is true for an existential proposition, as in (32).

(32)   Ku-ne-zihlahla   eziningi lapha.
       17SM-with-9plants 9many   here
       'There are a lot of trees here.'

English is thus a di-expletive language, while Zulu is a mono-expletive language.

This choice in having either one or two expletives is not a difference between Bantu and Germanic languages more generally, because, in fact, both language families exhibit both types of expletive inventories. In a way similar to the English *it/there* dichotomy, Swahili, for example, uses class 9 subject agreement for *seem*-like predicates, while class 17 is used for existentials, as seen in (33).

(33)   a. Je, hapa ku-na   uhuru   wa habari? (Google)
            well here   17SM-with 11freedom 11of 10news
            'Is there from of the press here?'

           b. I-na-onekana kwamba.... (Swahili)
            9SM-PRES-seem that
            'It seems that....'

And in a way similar to Zulu's uniform expression of expletives, German uses the single pronoun *es* as an expletive where English distinguishes between *it* and *there*, as shown in (34).

(34)   a. Es ist möglich, dass Fritz kommt.
            it is possible   that Fritz comes
            'It's possible that Fritz will come.'

           b. Es war viel Geld in dem Schublade.
            it   was much money in the   drawer
            'There was a lot of money in the drawer.'

This makes us think that the subject in (30) is different from that in, say, inversions, even though they are morphologically identical in Zulu. If the *pro* in (30) is expletive, it could be introduced either in its surface position or inside a big DP containing the embedded clause (*ukuthi...*).

3.1.4 Copular clauses

It is occasionally noted in Zulu grammars or textbooks that a copular clause (nominal predicate) may take either normal subject agreement or class 17 agreement. An example of the alternation is given in (35). While in (35a) we see that the subject markers agree in noun class 1 features with the subject, (35b) has noun class 17 subject markers.

(35) a. USipho w-a-ye-ngu-mngane   wethu.
          1Sipho   1SM-PST-1SM-COP-1friend 1our

      b. U-Sipho kw-a-ku-ngu-mngane   wethu.
          1Sipho   17SM-PST-17SM-COP-1friend 1our
          'Sipho was a out friend.'

While there seems to be a special preference to use class 17 subject agreement with inverse copular sentences, as in (36b), this agreement is also grammatical in a canonical copular sentence, as shown in the corresponding sentence in (36a).

(36) a. USipho kw-a-ku-ng-usihlalo.
          1Sipho   17SM-PAST-17SM-COP-1chairman
          'Sipho was the chairman.'

      b. Usihlalo kw-a-ku-ng-uSipho.
          1chairman 17SM-PAST-17SM-COP-1Sipho
          'The chairman was Sipho.'

   While these facts are interesting in their own right and constitute a clear case where the subject controlling the class 17 subject agreement could not be said to be locative, it is further important to establish that this alternative is not a mere quirk of purely morphological nature, but that there are significant syntactic differences between the two agreement patterns and that the alternation mirrors one found in unrelated languages.

   Note from (35b) that the class 17 subject marker can occur when preceded by a lexical, non-coordinated DP. This possibility is a peculiarity of copular cluases, as can be inferred from (37), where three additional types of predication, two of them non-verbal just like the copular clauses, are shown to yield ungrammatical results in the same configuration.

(37) a. USipho kw-a-ku-ngu-mngane   wami. (nominal predicate)
          Sipho   17SM-PST-17SM-COP-1friend 1my
          'Sipho was my friend.'

      b. * USipho kw-a-ku-mdala.   (adjectival predicate)
          1Sipho   17SM-PST-17SM-1old
          intended: 'Sipho was old.'

      c. * USipho ku-se-dolobhe-ni.   (locative predicate)
          1Sipho   17SM-LOC-5town-LOC
          intended: 'Sipho is in town.'

      d. * USipho ku-fik-ile.   (verbal predicate)
          1Sipho   17SM-arrive-PERF
          intended: 'Sipho has arrived.'

It cannot be sheer coincidence that copular clauses in both French and Dutch also have a subject-related peculiarity. In those languages, an agreeing pronoun referring to a person may appear in the subject position of any type of predicate, but pronouns that are in some sense neuter can only refer to a person in this position in the case of a copular clause. This is shown in French in (38), where feminine *elle* 'she' can refer to Marie in subject position with all types of predicates, while neuter *ce* 'it, this, that' can only serve as a subject of a synonymous sentence if the predicate is copular, as in (38a).

