N-words in disguise: a negative concord approach to augmentless NPIs in Xhosa and Zulu

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Zulu and Xhosa nouns function similarly to negative polarity items (NPIs) when lacking an outer noun class prefix known as the *augment*. We adopt Halpert's 2012 proposal that the distribution of augmentless nominals in Zulu is determined by a morpho-syntactic feature; however we argue that the relevant feature is not *u*Case, as in her analysis, but rather abstract uninterpretable negation. Augmentless NPIs are negative concord items (aka *n*-words) which must be licensed in an Agree relation with a negation operator (Agree (*i*Neg…*u*Neg)); see Zeijlstra 2004, 2008, 2013). We present a unified analysis of such expressions in Zulu and Xhosa, demonstrating a striking range of parallels to *n*-words in well-studied negative concord languages including West Flemish, Italian, and French. We also provide some evidence that negative concord is an A'-relation (Haegeman 1995). Lastly, we argue that the augmentless forms lack *u*Case completely: *u*Case is a feature of D, and in these languages, D is the augment.

1.   Introduction
1.1   Augmented and augmentless nominals

Xhosa and Zulu nouns typically have two class prefixes (see (1)a). Minus the outer prefix

vowel a.k.a. *augment*, they can function as negative polarity items (= NPIs, indicated by

underlining). [1,2] Though our analysis will claim their properties differ from those of

English-type NPIs in crucial ways, we employ the label for convenience sake.

(1)   a. A-ndi-bon-i   u-m-ntwana   [Xhosa]
         NEG-1sSA-see-FV   1-1-child
         'I don't see a/the child'   *augmented nominal is direct object*

      b. A-ndi-bon-i   m-ntwana   *augmentless nominal is direct object*
         NEG-1sSA-see-FV   1-child   *and has NPI interpretation*
         'I don't see any child'

In an illuminating study of Zulu nominals, Halpert (2012) describes intricate patterns of

distribution that distinguish the augmented and augmentless varieties. Halpert also

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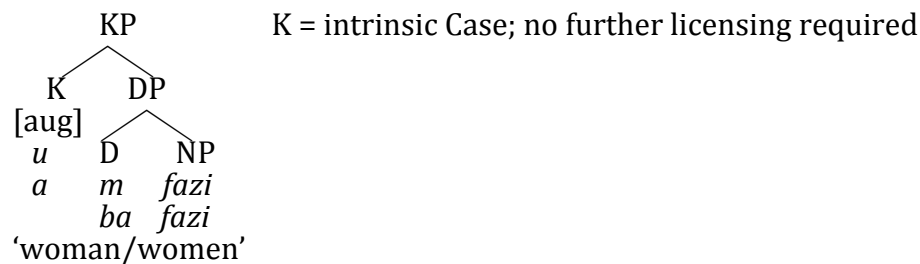[1] [-A] nominals also serve as wh-words and can appear in Yes/No questions. See Halpert 2012.

[2] In glosses, SA=subject agreement; OM=object marker; NEG = negation; SUBJ = subjunctive; FV = the final vowel of verbs in indicative, affirmative clauses. Arabic numbers = noun classes (number + gender) unless followed by s or pl in which case they are person features. DISJ1-2 are tense morphemes on verbs that are final in their domains; CONJ1-2 are tense morphemes on verbs non-final in their domains. Some but not all nouns have 2 separable class prefixes. We indicate class on prefixes and, if there is only one prefix, on the noun root. NPIs and wh-words in questions lack the outer prefix (apart from preverbal subject *wh*-).

demonstrates convincingly that restrictions on the distribution of the augmentless

(henceforth [-A]) NPIs should be attributed to a morphosyntactic feature rather than to

semantic factors. The feature that Halpert identifies as the determinant of [-A] NPI

distribution is Case: Halpert argues that only such nominals require Case-licensing in Zulu.

The outer prefix borne by augmented nominals (henceforth [+A]) is a kind of intrinsic

Case-licenser that allows them to surface in positions that Halpert argues to be lacking in

structural Case.

(2)   *Halpert 2012: a Zulu nominal without the augment is a DP and needs structural Case-*
       licensing. Augmented nominals are intrinsically Cased KPs.

                    KP   K = intrinsic Case; no further licensing required
                  /   \
               K   DP
            [aug]   /   \
              u   D   NP
              a   *m*   *fazi*
                      ba *fazi*
                'woman/women'

Among the sources of Halpert's claim that [-A] NPIs in Zulu have special Case-licensing

needs is the fact that, unlike [+A] nominals, they cannot appear in pre-verbal subject

position, even with c-commanding negation (see (3)). Halpert argues that this is because

Spec, TP systematically lacks Case-licensing in Zulu. In contrast, so long as the matrix clause

includes negation, most speakers accept [-A] NPIs in the low, post-verbal subject position

of an embedded VS construction and as object in an embedded SVO clause[3] ((3)-(6) from

Halpert 2012: 92 & 97). Based on this difference between pre- and post-verbal positions,

Halpert claims that structural Case valuation is only available vP-internally in Zulu.

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[3] There is variation in both Zulu and Xhosa regarding whether [-A] NPIs are acceptable within tensed clause
complements like (4) or only subjunctives like (5), embedded under negation. This correlates with
(non)permeability of tensed clauses to other cross-clausal processes; we address it in §5.2. Infinitival clauses
in Zulu or Xhosa cannot have any kind of overt subject. We leave this interesting issue to future research.

(3) a. A-ngi-sho-ngo   ukuthi u-mu-ntu u-fik-ile
   NEG-1sSA-say-NEG.PST that 1-1-person 1SA-arrive-DISJ1
   'I didn't say that someone arrived'

  b. *A-ngi-sho-ngo   ukuthi <u>mu-ntu</u> u-fik-ile
   NEG-1sSA-say-NEG.PST that <u>1-person</u> 1SA-arrive-DISJ1
   'I didn't say that anyone arrived'

(4) A-ngi-sho-ngo   ukuthi ku-fik-é   u-mu-ntu /<u>mu-ntu</u>
   NEG-1sSA-say-NEG.PST that 17SA-arrive-CONJ 1-1-person/<u>1-person</u>
   'I didn't say that someone/anyone arrived'

(5) A-ngi-fun-i   ukuthi u-Sipho a-phek-e   i-qanda/<u>qanda</u>
   NEG-1sSA-want-NEG.PST that 1-1Sipho 1SA-cook-SUBJ 5-5egg/<u>5egg</u>
   'I don't want Sipho to cook an/any egg'

In this paper we show that the distributional pattern of Xhosa [-A] NPIs is nearly identical

to that of their Zulu counterparts as described in Halpert 2012, and on this basis we pursue

a unified account. We adopt Halpert's proposal that a morphosyntactic feature restricts the

distribution of [-A] NPIs. But we also argue that the pattern of facts shared by Xhosa and

Zulu [-A] NPIs has striking parallels in the syntax of negative concord items in languages

like French and West Flemish. Among these is the famous contrast in (6) from Kayne 1981.

(6) a. Je n' ai exigé qu' ils arête   **personne**   [French: Kayne 1981]
   I *ne* have required that they arrest(subj) nobody
   'I didn't require that they arrest anybody'

  b. *Je n' ai exigé que **personne** soit arêté
   I *ne* have required that no one be arrested
   (I didn't require that anybody be arrested')

 Based on a detailed comparison, we claim that the distribution of [-A] NPIs in Zulu and

Xhosa is best captured by analyzing them as negative concord items, for which we

henceforth adopt the term *n*-words from Laka 1990. Following Zeijlstra 2004, 2008, 2013

and Haegeman & Lohndal 2010, we account for the local dependency between negation

and *n*-words by means of the assumption that *n*-words bear uninterpretable negation

features (*u*Neg), requiring licensing in an Agree relation with the interpretable features of a

negation operator (*i*Neg; see (7)). Following Kayne 1981, Haegeman 1995, and Zanuttini

1997, the contrasts in (6) and hence (3) - (5) arise because the *n*-word in the embedded clause must move into locality with the *i*Neg operator. (6) and (3)b are a kind of that-trace or ECP violations, in Kayne's analysis (see §6 for a slightly amended account).

(7)   *Negative concord as an Agree relation* (Zeijlstra 2004, 2008)

      Agree (*i*Neg….*u*Neg…(*u*Neg))

We argue that like *u*Case, *u*Neg can be abstract, lacking overt morphological expression. This is the situation in Zulu and Xhosa. Unlike *u*Case, purely abstract *u*Neg has not previously been documented, to our knowledge, and hence is a novel claim of our paper.

      Our investigation also brings to light novel evidence that (Agree, *i*Neg…*u*Neg) is an A'-relation.[4] As (8) shows, the licit positions for [-A] NPIs are potential A'-positions, while those which disallow them are unambiguously A-positions. (8)c versus (8)f are particularly telling: they make it clear that the locality of a [-A] NPI to clausal negation is just one of the factors determining whether it is licit. How it gets to its location is crucial too.

(8) *Licit sites for [-A] NPIs*

Licit sites for [-A] NPIs	*Illicit sites for [-A] NPIs*
a. Phasal Spec, vP of SVO clauses	d. Sister to V
b. Spec of a middle-field FocusP	e. Preverbal subject position
c. Phasal Spec, Appl or Caus of symmetrical double object constructions	f. Externally merged Spec, Appl or Caus

Though our primary focus in this paper is on Xhosa and Zulu, we advance an argument that negative concord relations are generally a kind of A'-relations, including in languages where they are better studied such as French and West Flemish.

      Lastly, our paper presents Xhosa evidence that only [+A] nominals require Case-licensing. We propose that *u*Case features are a property of D, which corresponds to the outer prefix layer of [+A] nominals as argued in Carstens & Mletshe to appear (henceforth

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[4] See also Haegeman 1995 especially 258-268. Though there are differences in implementation, our findings and proposals in this connection converge strikingly with hers.

C&M). Adapting Carstens 1991 we analyze the inner noun class prefix as a gender-specific realization of number, and head of a Num(ber)P that typically occurs in the DP's middle field (see also Ritter 1992 among others on NumP). Since agreement with [-A] nominals can include successfully valued *u*person features, we propose that interpretable person is present in both kind of nominals because it resides in a structural layer below the DP layer.

(9) *Proposal: augmented nominals are DPs with uCase features*; *augmentless nominals are PersonPs without uCase.*

'woman/women'
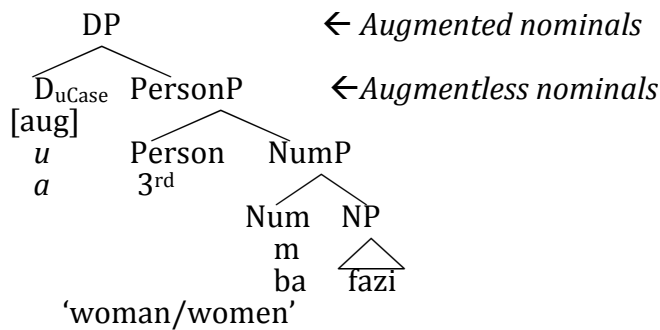
1.2 Structure of the paper

This paper is structured as follows. §1.3 summarizes our theoretical assumptions. §2 presents the crucial distributional asymmetries distinguishing [+A] and [-A] nominals. §3 describes characteristic facts of negative concord and the analysis of Zeijlstra 2004, 2008, 2013 that we adopt. §4 presents our analysis, arguing that key properties of Xhosa and Zulu NPIs align point by point with those of *n*-words. §5 considers some ways in which Xhosa and Zulu NPIs differ superficially from *n*-words: they cannot be used as sentence-fragment answers, and for some speakers they can be embedded in indicative complement clauses below negation. We show that these facts are easily accounted for by assuming (i) that there is no silent negative operator in Xhosa and Zulu, unlike in some better studied negative concord languages; and (ii) that Bantu indicative clauses can be smaller and more permeable than in a language like English (a conclusion independently motivated by Bantu

hyper-raising; see Carstens & Diercks 2013a; Carstens to appear, C&M). §6 argues that negative concord is an A'-relation. §7 presents justification for the claim in (9) that *u*Case of Xhosa (and by hypothesis Zulu) nominals resides in the augment layer, and addresses Halpert's 2012 Case-analysis of Zulu [-A] NPIs. §8 concludes.

1.3   Theoretical assumptions

Our paper is written within the Minimalist theoretical framework of Chomsky (2000; 2001). We assume syntactic objects are constructed bottom-to-top and that there is cyclic Transfer to the PF and LF interfaces triggered by the phase heads (robust) v* and C. Following Chomsky, we assume agreement and nominal Case are uninterpretable, unvalued features (uFs), *u*Phi and *u*Case respectively. When *u*Phi is Merged on a category α, it ordinarily *probes* its c-command domain to find a *goal* β that can provide values for α's uFs (though we will assume, following C&M, that this does not happen in Xhosa VSO clauses where SA has default features). We depart from Minimalism in assuming that *u*Case can be valued without phi-agreement, and that there can be both downward-looking and "Reverse Agree" relations in which *i*F c-commands *u*F; see Carstens to appear and Zeijlstra 2013.

2   Contrasting distributions of [+/-A] nominals
2.1   Preverbal subject position

Both [+A] and [-A] nominals are licit direct or indirect objects in SVO(O) clauses, as shown in the Xhosa (10) and Zulu (11) ((11) adapted from Halpert 2012: 103).

(10) A-ndi-fund-is-i   ✓<u>ba-ntwana</u> /✓a-ba-ntwana ✓<u>nto</u>   /✓i-nto
      NEG-1sSA-learn-CAUS-MOOD   <u>2-children</u> / 2-2-children   <u>9thing</u>/ 9-9thing
      'I don't teach any/the children/anything/something'

(11) U-Themba   a-ka-phek-el-i   ✓<u>mu-ntu</u> /✓u-Sipho   ✓<u>nyama</u> /✓i-nyama
     1-1Themba NEG-1sSA-cook-APPL-NEG 1-person/   1-1Sipho   <u>9meat</u>/   9-9meat
     'Themba didn't cook anybody/Sipho any meat/the meat'

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As mentioned in §1, only [+A] nominals can occupy preverbal subject position of tensed clauses.[5] While a lack of c-commanding negation can account for this restriction in simplex clauses like (12)a,b, the Xhosa (13) and Zulu (14) show that the prohibition holds even of embedded subjects, where c-commanding negation is available. This is true despite the fact that many speakers accept cross-clausal licensing, judging a [-A] NPI object in an embedded clause licit when there is negation in the higher clause (see Xhosa (15) and Zulu (16)).

(12) a. *<u>Ba-ntwana</u> a-ba-fund-i   i-si-Xhosa   [Xhosa]
        2-children   NEG-2SA-study-FV   7-7-Xhosa
        [Intended: No children study Xhosa]

    b. *<u>Mu-ntu</u> a-ka-fik-ile   [Zulu]
        1-person NEG-1SA-arrive-DISJ1
        [Intended: Nobody arrived]

(13) A-ndi-fun-i   okokuba *<u>m-ntu</u>   /✓u-m-ntu   a-bon-e   u-Sabelo [Xhosa]
     NEG-1sSA-want-FV that   <u>1-person</u>/   1-1-person   1SA-see-SUBJ 1-1Sabelo
     'I don't want anybody to see Sabelo'/I don't want a/the person to see Sabelo'

(14) *A-ngi-sho-ngo   ukuthi <u>mu-ntu</u>   u-fik-ile   [Zulu; Halpert 2013:97]
     NEG-1sSA-say-NEG.PST that   <u>1-person</u> 1SA-arrive-DISJ1
     'I didn't say that anyone arrived'

(15) A-ndi-fun-i   okokuba u-Sabelo a-bon-e   ✓<u>m-ntu</u>   /✓u-m-ntu   [Xhosa]
     NEG-1sSA-want-FV that   1-1Sabelo 1SA-see-FV <u>1-person</u>/   1-1-person
     'I don't want Sabelo to see anybody/I don't want Sabelo to see a/the person'

(16) A-ngi-fun-i   ukuthi u-Sipho a-phek-e   ✓<u>qanda</u>/i-qanda   [Zulu]
     NEG-1sSA-want-FV   that   1-Sipho 1sSA-cook-SUBJ <u>5egg</u>/5-5egg
     'I don't want Sipho to cook any egg/I don't want Sabelo to cook a/the egg'

English NPIs provide a helpful point of comparison. (17)a versus (17)b show that, like their Xhosa and Zulu counterparts, they require c-commanding negation. But so long as that condition is met they can occupy subject or object position (see (18)). Thus Xhosa and Zulu [-A] NPIs are subject to a distributional constraint absent for English NPIs.