(38) a. Elle / C' est mon amie, Marie. (nominal predicate)
          she   this is my   friend Marie
          'Marie is my friend.'

      b. Elle / *C' est sympathique, Marie. (adjectival predicate)
          she   this is nice   Marie
          'Marie is nice.'

      c. Elle / *Ce / *Ça m' a   beaucoup aidé, Marie. (verbal predicate)
          she   this   that me has much   helped Marie
          'Marie helped me a lot.'

A similar pattern is shown for Dutch in (39), where *hij* is a masculine pronoun meaning 'be' and *het* is a neuter pronoun. Note that *het* can only serve as the subject of a sentence about Peter if it has a nominal predicate, as in (39a).

(39) a. Die Peter toch! Het / Hij is een schat. (nominal predicate)
          that Peter indeed it / he is a   treasure
          'That Peter! He's a darling.'

      b. Die Peter toch! *Het / Hij is schattig. (adjectival predicate)
          that Peter indeed it   he is precious
          'That Peter! He's precious.'

      c. Die Peter toch! *Het / Hij schreeuwt zo. (verbal predicate)
          that Peter indeed it   he screams   so
          'That Peter! He yells so much.'

French *ce* and Dutch *het* share the property that they can both be used in the sort of impersonal expression shown in (40) and (41).[6]
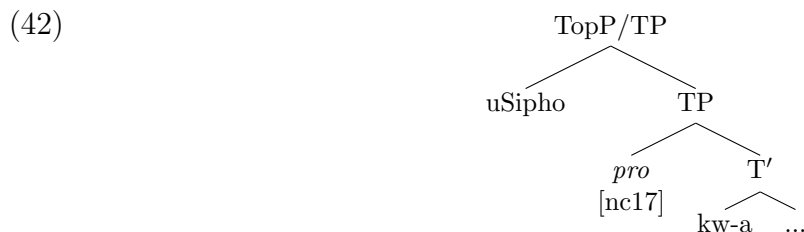
(40) C' est très important de faire attention.
      this is very important   of do:INF attention
      'It is very important to be careful.'

(41) Het is erg belangrijk om op je   hoede te blijven.
      it   is very important   to on your guard to stay
      'It is very important to be on your guard.'

As we have seen and will further see, the Zulu class 17 subject marker is used in several expletive contexts. This further strengthens the similarity in copular constructions between Zulu class 17, French *ce*, and Dutch *het*.

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[6]The term "expletive" is used loosely in the case of French *ce*, because this pronoun's distribution is more restricted than that of *il*, whose state as an expletive in some contexts is indisputable.

The Zulu pattern and the Indo-European pattern can be seen as the same phenomenon if we assume that in a Zulu sentence like (35b) the lexical subject is not in the canonical spec-TP subject position, but rather in a higher position, such as a topic position (or adjoined to TP), while spec-TP is filled by a class 17 *pro* with the same syntactic properties as French *ce* and Dutch *het*. This configuration is schematised in (42).

(42)

```
                        TopP/TP
                       /      \
                  uSipho       TP
                              /   \
                          pro      T′
                          [nc17]   /  \
                                kw-a  ...
```

Let's assume that in clauses like (35a), in contrast, in which the subject marker agrees with the subject, that the subject is a true structural subject in spec-TP, as in (43).

(43)

```
                        TP
                       /   \
                  uSipho    T′
                  [nc1]    /  \
                         u-   ...
```

If these structures are correct for the two different agreement patterns, then we might expect to find syntactic differences between the topic in (42) and the structural subject in (43). And in fact, clear differences between them can be observed. First, a plural preverbal lexical DP can be qunatified with *-onke* 'all' if the predicate agrees with it, but not if the class 17 subject marker is used, as shown in (44).[7]

(44)   a.   [Bonke abafana] b-a-be-nga-bangane   bethu.
            2all   2boys   2sm-pst-2sm-cop-2friends 2our

       b. * [Bonke abafana] kw-a-ku-nga-bangane   bethu.
            2all   2boys   17sm-pst-17sm-cop-2friends 2our
            'All the boys were our friends.'

And second, a subject relativisation is only possible if the agreeing subject marker is used, as shown in (45).

(45)   a.   Ngi-funa   abantu aba-nge-wona   amasela.
            1s.sm-want 2people rel:2sm-cop-6pron 6thieves

       b. * Ngi-funa   abantu oku-nge-wona   amasela.
            1s.sm-want 2people rel:17sm-cop-6pron 6thieves
            'I'm looking for people who aren't thieves.'

The latter fact reinforces the parallel drawn between the Zulu class 17 subject and French *ce* in copular clauses. Note in (46) that *gens* cannot be relativised if *ce* is present. (The same facts also hold for the Dutch equivalent.)

(46)   Je cherche des gens qui (*ce) ne soient pas des voleurs.

The lexical 'subject' is thus in a higher position (spec-TopP or adjunct to IP), while spec-IP is occupied by a *pro* with class 17 features.

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[7]A more complicated asymmetry is found with 'every' Buell (2008).

3.1.5 Conjoined subjects

A coordinated subject consisting of nouns of unlike classes may trigger class 17 subject agreement, as in (47). (See Nyembezi (1970) for many more examples.)

(47) Izinkuni na-malahle ku-phel-ile.
     10wood   and-6coal   17SM-finish-PERF
     'The firewood and coal is finished.' _{Nyembezi (1970)}

At least some speakers also allow class 17 agreement even if the two conjuncts are of the same class, as shown in (48).[8]

(48) a. Amaganu na-makhiwane ku-phel-ile.
       6ganu   and-6figs   17SM-finish-PERF
       'The marula fruits and figs are finished.'

     b. Amanzi na-mafutha ku-phel-ile.
       6water   and-6oil   17SM-finish-PERF
       'The water and oil is finished.'

While there is still no standard analysis for how agreement in coordination gets resolved, it is generally assumed that a conjoined subject occupies the same position as a simple subject. (See Riedel (2008), chapter 7 for a detailed discussion of conjunction agreement resolution in Bantu.) Class 17 subject agreement must thus here be seen as a sort of default agreement with the conjoined subject. In this case, the class 17 agreement might be said to come about either by assigning class 17 agreement features to the conjoined noun phrase, which in turn triggers class 17 agreement on the subject marker, or to result from agreement failure. But in either case, class 17 must be seen as some sort of default. Subject relativisation provides evidence that coordinated subjects can indeed occupy the canonical subject position. It will be shown below in (55) that relative clauses cannot have topics. Therefore, the coordinated noun phrase in (49) must be in the subject position (or at least not in topic position) of the relative clause *izinkumi namalahle okuthengiwe*.

(49) Izinkuni na-malahle oku-theng-iwe   ku-yo-phela   ngokushesha.
     10wood   and-6coal   REL:17SM-buy-PSV:PERF 17SM-FUT-finish quickly
     'The firewood and coal that was bought will run out quickly.'

3.1.6 Inversions

Inversion constructions, defined here as clauses in which the logical subject follows the verb (rather than as clauses having undergone some inversion process), which in turn bears a class 17 subject marker, occur in a variety of contexts in Zulu, such as in the quotative inversion in (50).

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[8]Lisa Cheng (p.c.) found class 17 agreement to be obligatory for mass noun conjuncts, as in (48a), but ungrammatical for count noun conjuncts, as in (48b), but I was not able to reduplicate this contrast. In both cases, both class 6 and class 17 subject agreement were judged to be grammatical.

(50) "Sawubona." Ku-sho uSipho.
      hello   17SM-say 1Sipho
      '"Hello," said Sipho.'

A particular subset of these constructions, namely those in which the verb preceded with a locative expression have received great attention in the literature on locative inversion in Bantu languages. In languages with rich locative agreement systems, such as Swahili and Herero, it can easily be shown that such inversions are not expletive subject constructions, because the preverbal locative controls agreement on the subject marker, which varies according to which of the two or three locative classes the locative expression belongs. But for some southern Bantu languages in which out of the three historical locative noun classes only class 17 is somewhat active, it has been argued that a preverbal locative expression in such a clause is a topic rather than a locative subject. Zulu is such a language. Because this point has been argued extensively elsewhere Buell (2005), only two arguments will be presented here to the effect that a preverbal locative is not the structural subject in such an inversion in Zulu.

First, the locative can be resumed with *khona*, which is typical of A-bar movement:

(51) Ku-lezi   zindlu ku-hlala (khona) abantu abakhubazekile.
      LOC-10these 10house 17SM-stay 17PRON 2people 2handicapped
      'In these ouses live handicapped people.'