(17)   a. I didn't see anybody
        b. *Anybody didn't see me.

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(18) a. I don't think [she saw anybody].
       b. I don't think [anybody saw her].

2.2 Locality

Another difference between Xhosa and Zulu [-A] NPIs on the one hand and their English

counterparts on the other emerges when deeper embedding is involved. Providing English

NPIs are in the scope of negation they can be quite distant from it, separated by multiple

clause boundaries. This is not the case in Zulu and Xhosa. Embedding of a [-A] NPI two

subjunctive clauses below negation yields a fairly acceptable result (see Xhosa (19) and

Zulu (20)). On the other hand, Halpert 2012 notes that 12 out of 30 speakers in her study

rejected cross-clausal licensing of NPIs within embedded indicatives. And the speakers we

consulted who do accept this nonetheless reject sentences in which [A] NPIs are separated

from negation by more than one indicative clause boundary. The unacceptability of the

Xhosa (21) and Zulu (22) contrasts with their acceptable English translations (see §5.2 for

further details).

(19) A-ndi-fun-i   okokuba u-Sabelo   a-cel-e   u-Mary   ukuba   [Xhosa]
      NEG-1sSA-want-NEG   that   1-1Sabelo   1SA-ask-SUBJ   1-1Mary that

      a-theng-e   nto
      1SA-buy-PST   9thing
      'I don't want Sabelo to ask Mary to buy anything'

(20) A-ngi-fun-i   ukuthi u-Sabelo   a-cel-e   u-Mary   ukuthi   [Zulu]
      NEG-1sSA-want-NEG   that   1-1Sabelo   1SA-ask-SUBJ   1-1Mary that

      a-theng-e   lutho
      1SA-buy-PST   9thing

(21) *U-John   a-ka-tshongo (ukuba) ndi-ya-cabanga (ukuba) u-Mary   u-theng-e   nto
      1-1John NEG-1SA-say   that   1sSA-DISJ1-think that   1-1Mary 1SA-buy-PST 9thing
      'John didn't say that I thought Mary bought anything.'   [Xhosa]

(22) *U-Sabelo a-ka-shongo (ukuthi) u-ya-zisol-a   (ukuthi) w-a-bon-a   muntu
      1-1Sabelo NEG-1SA-say   that   1SA-regret-NEG that   1SA-PST-see-FV 1person
       'Sabelo didn't say he regrets that he saw anybody'   [Zulu]

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These examples show that there is a more local dependency between negation and the [-A]

NPIs of Zulu and Xhosa than there is between English NPIs and negation.

2.3 [-A] NPIs in TECs
2.3.1 Subjects but not objects can be [-A] in simple monotransitive TECs

Xhosa and Zulu allow VS constructions in which SA has default, Class 17 (historically

locative) features (see Halpert 2012, Carstens & Mletshe to appear). The constructions are

referred to in the literature as expletive constructions (ECs), a term which we adopt to

reflect the non-referentiality of SA features and the fact that the thematic subject is not in

the canonical subject position, Spec, TP.

Some speakers accept not just intransitive but also transitive expletive

constructions (henceforth TECs) such as the example in (23). In Xhosa, the [+A] subject of a

TEC has an obligatory focus reading that we indicate by upper case in the translation line.

We defer discussion of this phenomenon until §4.5 and §7, which present an analysis from

C&M of subject focus as the product of subject raising into Spec of a middle-field FocusP.

(23)   Ku-cul-é   u-Sindiswa   a-ma-culo   [Xhosa]
        17SA-sing-PST 1-1Sindiswa   6-6-songs
        'SINDISWA sang songs'

As (23) illustrates, a [+A] nominal is licit as the post-verbal subject or object in a TEC for

speakers who accept the construction. (24)a shows that, for these speakers, [-A] nominals

are also acceptable in subject position. But if the locations of [+A] and [-A] nominals in

(24)a are reversed, the result is ill-formed (see (24)b). The facts are the same in Xhosa.

(24) a. ✓**VSO augmentless–augmented**   [Zulu; Halpert 2012:102]

          A-ku-phek-anga   <u>mu-ntu</u> i-qanda
          NEG-17SA- cook-NEG.PAST   <u>1-person</u> 5-5egg
          'NOBODY cooked the/an/any egg.'

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b. ***VSO augmented–augmentless**

  *A-ku-phek-anga   u-mu-ntu <u>qanda</u>
   NEG-17SA-cook-NEG.PAST 1-1person <u>5egg</u>
   (Nobody cooked any egg)

The ban on [-A] objects in TECs is not absolute in either Xhosa or Zulu, but the two

languages have slightly different workaround strategies. We turn to these next.

2.3.2 The Xhosa strategy: if a TEC object is a [-A] NPI, the subject must match

Like Zulu, Xhosa permits [-A] NPI subjects in TECs (see (25)a). [-A] NPI objects are also

acceptable in TECs just in case the subject is a [-A] NPI too (see (25)b). As shown in §2.3.1:

(24), if the subject is [+A] and the object is [-A] the result is ill-formed (and see (25)c).

(25) a. A-ku-phek-anga   <u>m-ntu</u>   i-qanda   [Xhosa]
         NEG-17SA-cook-NEG.PST <u>1-1-person</u>   5-5egg
         'NOBODY cooked an egg!'

    b. A-ku-phek-anga   <u>m-ntu</u>   <u>qanda</u>
         NEG- 17SA- cook NEG.PAST <u>1-person</u>   <u>5egg</u>
         'NOBODY cooked any egg!'

    c. *A-ku-phek-anga   u-m-ntu   <u>qanda</u>
         NEG-17SA-cook-NEG.PST 1-1-person   <u>5egg</u>
         {Intended: a/the person didn't cook any egg}

It is important to note that the unacceptability of (25)c cannot be attributed to any general

"connectedness" or concord requirement between [-A] forms. Negative SVOO clauses show

that outside of TECs, [-A] NPIs can follow [+A] nominals, and vice versa: direct and/or

indirect object of an SVOO clause can be augmented or augmentless (see (26)a-c). While

these examples are from Xhosa, Halpert's work illustrates the same patterns for Zulu.

(26)   a. U-Sabelo a-ka-nik-é   a-ba-ntwana <u>nto</u>   [Xhosa]
         1-1Sabelo NEG-1SA-PST   2-2-children <u>9thing</u>
         'Sabelo didn't give the children anything'

    b. U-Sabelo a-ka-nik-é   <u>ba-ntwana</u> a-ma-qanda
         1-1Sabelo NEG-1SA-PST   <u>2-children</u> 6-6-eggs
         'Sabelo didn't give any children (the) eggs'

c. U-Sabelo a-ka-nik-é   <u>ba-ntwana</u> <u>nto</u>
    1-1Sabelo NEG-1SA-PST   <u>2-children</u> <u>9thing</u>
    'Sabelo didn't give any children anything'

We conclude that direct object position in a TEC is an illicit location for a [-A] NPI, and that

in Xhosa a [-A] NPI subject neutralizes the problem.

2.3.3 The Zulu strategy: applied/causative morphology allows [-A] NPI DO in TECs

In Zulu, if the direct object in a TEC is a [-A] NPI, then the verb must bear applied or

causative morphology (see (27)a and (28)a; (27) and (28) from Halpert 2012:106: (135)).[6]

Interestingly, Halpert shows that despite this significant correlation between such verbal

morphology and [-A] NPI-licensing, in no case can an applied or causee argument be

augmentless in a Zulu TEC (see (27)b and (28)b-d).[7]

(27) **In a TEC, DO but not Causee object of V+Caus can be augmentless**

  a. a- ku- fund-is- anga   <u>mu-ntu</u>   <u>lutho</u>   [Zulu]
      NEG-17SA- learn-CAUS-NEG.PAST <u>1person</u> <u>16thing</u>
      'NOBODY taught anything.'

  b. *a- ku- fund- is-anga   <u>mu-ntu</u>   a-ma-ntombazane
      NEG-17SA-learn- CAUS-NEG.PAST <u>1-person</u>   6-6-girl
      (NOBODY taught (the) girls)

(28) **Ditransitive Expletives: DO can be augmentless, but IO object of Appl cannot**

  a. ✓**Augmentless–Augmented–Augmentless**   [Zulu]

    A-ku-thum-el-anga   <u>mama</u>   i-zi-ngane   <u>mali</u>
    NEG-17SA- send-APPL- NEG.PAST <u>1mother</u>   10-10-child   <u>9money</u>
    'MOTHER didn't send the children any money.'

  b. ***Augmentless–Augmentless–Augmentless**   [Zulu]

    *A-ku-thum-el-anga   <u>mama</u>   zi-ngane   <u>mali</u>
    NEG-17SA- send-APPL- NEG.PAST <u>1mother</u>   10-child   <u>9money</u>

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[6] Halpert 2012 does not include examples illustrating whether a [+A] subject is acceptable in Zulu when Appl/Caus makes a [-A] object licit. Our ability to research Zulu TECs is limited so we leave this open. It is at least clear from Halpert's examples that a [-A] subject does not suffice to permit a [-A] direct or indirect object in Zulu as it does in Xhosa.

[7] This restriction does not seem to hold in Xhosa TECs. A [-A] applied or causee argument is acceptable providing the subject is also [-A].

c. ***Augmented–Augmentless–Augmentless**

　　*A-ku-thum-el-anga　　　　　u-mama　　<u>zi-ngane</u>　<u>mali</u>
　　NEG-17SA- send-APPL- NEG.PAST　1-1mother　<u>10-child</u>　　<u>9money</u>

d. ***Augmentless–Augmentless–Augmented**

　　*A- ku- thum- el- anga　　　　<u>mama</u>　　<u>zi-ngane</u>　i-mali
　　NEG-17SA- send-APPL- NEG.PAST　<u>1mother</u>　<u>10-child</u>　9-9money

2.4　A dislocation asymmetry

Adams 2010 and Halpert 2012 point out that only [+A] nominals can clitic right-dislocate in

Zulu (see (29) from Halpert 2012:99: (124)). Our investigation revealed that the same

asymmetry accompanies clitic right- or left-dislocation in Xhosa. [-A] nominals cannot

undergo clitic dislocation in either direction (see (30)).

(29)　A-ngi-m-bon-i]$_{vP}$　　　　*<u>mu-ntu</u>　/u-mu-ntu　　　　　　　　　　　[Zulu]
　　　NEG-1sSA-3sOM-see- NEG　<u>1-person</u>/1-1-person
　　　'I don't see anybody'

(30) a.　A-ndi-m-bon-i]$_{vP}$　　　　<u>m-ntu</u>　/u-m-ntu　　　　　　　　　　　[Xhosa]
　　　　NEG-1sSA-3sOM-see- NEG　<u>1-person</u>/1-1-person
　　　　'I don't see anybody'

　　　b. *<u>M-ntu</u>,　　a-ndi-(m)-bon-i　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Xhosa]
　　　　　<u>1-person</u> NEG-1sSA-(3sOM)-see- NEG
　　　　　*'Anybody, I didn't' see (him)'

2.5　Summary

This section has demonstrated that some restrictions on the distribution of [-A] NPIs in

Xhosa and Zulu distinguish them from their [+A] counterparts, as well as from English NPIs.

In particular, they are barred from the following positions:

(31)　Illicit locations for [-A] NPIs in Zulu and Xhosa
　　　　(i)　Preverbal subject position
　　　　(ii)　Positions separated from negation by multiple indicative clause boundaries
　　　　(iii) Dislocated positions
　　　　(iv) Object position in TECs, except under special circumstances:
　　　　　　　The subject is also a [-A] TEC (Xhosa) *OR*
　　　　　　　The verb bears applied or causative morphology (Zulu).

We turn in §3 to describing the distribution of negative concord items, presenting data from French, Italian, and West Flemish -- languages where they have been studied in detail. §4 connects the findings of §2 and §3, proposing that the restrictions on Xhosa and Zulu [-A] NPIs closely parallel those to which *n*-words are subject. This, we argue, is due to the fact that these Xhosa and Zulu expressions are in reality *n*-words, bearing abstract negative concord features.

3. Negative concord
3.1 The basics

A signature property of negative concord is the availability of single negation readings in cases where multiple items with negative features co-occur (these examples from Haegeman 1995:201, 78, and 116 respectively).

(32) a. Gianni **non** ha telefonato a **nessuno** [Italian]
      Gianni NEG has called to n-body
      'Gianni didn't call anybody' [Lit: Gianni didn't call nobody]

   b. **Personne ne** disait **rien** [French]
      Nobody ne said nothing
      'Nobody said anything' [Nobody said nothing]

   c. da Valère **an niemand niets** ge-zeid (en-) eet [West Flemish]
      that Valere to no one nothing EN-said has
      'that Valere has said nothing to anyone'

Zeijlstra 2004, 2008, 2013 argues that negative concord involves an Agree relation between the interpretable features of sentential negation and expressions like *nessuno*, *personne, rien, niemand,* and *niets* in these examples, which bear uninterpretable negation features, as shown in (33). This is why a single negation interpretation can be obtained in clauses where more than one expression exhibits negative features.

(33) Agree (iNeg…uNeg….(uNeg)) Negative concord as a local licensing relation

Like other Agree relations, negative concord is subject to locality constraints. French

permits *n*-words as far away as an embedded subjunctive as we saw in (6) (repeated

below). West Flemish is stricter, requiring that *n*-words and negation be clause-mates (see

(34) from Haegeman 1995:137 (50b)).

(6) a. Je **n**' ai exigé   qu' ils arête   **personne**   [French: Kayne 1981]
        I *ne* have required that they arrest(subj) nobody
        'I didn't require that they arrest anybody'

(34) *K'**en**-peinzen-k ik da   Valère **niets**   keut.
        I *en* think-1s   I that Valère nothing knows
        [Intended: I don't think that Valere knows anything]

3. 2   Patterns of distribution
3.2.1 No *n*-words in preverbal subject position

In those negative concord languages where *n*-words can be separated from negation by a

clause boundary, subject/object asymmetries have been reported. As noted in §1, Kayne

1981 proposes that the *n*-word *personne* – 'nobody' cannot occupy subject position because

it must undergo LF quantifier raising into locality with the negative operator of the higher

clause.[8] Kayne thus relates the asymmetry in (6) to well-known restrictions on movement

from preverbal subject position (that-trace, anti-agreement, etc.; see Rizzi & Shlonsky 2007

among many others).

(6) a. Je **n**' ai exigé   qu' ils arête   **personne**   [French: Kayne 1981]
        I *ne* have required that they arrest(subj) nobody
        'I didn't require that they arrest anybody'

    b. *Je **n**' ai   exigé   que **personne** soit arêté
        I *ne* have required that no one   be arrested
        (I didn't require that anybody be arrested')

---

[8] This asymmetry has parallels in other languages. In Italian, an embedded subject *n*-word cannot have matrix scope. Hence a double negation reading is the only option, arguing that movement of the *n*-word subject to the matrix clause is blocked (see Rizzi 1982). On the common transparency of subjunctives see §5.2.

3.2.2 Overt leftwards movement requirement (Haegeman 1995)

There is also evidence that *n*-words must undergo overt movement in some languages.

Haegeman 1995 argues that this is the case in West Flemish. *N*-words obligatorily shift

leftwards as shown in the word order contrast in (35) from Haegeman 1995:141:(56).