(52) a. Ku-le   ndlu a-ngi-sa-hlal-i   *(khona).
          LOC-9this 9house NEG-1S.SM-DUR-stay-NEG 17PRON
          'At this house I don't live anymore.'

      b. indawo lapho ngi-hlala *(khona)
          9place   there 1S.SM-stay 17PRON
          'the place where I live'

Second, relativisation shows that the preverbal locative cannot be the subject. Note that a relative clause cannot start with an adverb:

(53) Nasi   isithombe (*e-sikole-ni) engi-si-dweb-ile   izolo.
      7here.is 7picutre   LOC-7school-LOC REL:1S.SM-7OM-draw-PERF yesterday
      'Here is the picture that (at school) I drew yesterday.'

If *ensimi* in (55a) were the subject, then the clause should be grammatical:

(54) umnumzane isitha es-a-bulala   izinkomo zakhe
      9gentleman 7enemy REL:7SM-PST-kill 10cows   10his
      'the man whose cows the enemy killed'

(55) a. * umnumzane e-nsimi-ni   okw-a-bulawa   izinkomo zakhe
             1gentleman LOC-9field-LOC REL:17SM-PST-kill:PSV 10cows   10his

      b. umnumzane okw-a-bulawa   izinkomo zakhe e-nsimi-ni
          1gentleman REL:17SM-PST-kill:PSV 10cows   10his LOC-9field-LOC
          'the man whose cows were killed in the field'

We have now seen inversion constructions in which some overt element precedes the verb, but there are also cases in which nothing precedes the verb, as in (56b).

(56) a. I-zingane zi-fik-ile.
10children 10SM-arrive-PERF

'The children have come.'

b. Ku-fik-e   izingane.
17SM-arrive-PERF 10children

'The children/some children have come.' OR 'The CHILDREN have come.'

c. [TP *pro*[nc17] [T′ Kufike izingane.]]

Here we assume that the subject position is filled by a *pro* with class 17 features, as in (56c) The question is whether this *pro* is expletive or referential. This question can be answered by putting this construction into a discourse context, as in (57).

(57) Ngi-zi-bon-ile   [lezo   zindlu.]$_i$
1S.SM-10OM-see-PERF   10those 10houses

'I saw those houses.'

a. *pro*$_i$ A-zi-hlal-i   muntu.
NEG-10SM-stay-neg BARE:1person

'Nobody lives there.'

b. # *pro*$_{expl/*i}$ A-ku-hlal-i muntu.

In the context given, a location is clearly established as a topic, but this location cannot serve as a silent subject of a verb with class 17 subject agreement, as in (56b).[9] This shows not only that the *pro* in these constructions *may* be expletive, but moreover that it can *never* be expletive.

The agreement contrast between (56a) and (56b) is bested explained in terms of movement and expletive insertion. In (56a) the subject has moved from its original *v*P-internal position to spec-TP, triggering an agreement relation between itself and the T^0 head.[10] In (56b), in contrast, the logical subject remains in its *v*P-internal position and cannot enter into an agreement relation with T^0, which requires its agreement-triggering element to occupy its specifier. An expletive *pro* (which has class 17 features) is then inserted in spec-TP, triggering class 17 agreement on the T^0 head.

Sentences are often encountered in which the class 17 subject marker is preceded by a locative phrase, as exemplified by (58):

(58) Ku-lezi zindlu ku-hlal-a   (khona) abantu abadala.
in-10these 10houses 17SM-stay-PSV there   2people 2old

'In these houses live old people.'

Recent work on such clauses in southern Bantu languages (such as Buell (2007), Creissels (2009), and Zerbian (2005)) has come to the conclusion that these preverbal locative expressions are topics and thus not subjects controlling subject agreement, contrary to the earlier claim in Demuth and Mmusi (1997). One of the strongest arguments that these preverbal locatives are not subjects involves subject relativisation. Note that in

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[9]The facts are the same if the locative expression in the context is in locative form, such as 'I went to those houses.'

[10]Technically, this can be imnplemented by saying that the T^0 head in Zulu has an EPP feature in addition to agreement features.

(59) an overt subject in a non-subject relative of this type normally intervenes between the head noun and the verb:

(59) umnumzane isitha es-a-bulal-a   izinkomo zakhe
      9gentleman 7enemy REL:7-PAST-kill-FS 10cows   10his
      'the man whose cows the enemy killed'

Now, if the locative in a formal locative inversion were a subject in the same way the *isitha* 'the enemy' is in (60), we would expect it to intervene between the head noun and the verb in the same way, but this is not the case, as shown in (60a).

(60) a. umnumzane okw-a-bula-w-a   izinkomo zakhe e-nsimi-ni
         1gentleman REL:17SM-PAST-kill-PSV-FS 10cows   10his LOC-9field-LOC
         'the man whose cows were killed in the field'
      b. * umnumzane e-nsimi-ni   okw-a-bulaw-a   izinkomo zakhe
         1gentleman LOC-9field-LOC REL:17SM-PAST-kill-PSV-FS 10cows   10his

The most obvious conclusion to be drawn here is that the preverbal locative expression in clauses in inversions are topics, which are independently disallowed from Strategy 1 relative clauses, as shown by the locative topic *esikoleni* at school' in (61).

(61) Nasi   isithombe (*e-sikole-ni) engi-si-dweb-ile   izolo.
      7here.is 7picture   LOC-7school-LOC REL:1S.SM-7OM-draw-PERF yesterday
      'Here is the picture that (at school) I drew yesterday.'

3.1.7 Impersonal passives

The class 17 subject marker is used in the impersonal passive construction, illustrated in (62).

(62) Ku-ya-dans-w-a.
      17SM-DJ-dance-PSV-PERF
      'There is dancing. Es wird getanzt.'

(63) A-ku-dans-wa   lapha kuphela. Ku-dansw-a   na-kw-ezinye izindawo.
      NEG-17SM-dance-PSV:FS here   only   17SM-dance-PSV-FS and-to-10other 10places
      'It's not just here that there's dancing. There's dancing in other places, too.'

Impersonal passives are standardly analysed as expletive constructions (see, for example Bowers (2002)), and in di-expletive languages, an expletive corresponding to *there* rather than *it* is used. We will therefore assume, as in all expletive constructions, that in the Zulu impersonal passive, spec-TP is occupied by an expletive *pro* with class 17 features.

3.1.8 Subject of *-kho(na)*

The predicate *-kho(na)* itself, which is obviously at least historically some class 17 element, was discussed in section 2.1. However, the subject marker on this predicate can also be of class 17. This is seen in the question in the exchange in (64).

(64) Q: Ku-khona   imali   eningi yini e-lahlekile?
       17SM-be.present 9money 9much Q   REL:9SM-lost:DJ
       'Is there a lot of money lost?'

   A: Yebo, i-khona.
       yes   9SM-be.present
       'Yes, there is.'

Assuming that the class 17 subject marker in (64Q) agrees with a *pro* in spec-TP, there are at least two reasons for thinking that this *pro* is not in any sense locative. First, if the predicate is in fact itself locative, then assuming that the subject *pro* is also locative means that the clause has not one but two non-referential locative elements. In a sentence like (65), this would mean maintaining that there are three locative elements: the referential locative *ebhanki* 'in the bank', the non-referential locative predicate *-khona*, and the non-referential locative *pro* triggering class 17 agreement on the subject marker. The implausibility of such an analysis should be evident.

(65) Ku-khona   imali eningi e-bhanki.
    17SM-be.present 9money 9much LOC-5bank
    'There is a lot of money in the bank.'

The second reason that this *pro* subject should not be taken as locative relates to subject raising. Note in (64) above that while the subject marker of the question is of class 17, that of the answer is of class 9, agreeing with *imali* 'money'. This is best explained by assuming that in the question, *imali* is inside VP, forcing an expletive *pro* to be inserted in spec-TP, while in the answer a *pro* with class 9 features and referring to *imali* has raised from spec-VP to spec-TP. This is precisely the same analysis already shown for inversion constructions in section 3.1.6. The parallel between verbal inversion constructions and *-khona* existential clauses with respect to expletives and subject raising is shown in (66).

(66) a. i. [$_{TP}$ *pro*$_{expl}$ [$_{T'}$ Ku-fik-e izingane.]]
        ii. [$_{TP}$ Izingane [$_{T'}$ zifikile t_i.]]
           'Children arrived.'
    b. i. [$_{TP}$ *pro*$_{expl}$ [$_{T'}$ Ku-khona imali.]]
        ii. [$_{TP}$ Imali$_i$ [$_{T'}$ ikhona t_i.]]
           'There is money.'