(35) a. da Valère **van niemand** ketent en-was
      that Valère of no one contented en-was
      'that Valère was not pleased with anyone'

   b. *da Valère ketent **van niemand** en-was
      that Valère contented of no one en-was

Varying accounts of this requirement have been proposed in the literature on negative

concord. Haegeman 1995 attributes it to a Neg Criterion, requiring that *n*-words move into

a Spec, head relation with negation. In West Flemish the requirement applies in overt

syntax. Zeijlstra 2004, 2008 proposes that if the expression with *u*Neg features undergoes

phasal transfer in VP, the clausal *i*Neg operator will fail to be induced; hence a negative

concord item must raise to the edge of vP. Haegeman & Lohndal 2010 also relate West

Flemish *n*-word movement to phasal Transfer, though with a slightly different

implementation. What is important for present purposes is mainly to establish that an

overt movement requirement for *n*-words has been documented. We present an account of

it in §6, proposing that *n*-words must raise to the closest potential A'-position in order to

interact with the operator of sentential negation.

3.2.3 Parasitic licensing (Longobardi 1987, Zanuttini 1997, Haegeman 1995)

Longobardi 1987, Zanuttini 1997, Haegeman 1995 show that negative concord items in

Italian are barred from certain adjunct islands including infinitival purpose clauses (see

(36)a,b taken from Haegeman 1995:220: (75) and (76)). Interestingly, a negative concord

item in this otherwise illicit location can be rendered acceptable by the presence of an *n*-

word in object position of the main clause. Thus while (36)a is unacceptable, an *n*-word in

exactly the same syntactic context is permissible in (36)b. Zanuttini 1997 and Haegeman

1995 refer to this as *parasitic negation*, a licensing strategy they compare to parasitic gaps

-- rescuing of an illicit *wh-* by another gap in a licit position (see (37)a,b).

(36) a. ***Non** faccio questo   [per aiutare   **nessuno**]   [Italian: Haegeman 1995]
       non I-do this   to help   no one

    b. **Non** faccio **niente**   [per aiutare   **nessuno**]
       non I-do nothing   to help   no one

(37) a. *What did you file the papers [without reading __]?
      b. Which papers did you file __ [without reading __]?

3.2.4 N-words can't be clitic-dislocated

Rizzi 1997 shows that negative concord items cannot be clitic-dislocated (see (38)a,

adapted from Rizzi 1997:290:(19)). He attributes this restriction to an incompatibility of

bare quantificational elements with topicalization, including *tutto* – 'everything' in (38)b.[9]

(38) a. ***Nessuno**, lo   ho   visto
       nobody   him have.1S seen
       'Noone, I saw him'

    b. *Tutto,   lo ho   fatto
       everything it have   done
       'Everything, I did it'

3.2.5 Summary

In this section we have described some key aspects of the distribution of negative concord

items, a.k.a *n*-words, in well-studied languages. We have provided several kinds of evidence

that *n*-words must undergo movement. In French, this prohibits them from appearing in

preverbal subject position of embedded clauses. In West Flemish, it necessitates that they

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[9] Rizzi claims that an example like (i) in which a bare quantificational element is fronted without doubling is well-formed in both Italian and English because such expressions allow focalization. Native English speakers we consulted dispute the English judgment, and Xhosa speakers reject a Xhosa version with a [-A] NPI. The issue does not directly impact our investigation so we leave it to future research.
(i)   NO ONE, I saw.

shift leftwards out of VP. In Italian they cannot appear inside adjunct islands unless

licensed through a parasitic strategy of closest c-command by another *n*-word. Lastly we

presented a proposal from Rizzi 1997 that negative concord items cannot clitic-dislocate.

We turn next to comparing the distribution of Xhosa and Zulu [-A] forms with that of

n-words, and argue that they are one and the same.

4. Analysis: Xhosa and Zulu augmentless nominals have *u*Neg features
4.1 The basics

We propose that like *u*Case-features, *u*Neg can be present without overt manifestation.

Zulu and Xhosa [-A] NPIs bear abstract *u*Neg features. Adapting Kayne 1981, Haegeman

1995, we assume that such expressions must raise to participate in a concord relation:

(39) **[-A] NPI licensing hypothesis:** Xhosa and Zulu [-A] NPIs are *n*-words which must:

(i) be licensed through Agree with a local, c-commanding negation operator, AND
(ii) move leftwards to enter this relation.

As noted in §3, there have been several proposals in the negative concord literature

regarding the precise motivation for the movement requirement in (39)ii. We present our

own account in §6, analyzing negative concord as an A'-relation.

We saw that [-A] NPIs cannot appear in the preverbal subject position of Xhosa and

Zulu embedded clauses (see (3), repeated below). Assuming that they are *n*-words subject

to (39), we unify this fact with its counterpart in the French (6)b, repeated below.

(3) *A-ngi-sho-ngo   ukuthi <u>mu-ntu</u> u-fik-ile
  NEG-1sSA-say-NEG.PST that <u>1-person</u> 1SA-arrive-DISJ1
 'I didn't say that anyone arrived'

(6) b. *Je n' ai exigé que **personne** soit arêté
   I *ne* have required that no one be arrested
   (I didn't require that anybody be arrested')

Following Kayne 1981, the *n*-word subject must raise into locality with the matrix clause

negation, and cannot do so for the reasons that underlie that-trace effects (see (40) and §6).

(40) [$_{CP}$…Neg… [$_{CP}$ that SU V O…]]

We assume that direct objects in SVO clauses like (41)a meet (39)ii by raising to phasal

Spec, vP.[10] This is string vacuous in Xhosa and Zulu because verbs always adjoin to tense

and mood affixes higher in the clause. (41)b sketches a hypothesis for Xhosa and Zulu

clausal architecture. NegP is headed by a left edge prefix on the verb, and a preverbal

subject occupies Spec of a functional category XP dominating NegP.[11] While we represent

V-v-to-T in (41)b other possibilities include V-raising as far as X (see Julien 2002, and

Carstens & Diercks 2013 on some pros and cons of high landing sites for the Bantu verb).

(41) a. U-Sabelo   a-ka-phek-é   <u>nto</u>
        1-1Sabelo NEG-1SA-cook-PST   <u>thing</u>
        'Sabelo didn't cook anything'

b.

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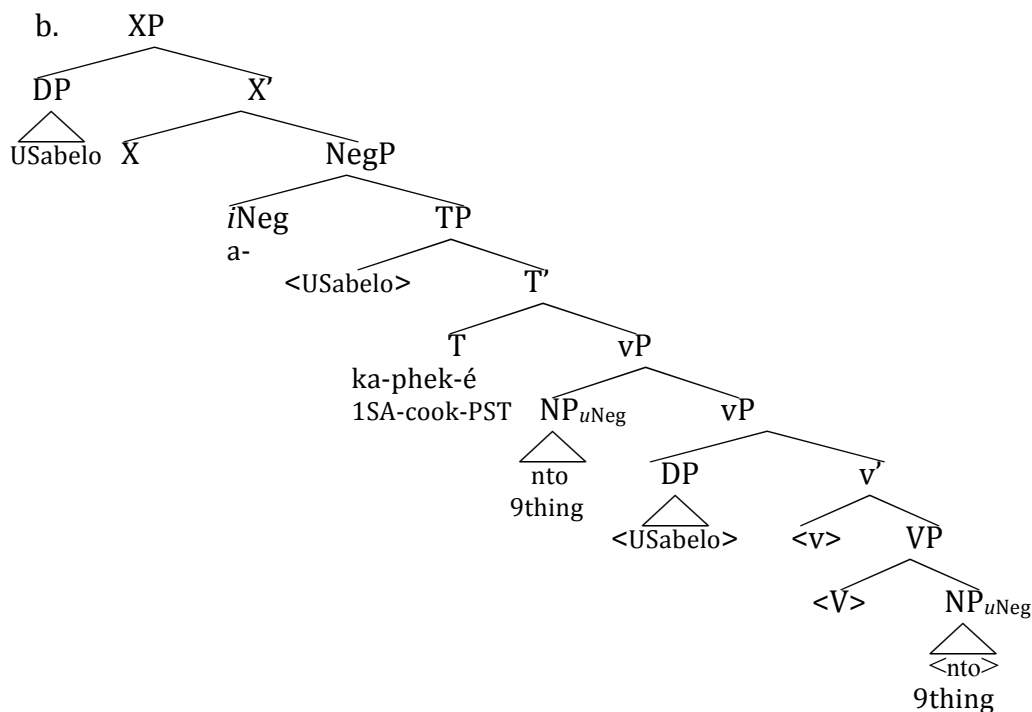
[10] For ease of exposition we defer discussion of applied objects and causees until §4.4.

[11] Such an XP has been posited for other languages and identified as AgrP, related to subject agreement (SA); see for example Haegeman 1995. Since SA iterates in Zulu and Xhosa clauses we leave the identity of XP open. We suggest that the –i and –anga verbal suffixes in negatives like (1) and (25) are past tense allomorphs selected by Neg. (41)b is an initial hypothesis which will need to be fleshed out in future.

§6 will extend this proposal of raising to Spec, *v*P to object *n*-words in Romance languages.

As in Xhosa and Zulu, V-v-to-T movement renders object *n*-word raising string-vacuous.

We assume that the impossibility of left- or right- dislocation of [-A] NPIs in Zulu

and Xhosa reduces to the same factors that rule it out in Italian (see Rizzi 1997).

(29) A-ngi-m-bon-i]_{vP}   *<u>mu-ntu</u> /u-mu-ntu   [Zulu]
    NEG-1sSA-3sOM-see-NEG <u>1-person</u>/1-1-person
    'I don't see anybody'

(38)*Nessuno,   lo   ho   visto
     nobody   him have.1S seen
     'Noone, I saw him'

4.2   The restricted distribution of [-A] objects in TECs

We turn now to accounting for the unacceptability of [-A] objects in TECs involving simple

transitive verbs with [+A] subjects. We will show that the facts follow entirely from the

leftwards movement requirement in (39)ii, coupled with independently-motivated

proposals made in C&M regarding the syntax of Xhosa TECs. Since the facts of Zulu are very

similar to those of Xhosa, we propose a unified analysis.

We have argued that Xhosa and Zulu [-A] NPIs must shift leftwards like the *n*-words

of West Flemish (see (35), repeated below).

(35) a.   da   Valère   **van**   **niemand** ketent   en-was
           that Valère   of   no one   contented en-was
           'that Valère was not pleased with anyone'

     b. *da   Valère ketent   **van**   **niemand**   en-was
         that Valère contented of   no one   en-was

Recall that in TECs with simple mono-transitive verbs and [+A] subjects, the direct object

cannot be a [-A] NPI (see (42)a,b; we turn to licensing of [-A] subjects in TECs in §4.5).

(42) a.   A-ku-bhal-anga   <u>m-ntu</u>   i-ncwadi
           NEG-17SA-write-NEG.PAST <u>1-person</u> 9-9letter
           'NOBODY wrote a/the letter!'

b. *A-ku-bhal-anga u-Sabelo ncwadi
NEG-17SA-write-NEG.PAST 1-1Sabelo 9letter
[Intended: SABELO didn't write any letter!]

C&M claim on entirely independent grounds that object shift is unavailable in Xhosa TECs.

Assuming this is true, the restriction on Xhosa [-A] NPI objects in TECs follows

automatically from this, because they are unable to satisfy (39)ii.

C&M's argument is based on the fact that objects in TECs cannot be pronominalized.

In contrast, objects in SVO clauses can be realized as either an object-marking, clitic type of

pronoun or as an independent pronoun (see (43)a,b versus (43)c,d). Subjects of TECs can

also pronominalize (see (44)).

(43) a.   U-Sindiswa   u-cul-a   **ona**   *OK: Independent*
          1-1Sindiswa   1SA-sing-FV   6IndPron   *pronominal OB in SVO*
          'Sindiswa sings them'

     b.   U-Sindiswa   u-ya-**wa**-cul-a   *OK: clitic OM in SVO*
          1-1Sindiswa   1SA-DISJ2-6OM-sing-FV
          'Sindiswa sings them'

     c. * Ku-cul-a   u-Sindiswa   **ona**   **Independent pronoun OB in TEC*
          17SA-sing-FV   1-1Sindiswa   6IndPron
          [Intended: SNDISWA sings them]

     d. *Ku-(ya)-**wa**-cul-a   u-Sindiswa   **OM pronominal OB in TEC*
          17SA-(DISJ2)-6OM-sing-FV   1-1Sindiswa
          [Intended: SNDISWA sings them]

(44) Ku-cul-a   **yena**   (a-ma-culo)   *OK: Indep Pro SU in (T)EC*
      17SA-sing-FV   1IndPron   (6-6-songs)
      'SHE sings (songs)'

(45) demonstrates that the same restriction holds in Zulu (thanks to Percy Buthelezi

personal communication for these examples).

(45) a. *Ku-leth-a   u-Monwa   **sona**   [Zulu]
          17SA-buy-FV 1-1Monwa   7IndPron

      b. *Ku-**si**-leth-a   u-Monwa
          17SA-learn-7OA-CAUS-FV   1-1Monwa

         [Intended: MONWA brought it' (i.e. a key)]

Diesing (1992, 1997) and Diesing & Jelinek (1995) claim that object pronouns must always vacate VP. They tie this to the unambiguous definiteness of pronouns. They first argue from contrasts like (46)a,b that there are interpretive differences associated with object shift in languages that allow two positions for objects – their base positions and an "object shift" position outside VP. Diesing & Jelinek conclude from such interpretive contrasts that VP is the domain of existential closure, where definites do not belong. Then they present data from German, Icelandic, Arabic, and English demonstrating that even if full DP objects only optionally shift, object pronouns must do so obligatorily (see (47) - (49)).

(46) a. ...weil ich *nicht* **eine   einzige Katze** gestreichelt habe
          since I   not a   single   cat   petted   have
          'since I have not petted a single cat (no cats petted)

   b. ... weil ich **eine einzige Katze** *nicht* gestreichelt habe
          since I   a   single   cat   not petted   have
          'since there is a single cat that I have not petted'

(47) a. *...weil   ich *nicht* **sie** gestreichelt habe
          since I   not   her petted   have

   b. ...weil   ich **sie** *nicht* gestreichelt   habe
          since I her not   petted   have

       'since I have not petted her'

(48)   a. Bert looked **the reference** up.
       b. Bert looked up **the reference.**
       c. Bert looked **it** up.
       d. *Bert looked up **it.**

(49) Pronouns must vacate VP (Diesing 1992, Diesing & Jelinek 1995, Diesing 1997)

C&M conclude that object shift is impossible in Xhosa TECs. Based on this and evidence that accusative Case is absent in TECs, they propose that little v* is defective in Xhosa ECs.[12]

Hence it has no edge feature to shift pronouns.[13]

---

[12] Based on aspects of the syntax of Zulu TECs, Halpert 2012 also crucially assumes that v* in Zulu cannot value accusative Case, an assumption consistent with our claim that v* is defective. We differ however in

(50) *Pronouns cannot escape VP in Xhosa TECs because v* is defective*

[$_{vP}$ ... v [$_{VP}$ V Pronoun]]
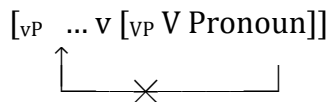
Returning to the impossibility of [-A] NPI objects, this follows directly from C&M's

proposals: the [-A] NPI object, unable to shift, cannot satisfy (39)ii. The ban on pronouns

and the ban on [-A] NPI objects receive a unified account. Given (45), we propose that the

analysis extends to Zulu.

We showed in §2 that Xhosa and Zulu have different ways of circumventing the

restriction on [-A] objects in TECs. We turn to these next.

4.3 Parasitic licensing and the Xhosa workaround strategy

Recall that in Xhosa, a direct object in a TEC can be a [-A] NPI just in case the subject is also

one (see the contrast between (51)b,c). In contrast, [-A] NPI subjects of TECs are licit

whether or not the object is [-A], as shown in (51)a (see §4.5 for an argument that subjects

can raise to Spec of a FocusP located between TP and vP).