It has be proposed that English *there* (as well as Italian *ci*) in existential constructions is in fact not an expletive but a raised predicate (Moro, 1997). One might thus entertain an analysis where in this case the Zulu class 17 *pro* is a raised predicate in the same way, but the analysis does not work well. First, the predicate is clearly *-khona* itself rather than a sort of dummy verb like English *be*. In fact, in non-existential clauses, *-khona* was shown above in (13) to alternate with a subject marker directly attached to a locative phrase, with a clear difference in interpretation. Second, in the English and Italian constructions, the verb agrees in number with the clause-final theme (*there is a unicorn* vs. *there are two unicorns*), whereas in the Zulu construction the verb does not ever agree with an unraised theme—the subject marker always bears class 17 features.

3.1.9 Subject of *-na*

It its non-predicative uses, *na* conveys meanings such as comitative 'with' and 'and', as illustrated in (67) and (68).

(67) Ngi- cul- e   na- lo   mfana.
      1S.SM- sing- PERF.CJ with- 1that 1boy
      'I sang with this boy.'

(68) Mina   na- lo   mfana a-   si-   cul- anga nge-   zikhathi ezahlukene.
      1S.PRON with- 1this 1boy   NEG- 1P.SM- sing- NEG   at:ART- 8times   8different
      'This boy and I sang at different times.'

But used as a predicate, this non-verbal element is used primarily to expression possession like the English verb *have*, as shown in (69).[11]

(69) Umfana u-na-marandi ayikhulu.
      1boy   1SM-with-6rands 6hundred
      'The boy has a hundred rand.'

Note that in this usage, a subject marker agreeing with the possessor is attached directly to *na*. A class 17 subject marker can also be attached to *-na*, in which case the clause is existential, as shown in (70).

(70) Ku-na-marandi ayikhulu.
      17SM-with-6rands 6hundred
      'There are a hundred rand.'

     Recall that with the existential predicate *-khona*, the subject raising facts were interpreted as evidence that a class 17 subject marker attached to this predicate agrees with an expletive *pro*. Can the same argument be used to draw a similar conclusion for existential *-na* clauses? Unfortunately not, as shown by the ungrammatical (71A1), where the possessum *imali* (or rather, the *pro* referring to it) has raised to spec-TP, triggering class 9 agreement on the subject marker.

(71) Q: Ku-ne-mali   eningi yini e-lahlekile?
         17SM-with-9money 9much Q   REL:9SM-lost
         'Is there a lot of money lost?'

      A1: * Yebo, i-na(-yo).
           yes   9SM-with-9PRON

      A2: Yebo, i-khona.
           yes   9SM-be.present
           'Yes, there is.'

This fact can be attributed to case. Assuming that *na* is a preposition, it can be presumed to assign oblique case to its complement. Hence, we do not expect the oblique complement to raise to spec-TP, which is a nominative case position. This analysis is agnostic to the

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[11]When the subject of *na* is referential and the object refers to a definite human, the interpretation is that of 'with', as in *Nginogogo*. 'I'm with Grandmother.'

question as to whether *pro* in *-na* existential clauses is expletive or locative. However, maintaining that *pro* is expletive in this case is more consistent with the conclusions discussed concerning both inversions and existential *-khona* clauses. If class 17 *pro* is expletive when attached to *-na*, as well, then *-na* displays the same pattern as both of those other clause types, except that the subject raising variant is unavailable for independent reasons (case). Unavailability of subject raising with existential *na* has a curious consequence. When for discourse-structure-related reasons one wants to perform subject raising one simply switches to the alternative *-khona* strategy. This is illustrated in the exchange in (71), where the question is posed using the *-na* predicate, while the grammatical answer in (71A2) switches to the *-khona* strategy.[12]

There is one complication for the expletive *pro* analysis, namely that it entails postulating two distinct argument structures: a single argument for existential *-na* versus two arguments (possessor and possessum) for possessive *-na*. However, this is also a complication for better studied cases like German *geben/es gibt* 'give/there is' and French *avoir/il y a* 'have/there is'. This duality of argument structure is therefore not a problem peculiar to Zulu.

The predicate-raising analysis briefly considered in 3.1.8 is problematic for this existential construction, just as it was for existentials with *-khona*. On the basis of its possessive usage, it can be argued that the predicate is *-na* itself, and that agreement in this construction is never with the theme, unlike in English and Italian.

3.2 Class 17 subject agreement triggers

In section 3.1 we explored the distribution of the class 17 subject marker in terms of the configurations or constructions in which it occurs, and an analysis was provided for each of these constructions. This much accomplished, we can now approach the distribution in terms of what occupies spec-TP, the canonical subject position which triggers agreement on the subject marker and which is assumed to always be filled. The obvious generalisation we can make is that spec-TP is always occupied by either an overt DP (noun phrase) or *pro*. However, a closer examination of these overt DPs and *pro*'s reveals a greater diversity.

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[12]It is also ungrammatical to pronominalise or elide the theme in an existenstial clause, as shown in (a), which is another ungrammatical answer to (71Q). This contrasts with *-na*'s usage in possessive clauses, as shown in (b), in which the possessum can be pronominalised. The unavailability of pronominalisation in an existential is presumably due to an indefiniteness requirement.

(a) * Yebo, ku-na-(yo.)
     yes   17SM-with-9PRON

    Intended: 'Yes, there is.'

(b)   i. Ngi-ne-mali.
       1S.SM-with-9money

       'I have (the) money.'

    ii. Ngi-ne-yo.
       1S.SM-with-9PRON

       'I have it.'

The subjects triggering class 17 agreement can be divided into two categories. On the one hand, there are DPs which have class 17 features as a consequence of their class 17 class membership. These are the noun phrases headed by a class 17 noun and those consisting of a class 17 generic pronoun such as *lokho* 'that' or *konke* 'everything'. On the other hand are the conjoined noun phrases of unlike clauses discussed in 3.1.5.

The situation in which spec-TP is occupied by *pro* is more complicated. *Pro* can be either referential or purely expletive, but while in most cases it is very clear which kind of *pro* is involved, in one of the constructions discussed this is difficult to determine. The clear case of referential *pro* is when the implied subject is obviously a class 17 class member. In section 3.1.2 it was suggested that in sentences like *Kulungile* 'That's fine', the class 17 subject is a *pro* referring to a situation, in the same way that class 17 demonstratives like *lokho* 'that' can refer to situations. However, it could conceivably be argued that the subject is actually expletive *pro*.

Five constructions clearly involve an expletive subject. The first four, all corresponding to *there* constructions in languages with an *it/there* expletive dichotomy are inversions, impersonal passives, existential *-khona* clauses, and existential *-na* clauses. Besides the fact that these all correspond to expletive constructions in better studied languages, an expletive analysis is also supported by language-internal evidence, the most important of which is the subject raising alternation observed with inversions and *-khona*. It can be argued that the two remaining constructions do not exhibit the raising/non-raising alternation for independent reasons: in the personal passive construction there is simply no subject available to raise, while raising of the theme in *-na* constructions would result in assignment of two different cases to a single DP, as discussed in 3.1.9. The fifth expletive *pro* construction, the *seem*-like predicates, corresponds to an *it* expletive rather than to *there* in di-expletive languages.

The most interesting case of a *pro* subject is that of copular clauses. Three arguments were given to show that the lexical DP preceding a predicate nominal bearing a class 17 subject marker cannot be in the canonical spec-TP subject position: it cannot be quantified, it cannot be relativised, and the class 17 subject marker with a preceding lexical DP corresponds to the presence of an overt neuter pronoun in French and Dutch. This conclusion entails that spec-TP must be filled with a *pro* which licenses the class 17 subject marker.

It is tempting to simply assume that *pro* in this construction is expletive just like the six other cases just listed. However, there are two types of evidence that greatly weaken such an analysis. First, a connection was made between Zulu copular clauses with the class 17 subject marker and French predicate nominal clauses with a *ce* subject, and it was proposed that the *pro* in Zulu is the counterpart of French *ce* in these clauses. However, *ce* is not an authentic expletive in French, as shown in its inability to appear in many positions in which the true expletive *il* can, such in a meteorological expression, an existential clause, or as the subject of *sembler* 'seem', all shown in (72).

(72) a. Il / *Ce pleut.
          he   this rains
          'It is raining.'

      b. Il / *C' y   a   un problème.
          he   this there has a   problem

'There's a problem.'

c. Il / *Ce semble que....
    he   this   seems   that
    'It seems that....'

Thus, if French *ce* and Zulu *pro* in this type of clause are equivalents, then the latter cannot be expletive.