(51) a. A-ku-phek-anga   m-ntu   i-qanda   [Xhosa]
         NEG-17SA-cook-NEG.PST   1-person   5-5egg
         'NOBODY cooked an egg!'

     b. A-ku-phek-anga   m-ntu   qanda
         NEG- 17SA- cook NEG.PAST   1-person   5egg
         'NOBODY cooked any egg!'

     c. *A-ku-phek-anga   u-m-ntu   qanda
         NEG-17SA-cook-NEG.PST   1-1-person   5egg
         {Intended: A/THE PERSON didn't cook any egg!}

We claim that the dependency of [-A] NPI objects on [-A] NPI subjects in Xhosa TECs is a

subcase of *parasitic negation* (see Zanuttini 1997, Haegeman 1995). The licit [-A] NPI

---

assuming with C&M that this is true only in TECs. Discussion lies outside this papers scope for reasons of
length, but see §7 for a brief summary of Halpert's Case-based approach.
[13] C&M propose that "heavier" definite elements must wait to satisfy the requirement at LF.

subject makes possible the otherwise illicit [-A] NPI object parasitically, as in the Italian

(36), repeated below.[14]

(36)　a. ***Non**　faccio　questo　[per aiutare **nessuno**]　　　　　　　　[Italian]
　　　　 non　I-do　 this　　　 to　help　 no one

　　 b.　**Non**　faccio　**niente**　[　per　aiutare　**nessuno**]
　　　　 non　I-do　 nothing　　to　 help　　 no one

For recent approaches to the mechanics of parasitic negation, see Haegeman 1995,

Zanuttini 1997, Haegeman & Lohndal 2010. The choice among them lies outside the scope

of this paper. What is important is to recognize the parallelism between (51) and (36): a

unified account is possible, under our analysis of [-A] NPIs as *n*-words.

4.4　The loophole of applied and causative morphology
4.4.1　The general proposal

Recall from §2 that the ban on [-A] NPI objects is circumvented in Zulu in a different way: a

[-A] NPI can be object in a TEC only if the verb bears applied or causative morphology.

(27)a and (28)a demonstrate these strategies (repeated below). (27)b and (28)b-d also

illustrate that [-A] NPI indirect object or causee arguments are not licit in TECs. In this

respect they pattern with direct objects of simple monotransitives.

(27) **In a TEC, DO but not Causee object of V+Caus can be augmentless**

　　 a.　a- ku- fund-is- anga　　　　　 mu-ntu　 lutho　　　　　　　　　 [Zulu]
　　　　 NEG-17SA- learn-CAUS-NEG.PAST　1person　16thing
　　　　 'NOBODY taught anything.'

　　 b.　*a- ku- fund- is-anga　　　　 (u-)mu-ntu　　ma-ntombazane
　　　　 NEG-17SA-learn- CAUS-NEG.PAST　(1-)1-person　6-girl
　　　　 (Intended: NOBODY taught any girls)

---

[14] Purpose clauses like these are not islands for licensing of [-A] NPIs in Xhosa and Zulu. This greater permeability suggests to us that they are smaller, lacking perhaps a ForceP boundary present in Italian. See also §5.2 on cross-linguistic variation in the permeability of tensed clauses.

(28) **Ditransitive Expletives: DO can be augmentless, but IO object of Appl cannot**

    a. ✓**Augmentless–Augmented–Augmentless**   [Zulu]

      A-ku-thum-el-anga   <u>mama</u>   i-zi-ngane   <u>mali</u>
      NEG-17SA- send-APPL- NEG.PAST <u>1mother</u> 10-10-child <u>9money</u>
      'MOTHER didn't send the children any money.'

    b. ***Augmentless–Augmentless–Augmentless**   [Zulu]

      *A-ku-thum-el-anga   <u>mama</u>   <u>zi-ngane</u> <u>mali</u>
      NEG-17SA- send-APPL- NEG.PAST <u>1mother</u> <u>10-child</u> <u>9money</u>

    c. ***Augmented–Augmentless–Augmentless**

      *A-ku-thum-el-anga   u-mama   <u>zi-ngane</u> <u>mali</u>
      NEG-17SA- send-APPL- NEG.PAST 1-1mother <u>10-child</u> <u>9money</u>

    d. ***Augmentless–Augmentless–Augmented**

      *A- ku- thum- el- anga   <u>mama</u>   <u>zi-ngane</u> i-mali
      NEG-17SA- send-APPL- NEG.PAST <u>1mother</u> <u>10-child</u> 9-9money

Based on evidence that Zulu and Xhosa double object constructions are "symmetrical", we adopt the analysis in McGinnis 2001, under which the addition of applied or causative morphology introduces edge features above VP. These provide a means for a [-A] NPI direct object to meet the raising requirement in (39)ii. But a [-A] NPI indirect object has access only to an edge feature of v* to raise it. Since v* is defective in TECs, the result is ill-formed.
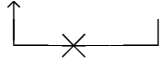
(52) a. *Appl of symmetrical double object constructions has a phasal edge feature. Hence [-A] NPI direct objects can satisfy (39)ii by moving to the edge of ApplP*

      [$_{\text{ApplP}}$ IO [$_{\text{Appl'}}$ Appl [$_{\text{VP}}$ V DO]]]]]

    b. *But since v* is defective in TECs, IO in a TEC cannot satisfy (39)ii:*

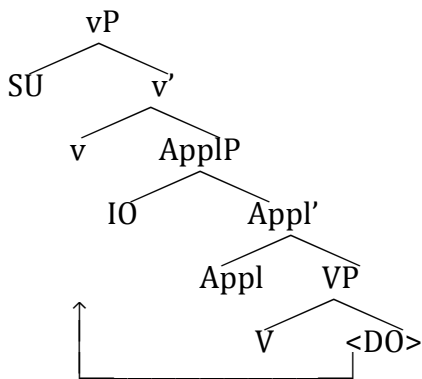   * [$_{\text{vP}}$ ... v [$_{\text{ApplP}}$ IO [$_{\text{Appl'}}$ Appl [$_{\text{VP}}$ V ...]]]]]

We flesh out these proposals in more detail below.

4.4.2 [-A] NPI objects in Zulu TECS of applied constructions

We begin with applied constructions. Following Marantz 1993, Pylkannen 2008 among others, we assume that Bantu applicative morphology heads an ApplP situated between vP and VP with the indirect object in its Spec. Zulu and Xhosa double object constructions are *symmetrical*: either direct or indirect objects can passivize or be realized as an object marker on the verb. We adopt the analysis of McGinnis 2001 under which the Appl head has a phasal edge feature that can raise the direct object to the level of the indirect object in symmetrical languages, permitting it to feed passive and pronominalization. (53) illustrates the structure and DO-raising. The evidence for symmetricality is presented in the Zulu (54) and (55), taken from Adams 2010; the Xhosa facts are the same. Following Adams 2010, consistent word order of S-V-IO-DO reflects "tucking in" when the direct object moves to a Spec, ApplP (in case of 'give' in (55), we assume Appl is non-overt).

(53) *In a "symmetrical" language, Appl is a phase head with an edge feature that raises DO to the level of IO, feeding passive and object marking.*

```
            vP
          /    \
        SU      v'
              /    \
            v      ApplP
                  /    \
                IO      Appl'
                      /    \
                   Appl     VP
                    ↑      /   \
                   |      V    <DO>
                   |_____|
```

(54) a. **I-ncwadi** y-a-fund-el-w-a   a-ba-ntwana   [Zulu]
      9-9book 9SA-PRES-read-APPL-PASS 2-2-children
      'The book is read to the children'

    b. **A-ba-ntwana**   ba-fund-el-w-a   i-ncwadi
       2-2-children   2SA-read-APPL-PASS-FV 9-9book
       'The children are read the book'

(55) a. U-mama   u-**ba**-nik-é   i-ncwadi
         1-1mother   1 SA-2OM-give-PST 9-9book
         'Mother gave them the book'

    b. U-mama   u-**zi**-nik-é   a-ba-ntwana
         1-1mother   1SA-10OM-give-PASS 2-2-children
         'Mother gave them to the children' (i.e. the books)

Summing up, our proposal about the contribution of Appl is (56). [-A] direct object NPIs in

TECs have the ability to raise leftwards only if an edge feature is introduced by Appl

assuming with C&M that v* has no phasal edge feature in TECs.

(56)   **NPI licensing by Appl:** Appl introduces edge-features that allow a [-A] direct object
         NPI to shift leftwards, satisfying (39)ii.

Interestingly, applied morphology does not make it possible for the direct object in a TEC to

pronominalize:

(57) *Ku-leth-el-a   u-Monwa   a-ba-ntwana **sona**   [Zulu]
         17SA-buy-APPL-FV 1-1Monwa 2-2-children 6IndPron
         '(It's) Monwa (who) brought it to the children' (i.e. a key)

We interpret (57) as indication that the Spec, Appl landing site is not high enough for a

pronoun. This state of affairs motivates sharpening the proposals a bit. We propose that

local movement suffices for [-A] NPIs to meet (39)ii, but that pronouns must move higher:

they must escape the complement to v*.

    These assumptions capture the facts easily, as (58) shows (for consistency, we

depict pronoun and NPI raising as tucking-in; see discussion above (53)). Appl can raise a

direct object to the height of the indirect object and this suffices to fulfill the [-A] NPI

raising requirement. Appl cannot, however raise a pronoun out of the complement to v*.

(58) a. *Raising of [-A] NPI OB to Spec, Appl suffices because NPIs just need local raising:*

         [$_{vP}$ SU v [$_{ApplP}$ IO [$_{ApplP}$ NPI [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{VP}$ V <NPI>]]]]]

    b. *Raising a pronoun to Spec, Appl fails because pronouns must escape v*'s complement*

         *[$_{vP}$ SU v [$_{ApplP}$ IO [$_{ApplP}$ Pronoun [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{VP}$ V <Pronoun>]]]]]

4.4.3 Why applied objects cannot be [-A] NPIs in TECs

We saw in (27) that the applied object in an EC cannot be a [-A] NPI. (26) showed that in contrast, this position is licit for [-A] NPIs in SVO clauses ((26) and (27) repeated below):

(27) **Ditransitive Expletives: DO can be augmentless, but IO object of Appl cannot**

    a. ✓**Augmentless–Augmented–Augmentless**   [Zulu]

      A-ku-thum-el-anga   <u>mama</u>   i-zi-ngane   <u>mali</u>
      NEG-17SA- send-APPL- NEG.PAST 1mother 10-10-child 9money
      'MOTHER didn't send the children any money.'

    b. ***Augmentless–Augmentless–Augmentless**   [Zulu]

      *A-ku-thum-el-anga   <u>mama</u>   <u>zi-ngane</u> mali
      NEG-17SA- send-APPL- NEG.PAST 1mother 10-child 9money

    c. ***Augmented–Augmentless–Augmentless**

      *A-ku-thum-el-anga   u-mama   <u>zi-ngane</u>   <u>mali</u>
      NEG-17SA- send-APPL- NEG.PAST 1-1mother 10-child   9money

    d. ***Augmentless–Augmentless–Augmented**

      *A- ku- thum- el- anga   <u>mama</u>   <u>zi-ngane</u> i-mali
      NEG-17SA- send-APPL- NEG.PAST 1mother 10-child 9-9money

(26)   **In an SVOO clause, either or both objects can be [-A]**

    a. U-Sabelo a-ka-nik-é   a-ba-ntwana <u>nto</u>   [Xhosa]
       1-1Sabelo NEG-1SA-PST 2-2-children 9thing
       'Sabelo didn't give the children anything'

    b. U-Sabelo a-ka-nik-é   <u>ba-ntwana</u> a-ma-qanda
       1-1Sabelo NEG-1SA-PST 2-children 6-6-eggs
       'Sabelo didn't give any children (the) eggs'

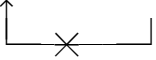   c. U-Sabelo a-ka-nik-é   <u>ba-ntwana</u> <u>nto</u>
       1-1Sabelo NEG-1SA-PST 2-children 9thing
       'Sabelo didn't give any children anything'

This pattern is accounted for as follows. Owing to its Merge location in Spec Appl, an applied object can only be shifted leftwards by a phasal edge feature of v* (see (59)) Robust

v* of SVO(O) clauses has an edge feature[15] but, as proposed above, v* of TECs does not.

Hence the ban on [-A] NPI applied objects in TECs falls together with the restriction on

direct object [-A] NPIs in TECs. Both need to raise to satisfy (39)ii, but cannot do so in a TEC

where v* cannot shift objects.

(59) * [$_{vP}$ ... v [$_{ApplP}$ IO [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{vP}$ V ...]]]]]

4.4.4 [-A] NPIs and pronouns in TECs of causatives

Turning now to causatives constructions, (60) and (61) show that they are also

symmetrical. These examples are from Zulu;[16] but the Xhosa facts are again the same.

(60)   a. **I-si-Zulu**   si-fund-is-w-a   a-ba-ntwana
           7-7-Zulu   7SA-read-CAUS-PASS-FV   2-2-children
           'Zulu is taught to the children'

       b. **A-ba-ntwana**   ba-fund-is-w-a   i-si-Zulu
           2-2-children   2SA-read-CAUS-PASS-FV   7-7-Zulu
           'The children are taught Zulu'

(61)   a. U-Sabelo   u-**si**-fund-is-a   abantwana   i-si-Zulu
           1-1-Sabelo   2SA-7OM-read-CAUS-PASS-FV   2-2-children   7-7-Zulu
           'Sabelo teaches it to the children' (i.e. Zulu)

       b. U-Sabelo   u-**ba**-fund-is-a   i-si-Zulu
           1-1-Sabelo   2SA-2OM-read-CAUS-PASS-FV   7-7-Zulu
   'Sabelo teaches them Zulu' (i.e. the children)

Halpert 2012 proposes the structure in (62) for Zulu causatives (see also Baker, Safir, and

Sikuku 2012, Pylkkanen 2008, McGinnis 2001). The evidence of symmetricality argues that

a phasal edge feature is available in causatives just as it is in applicatives. Since it is the

causee and DO that are symmetrical in a transitive causative, a first hypothesis is that Caus

in a symmetrical language selects a flavor of vP with an edge feature, on this analysis.[17]

---

[15] To account for two [-A] NPI objects we assume that robust v* can shift multiple objects. We assume anti-locality will prevent an IO in Spec, Appl from raising to phasal Spec of Appl (Grohmann 2003, Abels 2003).
[16] Thanks to Percy Buthelezi for these examples.
[17] Halpert 2012 raises an interesting question: in a Zulu TEC containing both Appl and Caus, why aren't two

(62) *Hypothesis for symmetry in causative constructions (to be revised): Caus selects vP with an edge feature, permitting the direct object to raise across the causee.*
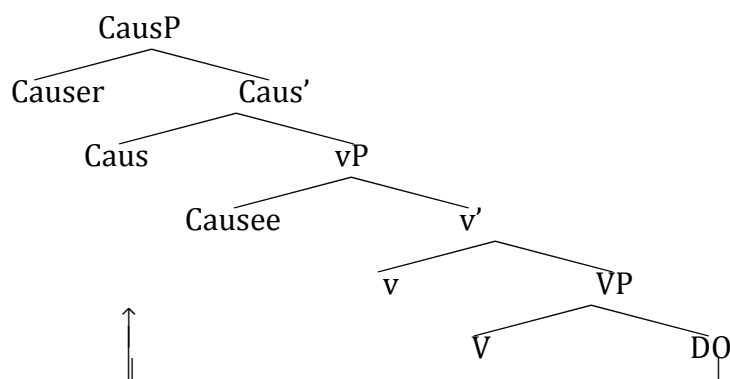
The proposal in (62) correctly predicts symmetricality in Zulu and Xhosa causatives and explains why adding the relevant morphology makes a [-A] NPI direct object licit. But it is not without problems.

First, attributing DO-over-causee movement to the edge feature of v* has a disadvantage: v* is hypothesized to have such a feature universally. It is therefore not transparent at all how to distinguish symmetrical from asymmetrical object languages where causatives are concerned, under this analysis.

Second, recall our proposal that pronouns must raise out of the complement of v*. Since the edge feature of v* does the raising of DOs, under the approach to causatives in (62), we expect a DO pronoun to be licit. But this is not the case (see (63) and (64)).

(63) *Ku-fund-is-a   u-Sipho   a-ba-ntwana **sona**
       17SA-learn-CAUS-FV   1-1Sipho   2-2-children 6IndPron
       'SIPHO teaches it to the children' (i.e. Xhosa)

(64) *If v* raises DO to the height of Causee in Spec, vP, why doesn't this suffice for a DO pronoun? How should the domain that pronouns must escape be defined?*

   a.   [CausP Causer Caus [vP Causee [vP NPI [VP V <NPI>]]]]] *OK*
   b. *[CausP Causer Caus [vP Causee [vP Pronoun [VP V <Pronoun>]]]]]

[-A] objects licit? Similarly, in an SVOO clause, why must the medial object be [+A]? See §7 for discussion of Halpert's answer to this question and some related issues. We hope a fuller exploration of Caus/Appl's roles in (parasitic) licensing and Transfer will yield further insight, but that lies outside this paper's scope.

Lastly, recall that a direct object can be a [-A] NPI in a TEC of a causative verb, but the causee cannot (see (27), repeated below).

(27) **In a TEC, DO but not Causee object of V+Caus can be augmentless**

   a. a- ku- fund-is- anga   mu-ntu lutho   [Zulu]
       NEG-17SA- learn-CAUS-NEG.PAST 1person 16thing
       'NOBODY taught anything.'

   b. *a- ku- fund- is-anga   mu-ntu   a-ma-ntombazane
       NEG-17SA-learn- CAUS-NEG.PAST 1-person 6-6-girl
       (NOBODY taught (the) girls)

As noted in §4.4.1, this closely parallels the fact that in a TEC of an applied verb, the direct object can be a [-A] NPI but the applied object cannot. But the analysis in (62) forces the account to be slightly different. Whereas, by assumption, direct object and applied objects in TECs cannot be [-A] NPIs because defective v* of TECs cannot raise them, under (62) we must assume that v* of a TEC is robust just in case it is selected by CAUS which, selected by non-agreeing T of ECs, is defective itself. This is not entirely implausible, but the lack of parallelism, sketched in (65) and (66) versus (67), seems less than ideal.

(65) *Pronoun and NPI objects cannot escape VP in Xhosa TECs because v* is defective*

    [vP ... v [VP V Pronoun]]
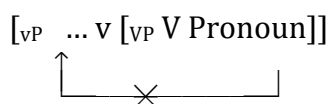
(66) *Indirect objects of Appl cannot be pronouns or NPIs because v* is defective*

    [vP ... v [ApplP IO Appl [VP ...]]
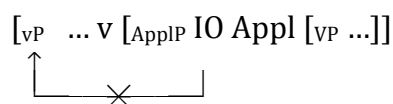
(67) *But under* (62) *the impossibility of a [-A] NPI causee in TECs reduces not to defective v* but to defective Caus.*

    ? [CausP ... Caus [vP Causee v* [VP ...]]
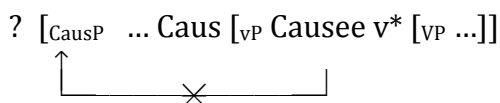
For these reasons we suggest a revision of (62) locating a CauseeP just above VP, parallel to

ApplP (see (68) and see also Jerro 2013 for an analysis along these lines). If the causee is an

agent, it Merges in Spec of CauseeP; otherwise, perhaps the theme argument of an

unaccusative raises. In languages with symmetrical causatives, Caus has a phasal edge

feature which suffices to fulfill the raising requirement for [-A] NPIs in a way parallel to the

account of direct object raising in applicatives; §6 presents a proposal that the phasal edge

of Appl and Caus can be an A or an A' position, and that the latter possibility makes an *n-*

word licit. It also permits a completely parallel account of why causees and applied objects

cannot be [-A] NPIs in terms of the defective nature of v* in TECs. Assuming pronouns must

raise out of the complement of v*, the systematic impossibility of object pronouns in TECs

is captured in a simple and unitary fashion.

(68) *In a language with symmetrical causatives, the head of CauseeP raises the DO*
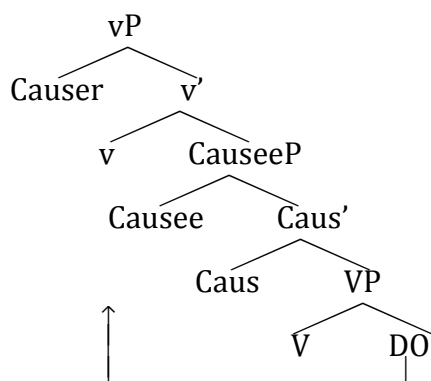
This proposal leaves open an important question. In a causative construction, the causee

argument performs the action of the main verb while in an applicative, an applied object

does not. We hope that the compositional semantics of causative and applied constructions

can derive this difference, but details lie outside this paper's scope. For present purposes

the approach is attractive in capturing the distribution of [-A] NPIs and the contrast

between NPIs and pronouns in a consistent way.

4.4.5 Interim summary

We have argued that Xhosa and Zulu [-A] NPIs are *n*-words and must undergo leftwards

movement, like *n*-words in West Flemish. The ban on [-A] NPI direct objects in TECs

therefore falls together with the impossibility of pronominal objects in TECs: following

C&M, there is no object shift in TECs because v* is defective in TECs.

　　We have also argued that applied or causative morphology adds a phasal edge

feature that can raise the direct object internally to vP. This suffices for *n*-words but not for

pronouns, which must move all the way out of the complement of v*.

　　We turn now to the issue of why [-A] NPIs are always licit in the post-verbal subject

position of TECs.

4.6 [-A] subjects in TECs

Recall that a [-A] NPI is always acceptable as the post-verbal subject in a TEC (see (24),

repeated below). Unlike [-A] NPI objects in TECs, subjects do not require a c-commanding

or adjacent [-A] NPI to be licit:

(24) a. ✓**VSO augmentless–augmented**　　　　　　　　　　　　[Zulu; Halpert 2012:102]

　　　A-ku-phek-anga　　　　　　mu-ntu　i-qanda
　　　NEG-17SA- cook-NEG.PAST　1-person 5-5egg
　　　'NOBODY cooked the/an/any egg.'

　　b. ***VSO augmented–augmentless**

　　*A-ku-phek-anga　　　　　　u-mu-ntu　　qanda
　　NEG-17SA- cook-NEG.PAST　1-1person　5egg
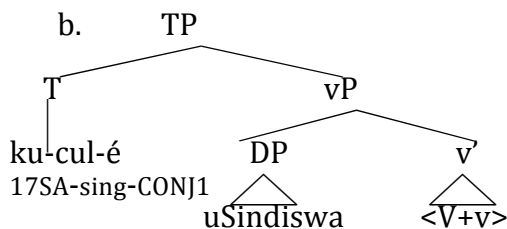　　(Nobody cooked any egg)

Halpert uses upper case in the translation line to indicate that the post-verbal subject in

(24) receives a focused interpretation. This is a distinctive characteristic of both Xhosa and

Zulu ECs as previously noted. C&M account for it in Xhosa with a proposal that the highest

DP in an EC may raise into Spec of a middle field FocusP. For subjects of intransitives, a

neutral reading is also possible; thus (69)a can function as a simple narrative statement, responding to a 'What happened?' question. For this reason C&M propose the alternative representations in (69)b,c corresponding to the two readings for (69)a. Halpert 2012 shows that focus readings are available for post-verbal subjects in Zulu TECs just as they are in Xhosa. Given the many points of similarity between the two languages, we propose that the same mechanism is responsible.

(69)   a.   Ku-cul-é   u-Sindiswa
             17SA-sing-CONJ1   1-1Sindiswa
        R#1: 'Sindiswa sang'   (answers 'What happened?')
        R#2: 'SINDISWA sang'   (answers 'Who sang?')

    b.   TP   Reading #1

```
        b.        TP                                        Reading #1
              /        \
           T              vP
           |            /    \
        ku-cul-é     DP        v'
      17SA-sing-CONJ1 /\       /\
                uSindiswa    <V+v>
```

```
        c.        TP                                        Reading #2
              /        \
           T              FocP
           |            /     \
        ku-cul-é      DP        Foc'
      17SA-sing-CONJ1 /\       /    \
                uSindiswa   Foc      vP
                                    /   \
                                  DP      v'
                                  /\      /\
                           <uSindiswa>  <V+v>
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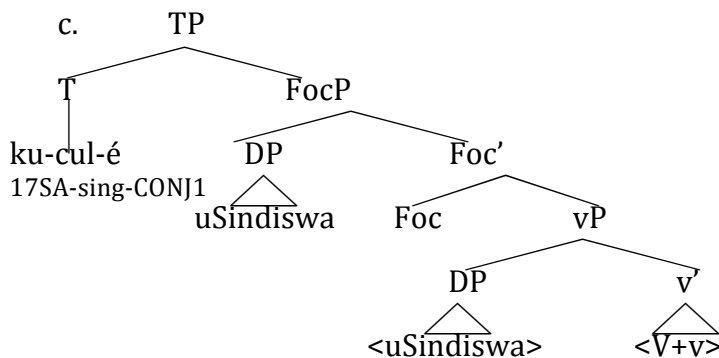
In situ proposals have been advanced for post-verbal focus in Zulu and other languages (see Cheng and Downing 2012, Hyman & Watters 1984 among others). But C&M show that the focused reading is obligatory for the post-verbal subjects in VSO clauses. They explain this in terms of forced raising of external arguments out of vP, landing in Spec, Foc of TECs. In contrast, in situ analyses have nothing to say about this striking fact.

(70) a. Ku-cul-é   u-Sindiswa   a-ma-culo
      17SA-sing-PST 1-1Sindiswa 6-6-songs
      SINDISWA sang songs'   (Cannot answer, "What happened?")

b.

```
                        TP
             _____
            T-                      FocP
       ku-cul-é              _____
       17SA-sing-PST        DP              Foc'
                         uSindiswa     _____
                                      Foc          vP
                                            _____
                                           DP                v'
                                       <uSindiswa>     _____
                                                    <V+v>        VP
                                                            _____
                                                            V          DP
                                                                     amaculo
                                                                     6-6songs
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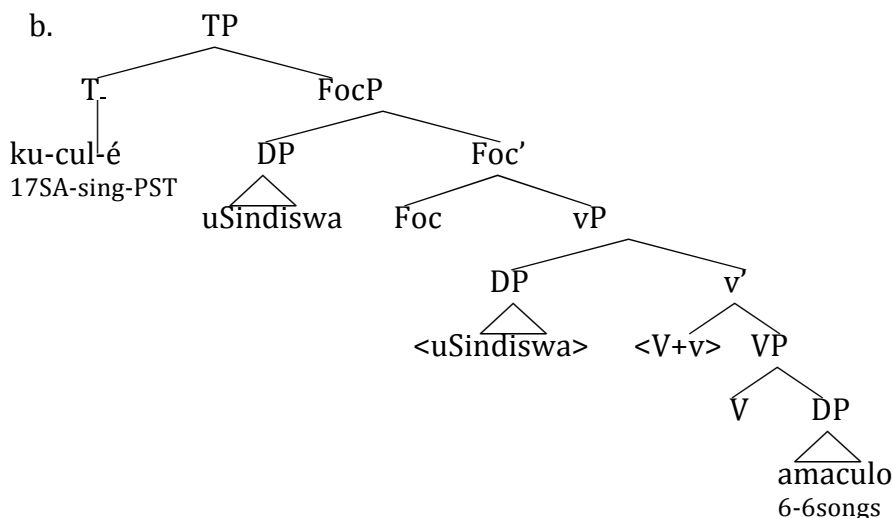
There are several plausible hypotheses as to the motivation for forced raising of transitive

subjects out of vP to Spec, Foc in TECs. They include labeling issues (Chomsky 2013),

linearization problems (Richards 2011), and Case-theoretic problems (Alexiadou &

Anagnostopolou 1998, C&M). We will explore this question in §7. What is significant to the

discussion at hand is that raising of subjects to Spec, Foc provides an independently

motivated means for [-A] NPI subjects to satisfy the raising requirement in (39)ii. And

unlike their [+A] counterparts, [-A] NPI subjects of intransitive ECs have an obligatory

focus reading, just like subjects of TECs (see the Xhosa (71)a,b). Halpert's translations of

the Zulu data in her study are consistent with this generalization.

(71) a. A-ku-cul-anga   mntu!   *Felicitous answer to, "Who sang?"*
     NEG-17SA-sing-NEG.PST 1person   *Anomalous answer to, "What happened?"*
     'NOBODY sang!'

   b. A-ku-theng-anga   mntu i-ncwadi/ncwadi   *Can answer, "Who bought a book?"*
     NEG-17SA-buy-NEG.PST 1person 9-9book/9book *Anomalous answer to, "What happened?"*
     'NOBODY bought a/any book!'

Summing up, C&M propose that subjects of TECs all raise to a middle field Spec, Focus, and

subjects of intransitive ECs do so when they receive a focused interpretation. [-A] NPI

subjects are uniformly interpreted with focus, so we assume they always raise to Spec, Foc, satisfying the requirement in (39)ii. Zulu seems to pattern alike.[18]

4.6   Summary

This section has proposed that all restrictions on the distribution of [-A] NPIs in Xhosa and Zulu are consistent with assuming that they must undergo leftward movement and be local to c-commanding negation in their surface positions. Their unacceptability in preverbal subject position has a parallel in French (and see footnote 8 on interpretive parallels in other languages). Their resistance to clitic-dislocation is also shared by *n*-words in other languages. The distribution of [-A] NPIs in Xhosa TECs is readily explained in terms of (i) v*'s lack of an edge feature in TECs; (ii) introduction of edge features by Appl and Caus. The fact that [-A] NPIs are licit subjects in Xhosa ECs follows from the availability of raising for EC subjects into Spec of a low FocusP. These solutions are not stipulated to address the distribution of [-A] NPIs. The analysis of symmetrical double object constructions in terms of a phasal Appl/Caus is motivated in McGinnis 2001 (and see Adams 2010 for application of the analysis to Zulu). The remaining factors that we have relied on in our account are proposed by C&M in order to explain aspects of Xhosa EC syntax that seem to be shared with Zulu.

As noted in the introduction, Halpert 2012 accounts for the set of Zulu facts in terms of the assumption that Zulu [-A] NPIs have Case-licensing needs that [+A] nominals are not constrained by. In §7 we will review her analysis and argumentation, and summarize the evidence in C&M that Xhosa [+A] nominals do in fact require structural Case, while [-A]

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[18] Because subject DPs are closest c-commanded by aspect/mood heads and by negation itself, the possibility exists that they might raise to some position other than Spec, FocusP (see Haegeman 1995 on options for West Flemis *n*-words to satisfy the raising requirement). We leave this open.

nominals do not. Hence Halpert's analysis cannot be extended to Xhosa, whereas our analysis of [-A] NPIs provides a unified account of near identical phenomena in these two closely related languages.

But first in §5 we explore two ways in which Xhosa and Zulu [-A] NPIs seem to differ from *n*-words of more familiar languages, concluding that they are only apparent problems for the account. §6 argues that negative concord in Xhosa and Zulu is an A'-relation, and suggests that this is generally the case across languages.

5.   Apparent problems that are not real problems
5.1   *N*-words in other languages appear to have independent negative force

A point of superficial contrast between Xhosa and Zulu [-A] forms on the one hand and *n*-words on the other is that [-A] forms cannot be used as negative sentence-fragment answers or as negative subjects. In this they resemble English NPIs:

(72) a. Chi   ha   telefonato?   b. **Nesunno** (ha telefonato)   [Italian]
         who has called   N-body   has called
         'Who called?'   'Nobody (called)'

(73) a. Who called?   b. *Anybody (called)   [English]

(74) a. Ng'u-bani   o-be-fowun-ile?   b. *<u>Mntu</u>   (u-fowun-ile)   [Xhosa]
         COP'1-1who whAGR-AUX-call-DISJ1   1person (1SA-call-DISJ1)
         'Who called?'   [Intended: 'Nobody (called)']

(75) a. Ng'u-bani   o-fowun-ile   b. *<u>Mu-ntu</u>   (u-fon-ile)   [Zulu]
         1-1who   wh.AGR-call-DISJ1   1-1-person (1SA-call-DISJ1)
         'Who called?'   [Intended: 'Nobody (called)]

But Zeijlstra (2008) argues that *n*-words in cases like (72)b only seem, misleadingly, to contribute negative meanings, because they induce the presence of a silent negative

operator with interpretable (*i*Neg) features. This way, there is no expectation of systematic double negation readings when the same *n*-words co-occur with other negative elements.[19]

(76) [OP$_{i\text{Neg}}$....nessuno$_{u\text{Neg}}$] (= (72)b)

Zeijlstra's proposal makes available a very simple account of the contrast between *n*-words of familiar languages and the [-A] NPIs of Xhosa and Zulu. We need only conclude that the bearers of interpretable negation in Xhosa and Zulu are always overt (see (77)).