The second type of support for this conclusion has to do with this *pro*'s restriction to copular clauses. The standard view of expletives is that they are inserted in spec-TP. In languages with both a *there* and an *it* expletive, the choice is made entirely on the basis of the features of the T^0 head. If T^0 has a nominative case feature to check then the expletive is *it*, and conversely, if T^0's nominative case feature has already been checked against a nominative DP within its checking domain, then the expletive is *there*, which has no case features. The choice of expletive, then, is not sensitive to the type of predicate or construction, only to the features of T^0. This, however, is not the case with the class 17 *pro* of the copular clause. It was clearly shown in (37) that class 17 subject agreement with a preceding human canonical DP is possible only when the predicate is nominal. This specification clearly cannot be a feature of T^0. Such a restriction to a particular predicate type rather indicates that this *pro* must originate either from within the predicate or in a local relationship to it. This *pro*, unlike expletive *pro* under the standard approach, thus appears in spec-TP as the result of movement from below inflection rather than being base-generated in this high position. Bowers (2002) has proposed that all expletives surfacing in spec-TP are raised from a subinflectional position (except when base-generated in a specifier CP). However, under that analysis as well, the choice between expletives is made purely on the basis of case features, a situation which thus still points to an analysis in which the Zulu class 17 *pro* of copular clauses is not expletive.

Class 17 subject agreement is thus triggered by a variety of types of overt DPs and *pro*. It will be noted that in only one of these cases is the subject locative, namely, when a class 17 member subject (or a *pro* referring to one) happens to refer to a location, such as is the case with *ukunxele* 'left-hand side' or *phansi* '(on) the ground'. It should be stressed that expletives are by definition devoid of semantic content and thus can in no sense ever be locative.

4   Discussion and conclusion

In the previous section, we saw that class 17 expletive agreement could be triggered by a variety of different subject types: a class 17 class member, a conjoined subject, referential *pro*, and expletive *pro*. Except in the case where a class member happens to refer to a location (or where *pro* refers to such a class member), these subjects are not locative. This leads us to the conclusion that class 17 subject agreement is an essentially non-locative phenomenon.

If we make the conservative assumption that any DP, and hence any class 17 DP, can serve as the subject of a clause, this leads us to the even broader conclusion that class 17 DPs are essentially non-locative, as well. This is confirmed by what we learned about

class 17 class members in section 2. While class 17 contains locative class members, this fact is somewhat accidental because of the fact that it also has non-locative members.

Taking this as a starting point, let us make the claim that, synchronically speaking, Zulu class 17 is essentially non-locative. This leaves us with four locative uses to account for. The first of these is the predicate *-kho(na)*, which can be argued to be a lexicalised element which no longer forms part of the noun class paradigm. This analysis is suggested by the fact that an alternation exists, illustrated in (13), where the presence of *-khona* adds a sense of presence distinct from the location itself.

The second locative case to be accounted for is *ku-* 'in, at from, etc.'. Given that this element was argued to be a preposition, we can safely assume that this element does not form part of the noun class paradigm, either, for there are no analogous prepositions associated with any of the other noun clauses.

The third case, that of the pronoun *khona* 'there' is harder to divorce from the noun class paradigm because in morphological respects, *khona* looks like a regularly formed pronoun. However, some justification is found if we look at the pronominal system as a whole. We saw that the class 17 demonstratives such as *lokho* 'that (thing or situation)' do not have a locative meaning at all. If the demonstratives are taken as regularly formed members of the class paradigm, then *khona* as a locative pronoun meaning 'there' is an anomaly, and can thus be considered exceptional rather than a regularity from which we can deduce some property of class 17.

The fourth and final case is that of the associative marker ('of') in adverbial phrases such as *phakathi kwabantu* 'among the people'. This case can be subsumed under the accidental nature of the class 17 class membership of nouns such as *phakathi*.

Additional evidence for the essentially non-locative nature of class 17 in Zulu can also be found in what were termed generic pronouns: demonstratives like *lokho* 'that (thing or situation)' and *konke* 'everything'. These appear to be reguarly formed class 17 members. Therefore, if class 17 is an essentially locative class, we would expect *lokho* to mean 'there (deictic)' and *konke* to mean 'everywhere'. The fact that these words cannot have these interpretations thus lends further support to class 17 as a non-locative in nature.

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