(77) Proposal: there are no silent negation operators in Xhosa and Zulu. The *n*-word licenser must accordingly be overt.

5.2   [-A] NPIs in indicative complements

In well-studied negative concord languages, the one systematic exception to a clause-mate condition is that some languages allow *n*-words to appear in subjunctive complements embedded under negation (see (6)a repeated below, and in contrast the ill-formed case of embedding in an indicative in the Italian (78)). We follow Zeijlstra 2008 in assuming that subjunctives lack the ForceP layer (on which see Rizzi 1997), making them more permeable than their indicative counterparts.

(6) a. Je n' ai   exigé   qu' ils   arête   **personne**   [French: Kayne 1981]
         I *ne* have required that they arrest(subj) nobody
         'I didn't require that they arrest anybody'

(78) *Gianni non ha detto   che a   achato   **niente**   [Italian; Zeijlstra 2008]
        Gianni NEG has said   that has bought n-thing
        'John didn't say that he bought anything'

For some Zulu and Xhosa speakers, [-A] NPIs can appear in indicative complements, providing the higher clause contains negation ((79) is from Halpert 2012).

(79)   A-ngi-cabang-i   [$_{\text{CP}}$ ukuthi u-Sipho   u-bon-é   <u>muntu</u>]   [Zulu]
       NEG-1sSA-think-NEG   that   1-1Sipho 1SA-see-CONJ1 <u>1person</u>
       'I don't think that Sipho saw anyone'

---

(80)　U-Sindiswa　a-ka-tshongo [CP ukuba u-Mary　u-theng-é　　　nto]　　　　　[Xhosa]
　　　　1-1Sindiswa NEG-1SA-say　　that　1-1Mary 1SA-buy-CONJ1　9thing
　　　　'Sindiswa didn't say that Mary bought anything'

But like French subjunctives, Xhosa and Zulu indicative complements are permeable in

ways that Indo-European indicatives are not. In particular, A-movement is possible out of

indicative complements, preserving idiomatic readings; see the Xhosa (81), and (82) from

Halpert 2012. To account for this fairly widespread pattern in Bantu languages, Carstens &

Diercks 2013 propose that indicatives are not all phasal in these languages. Permeable

tensed clauses are perhaps FinPs (Rizzi 1997, 1999). Carstens to appear proposes that the

left-edge phase head is Int(errogative) of Rizzi 1999, which has positive and negative

values and is always complement to Force (see (83)). Force(P) and Int(P) are absent in

indicatives that permit hyper-raising.

(81)　U-Hili　u-bonakala [okokuba u-phum-ile　　e-ngcongolwe-ni]　　　　[Xhosa]
　　　　1-1Hili 1SA-seem　　that　　　1SA-exit-PST　LOC-10weeds-LOC
　　　　'The secret seems to have come out'
　　　　[Lit: the troll seems that exited the weeds]

(82)　I-qhina　　　　li- bonakala　ukuthi li-phuma　e-mbizeni　　　　　　　[Zulu]
　　　　5-5steinbok　5SA-seem　　　that　5SA- exit　LOC-9cooking.pot
　　　　'The secret seems to be coming out'
　　　　[Lit: the steinbok seems to be leaving the cooking pot]

(83) [ForceP Force …[IntP Int… [FinP Fin [TP…]]]]
　　　　　　　　　　　　　|
　　　　　　　　Carstens 2012: Int triggers phasal Transfer in Lubukusu

That said, there are speakers of both Xhosa and Zulu who reject cross-clausal licensing of

[-A] NPIs except into subjunctives (see (84), also from Halpert 2012). Halpert reports that

the same Zulu speakers (who numbered 12 out of her sample of 30) also reject a kind of

left-dislocation out of embedded indicatives (see (85) versus the subjunctive (86)), which

suggests that for these speakers, embedded indicatives are barriers to at least some A'-

processes. This provides support for the claim we will develop in §6 that *n*-word licensing

is an A'-relation. It also confirms that [-A] NPIs of Zulu and Xhosa must be local to negation in a way that English-type NPIs need not be.

(84) *A-ngi-cabang-i   ukuthi u-Zinhle   u-phek-é   lutho   [Zulu]
       Neg-1sSA-think-NEG   that   1-1Zinhle 1SA-cook-CONJ1 16thing
       'I don't think that Zinhle cooked anything'   *Out for 12 of 30 speakers*

(85) * u-Zinhle   ngi-cabanga [ukuthi u- zo- xova   u-jeqe   namhlanje]
       1-1Zinhle 1sgSA-think   that   1SA-FUT-make 1-1steamed.bread today
       [intended: '(As for) Zinhle, I think that she will make steamed bread today.'] *As above*

(86) u-Zinhle   ngi-cela   [ukuthi a- xov- e   u-jeqe   namhlanje]
       1-1Zinhle 1sg-SA-request that   1SA.SUBJ-make-SUBJ 1-1steamed.bread today
       '(As for) Zinhle, I ask that she make steamed bread today.'   *OK for all speakers*

The facts of this section are compatible with the assumption that a [-A] NPI in Xhosa or Zulu may be separated from negation by a FinP boundary, and that subjunctives are FinPs. For speakers who accept cross-clausal licensing into indicatives, it looks as if they are FinPs too, though the next subsection will discuss some contrasts between the two clause types.

5.3   Locality and depth of embedding

Recall the evidence we presented in §2.2 demonstrating that degree of embedding is important for [-A] NPIs. Ideally an account of the locality relation to which they are subject should explain the fact that a [-A] NPI located in a multiply embedded subjunctive is possible (see (19), repeated below) whereas even for speakers who accept a [-A] NPI in an embedded indicative, only one level of embedding is tolerated. This is demonstrated in the Xhosa (87) and (88), Zulu (89), and in the schematics in (90).

(19) ✓A-ndi-fun-i   okokuba u-Sabelo   a-cel-e   ukuthi u-Mary
      NEG-1sSA-want-NEG   that   1-1Sabelo 1SA.SUBJ-ask-SUBJ that   1-1Mary

      a-theng-e   nto
      1SA-buy-PST   9thing
      'I don't want Sabelo to ask Mary to buy anything'

(87) ✓U-John   a-ka-tshongo   (ukuba) u-Mary   u-theng-é   nto
      1-1John   NEG-1SA-say   (that)   1-1Mary 1SA-buy-CONJ1 9thing
      'John didn't say that Mary bought anything'

(88) *U-John   a-ka-tshongo (ukuba) ndi-ya-cabanga (ukuba) u-Mary   u-theng-e   <u>nto</u>
     1-1John NEG-1SA-say   that   1SSA-DISJ1-think that   1-1Mary 1SA-buy-PST <u>9thing</u>
     'John didn't say that I thought Mary bought anything.'

(89) *U-Sabelo a-ka-tshongo (ukuthi) u-ya-cabanga   (ukuthi) w-a-bon-a   <u>muntu</u>
     1-1Sabelo NEG-1SA-say   that   1SSA-DISJ1-think that   1SA-PST-see-FV <u>1person</u>
     'Sabelo didn't say he thinks I saw anybody'

(90) a.   ✓[…**NEG**…[SUBJUNCTIVE …[SUBJUNCTIVE ….**[-A] NPI**]]]
     b.   *[…**NEG**…[INDICATIVE … [INDICATIVE ….**[-A] NPI**]]]

Based on (19) and (87) we continue to assume that both subjunctives and indicatives are

permeable to negation licensing of the [-A] NPIs. We tentatively relate the relevant

contrasts to the evidence in §3.2.3 that adjuncts can be islands for this kind of licensing see

(36), repeated below.[20]

(36) a. ***Non**   faccio questo   [per aiutare   **nessuno**]   [Italian: Haegeman 1995]
          non I-do   this   to help   no one
          [Intended: I don't do this to help anybody]

Indicative CPs have a well-known tendency to extrapose from their thematic positions and

adjoin rightwards, perhaps avoiding positions in which structural Case is valued (see

Stowell 1981). A potential line of account might be that an adjoined indicative is not itself

opaque for the [NEG…*n*-word] relation, but a clause adjoined within another adjoined

clause constitutes an island for this relation, in that the *n*-word cannot raise high enough to

escape it and negation licensing cannot reach down into it. Some movements out of

embedded clauses can perhaps precede CP-dislocation and adjunction, but *n*-word

licensing is more constrained by surface locations. Our illustrations assume indicatives

adjoin to *v*P:

---

[20] This kind of additive effect is reminiscent of the *Barriers* framework of Chomsky 1986, under which one might claim that an indicative clause is a blocking category and another atop it counts as a barrier. See Boskovic 2013 and references therein for revival of this idea. The distance between the two indicative clause boundaries seems an obstacle for implementing such an approach here, but we think it is promising.

(91) a. ✓Neg…TP

                T   vP
                    vP   CP
                <v> <CP>   [-A]NPI

b. *Neg…TP

                T   vP1
                    vP1   CP1
                <v> <CP1>   …Neg TP   *An adjunct within an adjunct*
                                                is an island for the [-A] NPI
                              T   vP2
                                  vP2   CP2
                              <v> <CP2>   [-A] NPI
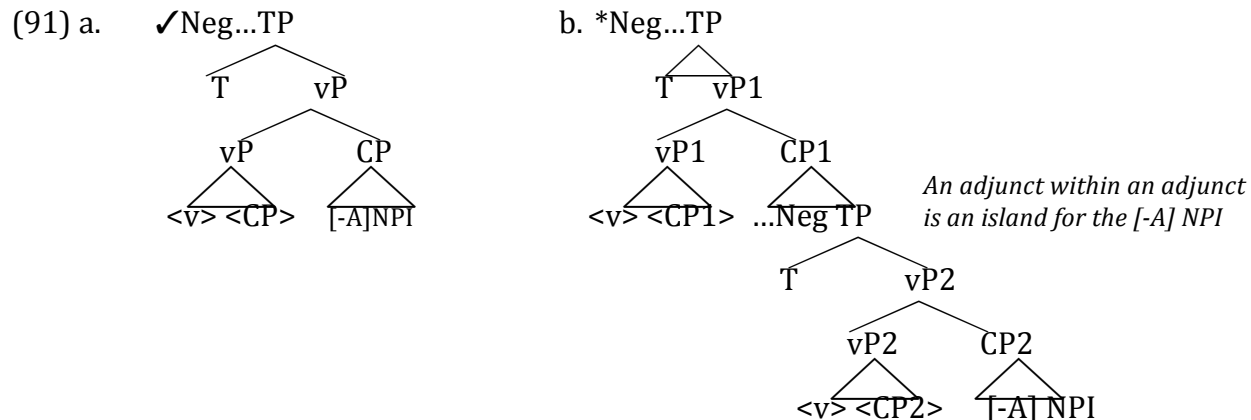
This proposal is admittedly not without its difficulties. It assumes crucially that all negative indicatives extrapose, but a standard source of extraposition evidence is not available to confirm this. In affirmative clauses, the *conjoint/disjoint* contrast provides evidence that indicative complements can extrapose. Disjoint forms are tense morphemes on verbs that are final in their domains (see (92)a) and conjoint forms are non-final (see (92)b). Since either is possible before an affirmative CP complement, C&M argue that CPs in general extrapose as an option (see (93)).

(92) a. A-ba-ntwana ba-fund-ile/*é.   *disjoint form is final*
        2-2-children   2SA-learn-DISJ1/*CONJ1
        'The children studied'

     b. A-ba-ntwana ba-fund-é/*ile   i-si-Xhosa.   *conjoint form is non-final*
        2-2-children   2SA-learn-CONJ1/*DISJ1   7-7-Xhosa
        'The children studied Xhosa'

(93) a. u-gqirha u-bon-é   [vP <V+v> [CP ukuba u-m-ntwana u-ya-gul-a]].
         1-doctor 1SA-see-CONJ1   that   1-1-child   1SA-DISJ2-be.sick-FV
         'The doctor saw that the child is sick'

     b. u-gqirha u-bon-ile   [vP <V+v> <CP>]vP [CP ukuba u-m-ntwana u-ya-gul-a].
        1-doctor 1SA-see-DISJ1-FV   that   1-1-child   1SA-DISJ2-be.sick-FV
        'The doctor saw that the child is sick'

There is no conjoint/disjoint distinction for negated verbs to provide this kind of evidence.

We leave this speculative solution as one to be confirmed or improved upon in future

research. What matters most is that [-A] NPIs must be local to negation in a way that English NPIs are not required to be.

Summing up, both subjunctives and indicatives seem to have transparent boundaries for the majority of speakers, based on the pattern of single embeddings in (19) and (87). But not all speakers accept [-A] NPIs in embedded indicatives, and even they reject them if multiply embedded. We have suggested that indicatives are smaller than ForceP for speakers who accept cross-clausal licensing of [-A] NPIs. We have also proposed that they extrapose and adjoin, leading to islandhood for negation licensing when one indicative is embedded within another. But the precise analysis is less important, for this paper's purposes, than the fact that [-A] NPIs in Xhosa and Zulu are more constrained in their locality to negation then their English counterparts, which are indifferent to depth of embedding: *I don't think Mary said John bought anything* is perfect, unlike comparable statements involving [-A] NPIs in Xhosa, and Zulu, and *n*-words in well-studied negative concord languages like French, West Flemish, and Italian. Thus, language particular details aside, [-A] NPIs align better with *n*-words than with English-style NPIs.[21]

6.   Negative concord is an A'-Agree relation

This section argues that the Agree relation licensing [-A] NPIs in Xhosa and Zulu requires that they occupy A' positions and hence analyzes negative concord as an A' relation.

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[21] We leave open a major question about the locality of *n*-word licensing. Since transitive verbs like 'require' take subjunctive complements that can house *n*-words not just in Xhosa and Zulu but also in French, v*Ps seem able to intervene between matrix clause negation and embedded *n*-words. The issue comes up for indicative complements to verbs like 'say' in Xhosa and Zulu as another subcase of this problem. How the licensing relation evades phasal transfer is not clear. It seems to us plausible that the surface positions of [-A] NPIs are launch pads for silent QR-type movement as in Kayne 1981. It might also be that negated verbs induce the presence of a silent negative element at the left edge of the relevant types of complement clause, so that all cross-clausal licensing is in effect parasitic licensing. Similar issues arise in relation to other quantifier scope interactions, embedded in situ wh, and control. Further consideration lies outside this paper's scope.

Recall that a [-A] NPI cannot be an indirect object or causee in a TEC (see (28) repeated below). We have argued that this is because they are embedded under defective v*, which cannot object-shift them to satisfy the movement requirement in (39)ii, repeated below. But adding an indirect object or causee makes possible a [-A] NPI direct object – a fact we reduced to the phasal edge feature introduced by Appl and Caus in symmetrical double object constructions.

(28) **Ditransitive Expletives: DO can be [-A], but IO object of Appl cannot**

    a. ✓**Augmentless–Augmented–Augmentless**   [Zulu]

        A-ku-thum-el-anga   <u>mama</u>   <u>i-zi-ngane</u>   <u>mali</u>
        NEG- 17S- send- APPL- NEG.PAST 1mother 10-10-child   9money
        'MOTHER didn't send the children any money.'

    b. ***Augmentless–Augmentless–Augmentless**   [Zulu]

        *A-ku-thum-el-anga   <u>mama</u>   <u>zi-ngane</u> <u>mali</u>
        NEG- 17S- send- APPL- NEG.PAST 1mother   10-child   9money

    c. ***Augmented–Augmentless–Augmentless**

        *A-ku-thum-el-anga   u-mama   <u>zi-ngane</u>   <u>mali</u>
        NEG- 17S- send- APPL- NEG.PAST 1-1mother 10-child   9money

    d. ***Augmentless–Augmentless–Augmented**

        *A- ku- thum- el- anga   <u>mama</u>   <u>zi-ngane</u> i-mali
        NEG- 17S- send- APPL- NEG.PAST 1mother 10-child   9-9money

(39) [-A] NPI licensing hypothesis: [-A] NPIs are *n*-words which must:

    (i) be licensed through Agree with the operator of clausal negation, and
    (ii) move leftwards to enter this relation.

These facts argue that the raising of [-A] NPIs cannot be entirely explained on the basis of any particular locality with the negative operator that licenses them. The signature property of languages with symmetrical double object constructions is that their direct object and applied or causee objects behave as if they were at the *same height* in the clause. Only this assumption explains why passive and pronominalization treat them alike.

The pattern of facts shows clearly that a [-A] NPI externally merged in Spec, Appl or Caus is illicit, while one raised to an equivalent hierarchical location is well formed, as shown in (94) (nb the "tucking in" derivation; see §4.4 and Adams 2010).

(94) a. * [$_{vP}$ SU v [$_{ApplP}$ NPI [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{VP}$ V ...]]]]
      b. ✓ [$_{vP}$ SU v [$_{ApplP}$ IO [$_{ApplP}$ NPI [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{VP}$ V <NPI>]]]]]

The only principled difference we can see between the two positions is that the position for the raised direct object is created by a phasal edge feature – something that Chomsky 2008 proposes to be the defining property of an A'-position.

The extra Spec of Xhosa and Zulu Appl and Caus cannot be classified as purely an A' position, since raising of the direct object to this position by assumption feeds the A-relations of passive and pronominalization. But if we adopt a weaker conclusion, namely that phasal Specs *CAN* be A'-positions, we have the beginnings of an account. We reproduce from §1.1 table (8), summarizing the distribution of [-A] NPIs. The illicit positions for [-A] NPIs are externally merged positions and preverbal subject positions – the set of pure, unambiguous A-positions.[22]

(8) *Licit sites for [-A] NPIs*   *Illicit sites for [-A] NPIs*

a. Phasal Spec, vP of SVO clauses	d. Sister to V
b. Spec of middle-field FocusP	e. preverbal subject position
c. Phasal Spec, Appl or Caus of symmetrical double object constructions	f. Externally merged Spec, Appl or Caus

This pattern suggests the conclusion in (95):

(95) [-A] NPIs must raise to the closest A'-position that c-commands them.

Why should [A] NPIs be illicit in A-positions? Negation is commonly viewed as an operator (see Klima 1964, Lasnik 1974 and many others). Assuming (Agree, (iNeg, uNeg)) is an A'-

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[22] As mentioned in note 4, the conclusions we have arrived at on this topic converge strongly with those of Haegeman 1995; see especially her 258-268.

relation with an operator, the restrictions follow. Thus we propose a friendly amendment

to Zeijlstra's 2004, 2008 definition of negative concord as Agree:

(96) **Proposal**: Negative concord is an A'-Agree relation between an expression with *i*Neg
features and an *n*-word with *u*Neg features in a sufficiently local A'-position.

In a language like French, with V-v-to-T movement, raising of object *n*-words to a phasal

Spec, vP can occur string-vacuously. But a subject *n*-word surfacing in Spec, TP fails to fulfill

this requirement. (96) thus suggests a reinterpretation of the famous French subject-object

asymmetry in (6) (repeated below): as in Xhosa, the *n*-word in the former fulfills the raising

requirement, while the latter does not (see (97)).

(6) a. Je n' ai   exigé   qu' ils arête   **personne**   [French: Kayne 1981]
         I *ne* have required that they arrest(subj) nobody
         'I didn't require that they arrest anybody'

     b. *Je n'   ai   exigé   que **personne** soit arêté
         I *ne*   have   required   that no one   be   arrested
         (I didn't require that anybody be arrested')

(97) a. [$_{CP}$ que [$_{TP}$ ils arête+v+T [$_{vP}$ personne [$_{v'}$ <v> [$_{VP}$ <V> <personne>]]]]]
     b. *[$_{CP}$ que [$_{TP}$ personne soit+T ...[$_{vP}$ <personne> [$_{v'}$ arête+v [$_{VP}$ <V> <personne>]]]]]

That said, it must be acknowledged that there appears to be no successive-cyclic movement

for [-A] NPIs, at least not in Xhosa and Zulu. It seems clear that this kind of A'-relation is a

more locally constrained variety, without recourse to the full set of positions and recursive

movement operations that the *wh-* type of A'-relation utilizes. But this could follow from

assuming that *n*-words themselves are not typically operators but dependents of an

operator.[23] While a detailed analysis lies outside this paper's scope, we suggest that a more

fine-grained typology is needed to distinguish all the edge positions that operators can

make use of from the smaller set available as landing sites for *n*-words.

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[23] Though see Haegeman 1995:137 for evidence that West Flemish *n*-words can and must raise overtly into a
higher clause if that is the location of negation, and can raise to first position of a V2 clause, c-commanding
negation. Nothing analogous seems to be possible in Xhosa or Zulu (or, as far as we know, in Romance
languages). Exploring such differences is an important project but outside the scope of this paper.

7.   Case and the augment
7.1   Introduction

Our research strongly supports Halpert's 2012 proposal that the distribution of [-A] NPIs in

Zulu is based on their morpho-syntactic features and indicates that this is true also in

Xhosa. But as argued in the preceding sections, our findings also strongly suggest that the

morpho-syntactic feature involved is not Case but uninterpretable negation – the feature

involved in negative concord. While we think the arguments we have provided are ample

grounds for the claim, we will review and critique Halpert's Case analysis in this section,

explaining how it works and why we think the *n*-word account is preferable. We also

summarize evidence from C&M that all and only [+A] nominals in Xhosa require Case-

licensing.

7.2.   Halpert's 2012 analysis
7.2.1 Preverbal subject position

As noted in §1, Halpert accounts for the contrast in (3) with a proposal that the preverbal

subject position (= Spec, TP for Halpert) is not a position where structural Case is available.

Hence only [+A] nominals can appear there, because they have intrinsic Case. In contrast,

the post-verbal subject position of TECs is a licit position for [-A] NPIs because a licenser L

above vP can value one structural Case in a downwards Agree relation (see (98)).

(3) a. A-ngi-sho-ngo   ukuthi u-mu-ntu   u-fik-ile
         NEG-1sSA-say-NEG.PST   that   1-1-person 1SA-arrive-DISJ1
         'I didn't say that someone arrived'

     b. *A-ngi-sho-ngo   ukuthi <u>mu-ntu</u>   u-fik-ile
         NEG-1sSA-say-NEG.PST   that   1-person   1SA-arrive-DISJ1
         'I didn't say that anyone arrived'

(98)

```
                           TP
                    ╱            ╲
No structural Case → Spec          T'
                      |         ╱      ╲
                    *[-A]      T        LP
                                      ╱    ╲
                                    L        vP
                                          ╱     ╲
structural Case from L →               Spec       v'
                                        |       ╱    ╲
                                      ✓[-A]    v      VP
```
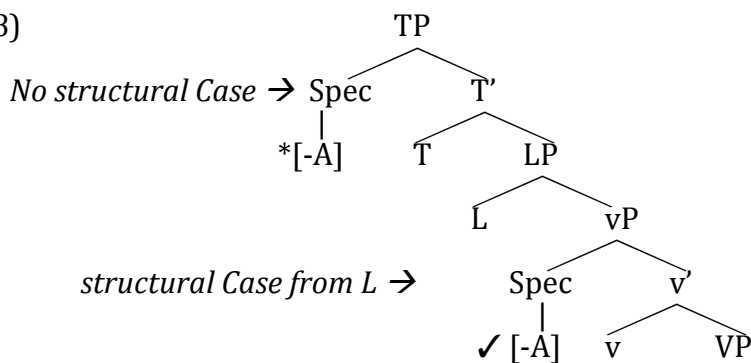
7.2.2 [-A] NPI objects

In a transitive SVO clause where a [+A] subject raises to preverbal subject position, Halpert

argues that L can Case-license a direct object [-A] NPI under closest c-command across the

tail of the subject's movement chain (see (5), repeated below, and (99)).

(5)   A-ngi-fun-i   ukuthi u-Sipho   a-phek-e   i-qanda/qanda   [Zulu]
      NEG-1sSA-want-NEG.PST   that   1-1Sipho 1SA-cook-SUBJ   5-5egg/5egg
      'I I don't want Sipho to cook an/any egg'

(99) [TP SU[+A] T [LP L [vP <SU> v [VP V OB[-A]]]]]

          |_____↑   *L Case-licenses [-A] object in SVO clause*

Halpert claims that the addition of Appl or Caus also Case-licenses a [-A] direct object.

These heads cannot Case-license an indirect object or causee because the Feature

Inheritance mechanism of Chomsky 2007, 2008 gives their Case-features to V (see (100)):

(100) *Halpert 2012: under Feature Inheritance, DO, but not IO is Case-licensed*

```
        ...      v'
               ╱    ╲
              v       ApplP
                    ╱      ╲
                  IO        Appl'
                 *[-A]    ╱     ╲
                       Appl       VP
                                ╱    ╲
                              V        DO
                                      ✓[-A]
```
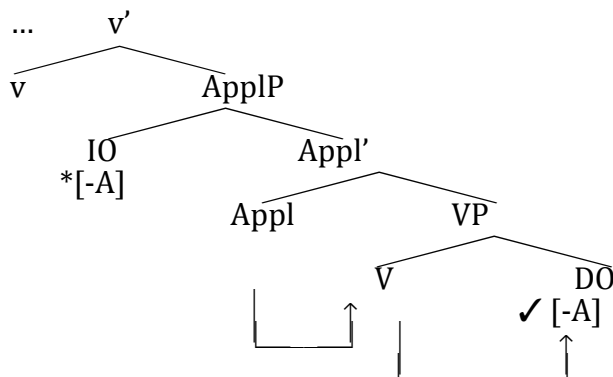
7.2.3 Dislocation and the timing of Case

Recall that [-A] NPIs cannot be dislocated in Zulu. The presence of a clitic is the diagnostic (see (29), repeated below). We showed in §2.3 that Xhosa has the same restriction.

(29)   A-ngi-m-bon-i]$_{vP}$ *<u>mu-ntu</u>   /u-mu-ntu   [Zulu]
       NEG-1sSA-3sOM-see- NEG   1-person/1-1-person
       'I don't see anybody'

Halpert 2012 proposes that the ban on clitic-dislocation of [-A] NPIs is due to late timing of Case-licensing in Zulu. This timing entails that a Zulu nominal can only obtain a uCase value from a structural licenser that it surfaces locally to. Hence a nominal that surfaces in dislocated position must bear the intrinsically Case-licensing augment.

       Halpert's timing claim is also crucial in relation to the contrast in (3) (repeated below) with respect to preverbal subject position. Halpert argues that the [-A] nominal only obtains Case from L if it surfaces locally to L. If it raises away to preverbal subject position, the addition of an augment is required to make it licit. These proposals for dislocated expressions and preverbal subjects are sketched out in (101).

(3) a.   A-ngi-sho-ngo   ukuthi u-mu-ntu   u-fik-ile
          NEG-1sSA-say-NEG.PST that   1-1-person 1SA-arrive-DISJ1
          'I didn't say that someone arrived'

    b. *A-ngi-sho-ngo   ukuthi <u>mu-ntu</u>   u-fik-ile
          NEG-1sSA-say-NEG.PST that   <u>1-person</u> 1SA-arrive-DISJ1
          'I didn't say that anyone arrived'

(101) a. *Augmentless SU cannot take a Case value from L to Caseless Spec, TP*

        [$_{TP}$ NPI$_{uCase}$ T [$_{LP}$ L [$_{vP}$ NPI$_{\text{uCase}}$...]]

                                         Case licensing OK

                                         Movement to Spec, TP after Case-licensing illicit
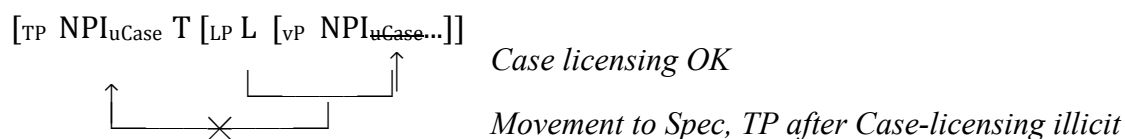
    b. *Augmentless OB cannot take Case-value acquired from L to adjoined position*

        L [$_{vP}$ <SU> <v> NPI$_{\text{uCase}}$.] NPI$_{\text{uCase}}$

                                         Case licensing OK

                                         Right-dislocation after Case-licensing illicit
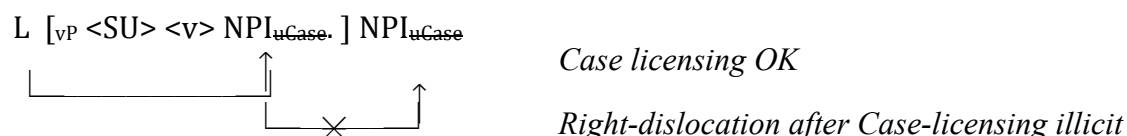
7.2.4 Critique

There are several ways in which we find these proposals problematical. In assessing them, we assume that a unitary account of Xhosa and Zulu is desirable since the phenomena of the two languages are so similar.

First, Halpert's approach does not account for the limited distance permitted between negation and [-A] NPIs, or connect this to their restricted distribution. As we have seen, this class of expressions in Zulu (and Xhosa) require a more local relation with negation than NPIs do in a language like English – for many speakers, only a single subjunctive clause boundary can intervene and for more permissive speakers, limitations are nonetheless present and sharp. The simplest line of approach is to bring this dependency to bear on the other restrictions in [-A] NPI positions.

Second, the assumption that Spec, TP is not a Case-licensed position is a language-particular stipulation without independent motivation apart from the inability of [-A] NPIs to appear there. In contrast, preverbal subject position is often a problematical location for *n*-words, as we have seen (illicit in French, only permitting double negation in Italian).

Third, it does not seem to us that Halpert's Case approach would have anything to say about the Xhosa strategy of licensing a [-A] NPI object via a [-A] NPI subject. But this falls together with the *parasitic negation* strategy that has been documented in negative concord languages, under the assumption that [-A] NPIs are *n*-words.

Fourth, the assumption that Appl/Caus give their Case to V, leaving IOs and Causees with no Case, is at odds with the common cross-linguistic generalization that Appl and Caus license an additional argument, and with the pattern that when these arguments are added, they receive dative Case -- presumably from Appl/Caus.

Fifth and relatedly, Carstens 2010, 2011 and Carstens & Diercks 2013a demonstrate that the broad distribution of agreement in Bantu is inconsistent with Chomsky's 2007, 2008 claim that all probe features originate with phase heads which must pass them off. If their arguments are correct, then support is lacking for Halpert's proposal that the contribution of Appl and Caus is to give Case features to V. On the other hand, there is ample evidence in negative concord languages that *n*-words must move to enter into a local relation with negation, and similarly a body of evidence that in symmetrical languages, Appl/Caus introduce edge features that can raise direct objects to feed passive and pronominalization.

Sixth, Halpert's proposes that a dislocated expression is illicit linked to a Case-licensed position. This is language-particular and motivated only by a constraint that Zulu and Xhosa [-A] NPIs have in common with *n*-words, for which there is an existing accounted in Rizzi 1997, as we illustrated in §3.2.4 and §4.1).

We conclude that the analysis of [-A] NPIs as *n*-words has many advantages over Halpert's claim that they have special Case-licensing needs.

7.3   All and only [+A] nominals need Case-licensing

We turn now to a brief summary of evidence from C&M that all and only Xhosa [+A] arguments have *u*Case features needing values, because *u*Case is a property of D. In Xhosa, D is the augment layer. We have added to this the proposal that [-A] nominals are PersonPs (see (9), repeated below).

(9) *Proposal: augmented nominals are DPs with uCase features; augmentless nominals are*
     PersonPs without uCase.

```
              DP                    ← Augmented nominals
           ╱     ╲
       D_uCase   PersonP            ←Augmentless nominals
        [aug]    ╱    ╲
         u    Person   NumP
         a     3rd    ╱    ╲
                    Num    NP
                     m     ╱╲
                     ba   fazi
            'woman/women'
```
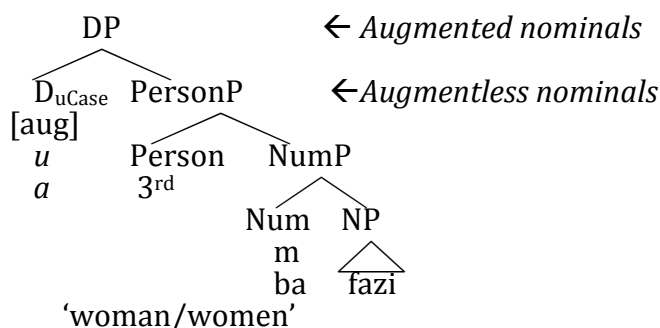
As we noted in §4.5, subjects of TECs are interpreted with obligatory focus, a fact that C&M

attribute to forced raising of TEC subjects into Spec of a low FocusP (see (70), repeated

below).

(70) a. Ku-cul-é   u-Sindiswa   a-ma-culo
        17SA-sing-PST 1-1Sindiswa   6-6-songs
        SINDISWA sang songs'   (Cannot answer, "What happened?")

```
    b.              TP
                 ╱      ╲
              T₋          FocP
           ku-cul-é     ╱      ╲
          17SA-sing-PST DP      Foc'
                       ╱╲      ╱    ╲
                  uSindiswa  Foc     vP
                                   ╱    ╲
                                  DP     v'
                                 ╱╲     ╱   ╲
                          <uSindiswa> <V+v>  VP
                                            ╱  ╲
                                           V    DP
                                               ╱╲
                                            amaculo
                                            6-6songs
```
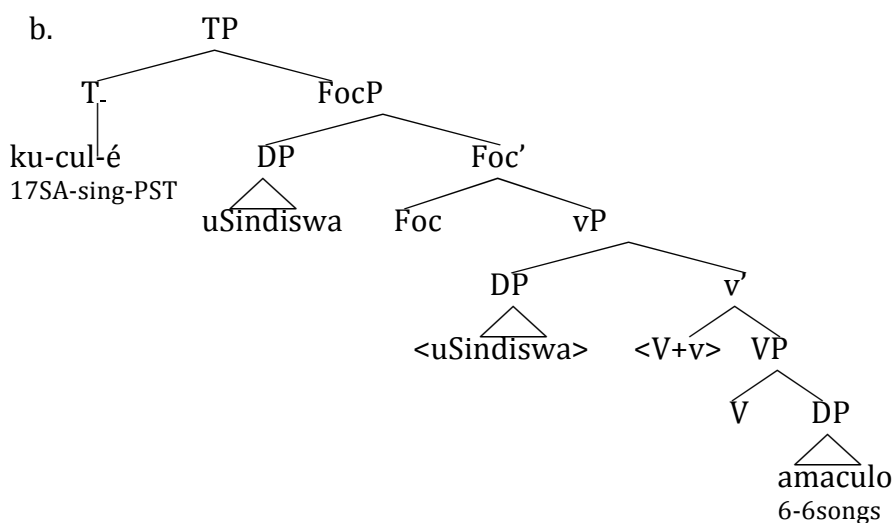
C&M explore several accounts of this forced raising including labeling problems (Chomsky

2013), linearization problems (Richards 2010) and Case-theoretic problems (Alexiadou &

Anagnostopoulou 2001). They conclude that the Xhosa Focus head plays a role in non-

canonical Case valuation of full DPs (= augmented nominals). The principal reason for this

is that transitive experiencer verbs with two full DP arguments cannot participate in TECs

at all (see (102)a; (102) = C&M's (7)a-c). But such a verb can participate in an expletive

construction if its external argument is removed by passivation (see (102)b), or if its

internal argument is a CP (see (102)c). C&M accordingly conclude that neither the identity

of the verb nor its argument structure can be responsible for the restriction, and adopt a

Case-theoretic solution. They propose that CPs do not require Case-valuation and that a

single structural Case is optionally available for the highest argument in an EC. Clauses with

two full DP arguments present a challenge that the focus reading is implicated in resolving,

through a strategy at odds with experiencer verbs.

(102) *The experiencer verb restriction: no experiencer verbs with 2 DP arguments in a TEC.*

a. *Kw-a-bon-a   u-m-fazi   i-ntaka.   *TEC of an experiencer verb with 2*
   17SA-PST2-see-FV   1-1-woman   9-9bird   *full DP arguments*
   '(It was) a/the woman (who) saw the bird'

b. Kw-a-bon-w-a   i-ntaka.   *OK: same V in impersonal passive*
   17SA-PST2-see-PASS-FV 9-9bird
   'A bird was seen'

c. Ku-bon-é   u-gqirha   [$_{CP}$ ukuba u-m-ntwana u-ya-gula.]   *OK: replace DP2 w/CP*
   17SA-see-CONJ 1 1-1doctor that   1-1-child   1SA-DISJ2-be.sick
   The doctor saw that the child was sick'

As C&M note, many languages with overt Case systems mark arguments of experiencer

predicates with inherent Cases. Bhatt (2003) shows that in Marathi, the Case of experiencer

subjects is dative, while in Bhojpuri it is genitive:

(103) a.Ti-la   rag   ala.   [Marathi]   b. Hamraa   ii   naa miilal.   [Bhojpuri]
        she-Dat anger came   I-Gen.Obl this not find
        'She got angry'   'I didn't find it'

Carstens & Mletshe to appear propose that the arguments of Xhosa experiencer verbs bear

inherent Cases. If they also bear the augment, they have unvalued uCase features too

because augments are D, and uCase is a property of D. The Focus head provides non-

canonical Case valuation to DPs in TECs along with [+/-Focus] values in a Multiple Agree

relation (see Hiraiwa 2001; C&M follow Haegeman & Lohndal 2010 in adopting a serial implementation).

(104) *The Focus head probes subject and object. Linked Case and Focus values result:*

    a. [$_{\text{FocP}}$ SU$_{\text{uCase[+Foc]}}$ [$_{\text{Foc′}}$ Foc [$_{\text{vP}}$ <SU> [$_{\text{v′}}$ v [$_{\text{VP}}$ V OB$_{\text{uCase}}$]]]]]

    b. [$_{\text{FocP}}$ SU$_{\text{uCase[+Foc]}}$ [$_{\text{Foc′}}$ Foc [$_{\text{vP}}$ <SU> [$_{\text{v′}}$ v [$_{\text{VP}}$ V OB$_{\text{uCase[-FOC]}}$]]]]]

There is no other way for the DP object in a TEC to acquire a Case value other than for both subject and object to interact with the Focus head, under C&M's analysis. But the constraint in (105) rules out this strategy for arguments of experiencer verbs.

(105) **The semantic Case constraint**: *DP bearing more than one semantically linked Case value.

Summing up, obligatory subject focus readings in Xhosa TECs indicates that TEC subjects must raise to Spec of a FocusP. Augmented arguments of experiencer verbs cannot do this because they bear inherent Cases.

It remains to demonstrate that [-A] nominals are not subject to the same restriction. C&M show that there is one more circumstance in which experiencer verbs can participate in TECs: namely, if their arguments are [-A] NPIs (see (106), = C&M's (7)c). C&M also report that speakers who do not generally accept TECs with full DP arguments often find them much improved if their arguments are [-A] NPIs (see (107)).

(106) A-ku-bon-anga   <u>m-ntu</u>   <u>nto</u>.   *OK: negative experiencer TEC replacing both*
       NEG-17SA-see-NEG.PST   1-person 9thing   *full DPs with "augmentless" NPIs*
       'NOBODY saw anything!'
       [Lit: (There) didn't see anybody anything]

(107) *Conservative dialect: TECs with full DPs are degraded, but TECs with [-A] arguments are improved*

    a. *Ku-theng-é   u-Sabelo u-kutya.
        17SA-buy-CONJ1 1-1Sabelo 15-15food
        [Intended: SABELO bought (the) food'

    b. *A-ku-theng-anga   u-Sabelo u-kutya.
        NEG-17SA-buy-NEG.PST   1-1Sabelo 15-15food
        [Intended: SABELO didn't buy (the) food'

    c. A-ku-theng-anga   mntu   kutya.
        NEG-17SA-buy-NEG.PST 1person   15food
        'NOBODY bought any food!'

Summing up, C&M argue that when the augment is added to any nominal, even if it bears an inherent Case, the result is a DP with an unvalued uCase feature. If the direct object in a TEC is [+A], its uCase feature can only be valued through Multiple Agree with the Focus head. But the Case values that Focus offers are illicit for them, leading to violations of (105). In contrast, [-A] nominals have no uCase feature needing a value. (108) from C&M summarizes these proposals.

(108) *Licit and illicit arguments of experiencer verbs in ECs with proposed accounts*

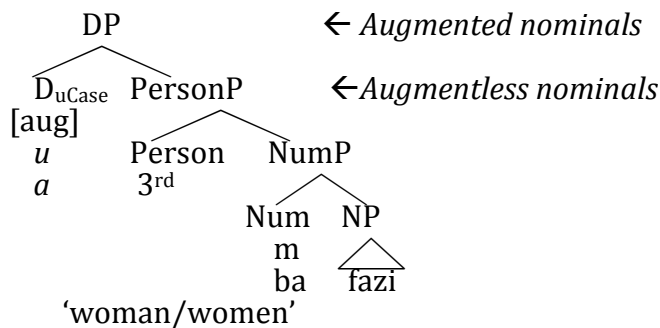|	Status	Subject	Object	Explanation
a.	✓	+A		[+A] SU obtains structural Case-value from C.
b.	✓	-A		[-A] SU has no uCase needing a value; raising to Spec, Foc satisfies the *n*-word raising requirement in (39)ii.
c.	✓	-A	-A	[-A] SU and OB have no uCase features. SU meets (39)ii by raising to Spec, Foc, and OB satisfies the requirement parasitically.
d.	✓	-A	CP	[-A] SU and CP OB have no uCase to require values; SU meets (39)ii by raising to Spec, Foc.
e.	✓	+A	CP	[+A] SU gets Case from C; CP OB needs no uCase.
f.	✗	+A	+A	FocusP strategy ruled out by (105). [+A] SU can get Case in situ from C but [+A] OB's uCase cannot be valued
g.	✗	-A	+A	[-A] SU has no uCase and can meet raising requirement by raising to Spec, Foc; but [+A] OB either lacks a needed Case value, or gets one from Foc that is illicit under (105)[24]
h.	✗	+A	-A	[+A] SU gets Case from C. [-A] OB can't satisfy (39)ii.

---

[24] This account might lead one to expect that the structural Case-licenser which we identified in §4.2.3 as C could Case-value a [+A] object across a [-A] subject. We assume that (defective) intervention prevents this.

Circumstances do not yet permit us to do a point by point comparison between Xhosa and Zulu on all of these issues. But even if the Zulu pattern turns out to be different in significant ways, it will remain true that the negative concord analysis of [-A] NPI restrictions works for near-identical phenomena in both Xhosa and Zulu, two very closely related languages. It does not seem likely that Case could be a factor in the distribution of [A] NPIs in one of the languages and not in the other, given their similarity.

7.4 The phi-features of augmentless nominal

A final point to be addressed is the claim we made in §1.1 that augmentless nominals are PersonPs with full phi-features (see (9), repeated below).

(9) *Proposal: augmented nominals are DPs with uCase features; augmentless nominals are PersonPs without uCase.*

$$
\begin{array}{l}
\text{DP} \qquad\qquad \leftarrow \textit{Augmented nominals}\\
\diagup\diagdown\\
\text{D}_{\text{uCase}}\ \ \text{PersonP} \quad \leftarrow\textit{Augmentless nominals}\\
\text{[aug]}\ \ \diagup\diagdown\\
u\ \ \ \ \text{Person}\ \ \ \text{NumP}\\
a\ \ \ \ \ 3^{\text{rd}}\diagup\diagdown\\
\text{Num}\ \ \text{NP}\\
\text{m}\\
\text{ba}\ \ \ \text{fazi}\\
\text{‘woman/women’}
\end{array}
$$

Because [-A] NPIs have noun class prefixes reflecting singular and plural, it is fairly obvious that they are at least NumPs (see Carstens 1991 on noun class prefixes as gender-specific spellings out of singular and plural features which head NumPs). But only the agreement they can control has the potential to tell us whether an NPI has person features as there is no special nominal morphology for this.

Since [-A] NPIs cannot surface in preverbal subject position and cannot be doubled by object clitics, there is little opportunity to observe what agreement features they can value. But Halpert 2012 shows that Zulu [-A] NPIs can undergo raising to object from the

subject position of an embedded subjunctive, and in this case there is full subject

agreement in the embedded clause (see (109), adapted from Halpert 2012:98: (67b)). The

same is true in Xhosa.

(109) A-ngi-fun-i   muntu   ukuthi **a-**phek-e
       NEG-1sSA-want-NEG.PRES   1person that   3sSA-cook-SUBJ
       'I don't want anybody to cook'
       [Lit: I don't want anybody that (s/he) cook]

Xhosa and Zulu both have a kind of subject agreement which lacks person features. It

shows up when humans from noun classes 1 and 2 are questioned or relativized (see (74)a

and (75)a, repeated below). This phenomenon is quite common in Bantu languages and

because number and gender features (= noun class) are unaffected, it is analyzed in

Kinyalolo 1991, Diercks 2009, and Henderson 2013 as the omission of person features.

(74) a. Ng'u-bani   **o-**be-fowun-ile?   [Xhosa]
        COP'1-1who   whAGR-AUX-call-DISJ1
        'Who called?'

(75) a. Ng'u-bani   **o-**fowun-ile   [Zulu]
        COP'1-1who   wh.AGR-call-DISJ1
        'Who called?'

The answers to these questions illustrate ordinary *u-* subject agreement which, like the *a-*

subjunctive subject agreement exemplified in (110) encodes third person singular.

(110) U-Loyiso   u-fowun-ile   [Xhosa/Zulu]
       1-1Loyiso 1SA-call-DISJ1
       'Loyiso called'

There is no way of elicitng *u-* agreement with a [-A] NPI, because they cannot surface in

preverbal subject position and because raising to object can only proceed from a

subjunctive clause. But the evidence of *a-* agreement in the subjunctive seems sufficient

basis on which to conclude that [-A] nominals have the full set of phi-features: gender,

number, and person.

8.   Conclusions

In this paper we have argued that Xhosa and Zulu augmentless NPIs distribute alike. They therefore can and should receive a unitary analysis.

We have demonstrated that their properties are strikingly similar to those of negative concord items (*n*-words) and have accordingly analyzed them as such. The [-A] NPIs of Xhosa and Zulu do not overtly manifest negative features. We have argued that like *u*Case, negative concord features can be abstract.

Following Zeijlstra 2004, 2008, 2013, we have argued that restrictions on the distribution of negative concord items follows from a local Agree relation (Agree (*i*Neg…*u*Neg)). There is also a leftward movement requirement for [-A] NPIs as there is for *n*-words in well-studied languages (see especially Haegeman 1995). We have accounted for this with a proposal that negative concord is an A' relation, because it involves a negative operator.

While our analysis concurs with Halpert's 2012 conclusion that [-A] NPI distribution reduces to a morpho-syntactic feature, we have rejected her view that this feature is Case. Following Carstens & Mletshe to appear, [-A] NPIs do not have uCase features at all, while [+A] nominals require structural Case-licensing.

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