

The Position of Arguments in Zulu: Dissertation Prospectus

Leston Buell
University of California, Los Angeles,
bulbul@ucla.edu

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1 Introduction

The topic of research for this dissertation is the position of arguments (and, to a lesser extent, adjuncts) in Zulu, with particular attention to the structure of the sub-IP domain and to the position of extraposed arguments which appear to the right of the verb. There are several different basic sentence types in Zulu which differ with respect to word order and subject agreement. The plan, then, is to explore these sentence types, looking at such factors as the types of subjects and objects they support, constraints under negation, phrasal phonology, ellipsis, cliticization (a term which here will refer to the ability of the object to be *replaced* by an object pronoun clitic), clitic-doubling (referring to the ability of the object to *co-occur* with an object pronoun clitic), the readings which the various constructions allow or exclude, and the effects of verb-focus.

The purpose of this prospectus is to discuss some of the particular problems to be discussed in the dissertation. The prospectus begins with a section which introduces the reader to the basic sentence types under consideration and to the phenomenon of verb focus, to some of my assumptions, and to some recurring terminology. This is followed by sections addressing certain classes of problems: those pertaining to subjects, to objects, to the structure of VP, and to verb focus.

1.1 The Zulu Language

Zulu (or isiZulu) is a Bantu language of the Nguni cluster spoken primarily in South Africa (especially the southeastern provinces of KwaZulu and Natal), but also has speakers in Swaziland, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and Malawi. Zulu is highly mutually intelligible with other Nguni languages such as Ndebele, Xhosa, and Swati. It is extensively used as a lingua franca by speakers of Bantu languages in the region. The number of South Africans citing Zulu as their home language numbered 8.5 million in 1998, or 22.4% of the population, but it is estimated to be understood by well over 80% of the black population of that country. (All information from Sanneh (2001)).

Zulu is an SVO language with a large inventory of noun classes (about 15, depending on how you count them) triggering concord on verbs, adjectives, and other elements. It has a rich system of tense and aspect.

Zulu has both lexical and grammatical tone, and the complex way in which tones interact with each other, with a series of breathy consonants known as ‘depressors’, and with phrase boundaries often makes it difficult for the second-language learner to determine the underlying tone of a given morpheme and hence to predict the tonal contours of a given polymorphemic surface form. No tonal information is indicated in the standard orthography.

Zulu boasts newspapers and magazines, and to a lesser extent also books and serious literature (notably some epic poetry). It has long been taught in schools, even during the apartheid era, and has acquired a standard form, based on the Natal (southeast coast) dialect. Zulu has also been used for many years in radio and television. With the adoption of a new constitution in 1994, which established multi-ethnic rule in South Africa, Zulu became one of the country’s eleven national languages.

To aid the reader in reading the example sentences, a few words on orthography and pronunciation are in order. Stress is always on the penultimate syllable. The *h* in the combinations *ph*, *th*, and *kh* indicates aspiration. *Bh* is breathy *b*. *Hh* is voiced *h*. *Hl* and *dl* represent voiceless and voiced lateral fricatives, respectively.

The voiceless, unaspirated clicks of Zulu are written as *c* (dental), *q* (retroflex), and *x* (lateral). Each of these clicks can occur as aspirated (*ch*, *qh*, *xh*), prenasalized (*nc*, *nq*, *nx*), voiced (*gc*, *gq*, *gx*), or voiced and prenasalized (*ngc*, *ngq*, *ngx*).

1.2 Noun Classes and Concordial Morphology

As is emblematic of Bantu languages, Zulu has a large system of noun classes, which can be thought of as a system of grammatical gender. More than one convention exists for labeling and referring to these classes, most of which are essentially numbering systems. The system used in this paper, developed by Carl Meinhof, is that used in most scholarly work, which allows comparison of corresponding classes across Bantu languages, all of which lack at least some of the classes posited for proto-Bantu. In Zulu, most of the classes can be set off into pairs, such that most nouns have singular form in one class and a plural form in another. For example, most if not all nouns of class 7 (e.g. *isikole* ‘school’, *isandla* ‘hand’, and *isihlalo* ‘seat’), are singulars which have a plural counterpart in class 8 (e.g. *izikole* ‘schools’, *izandla* ‘hands’, *izihlalo* ‘seats’). Here is a chart with an example noun for each of the noun classes of Zulu:

- (1) Zulu noun classes

Class	Augment	Prefix	Stem	Gloss
1	u-	m-	fana	‘boy’
2	a-	ba-	fana	‘boys’
1a	u-	∅	baba	‘father’
2a	o-	∅	baba	‘fathers’
3	u-	m-	fula	‘river’
4	i-	mi-	fula	‘rivers’
5	i-	li-	gama	‘name’
6	a-	ma-	gama	‘names’
7	i-	si-	hlalo	‘seat’
8	i-	zi-	hlalo	‘seats’
9	i-	∅	nkomo	‘cow’
10	i-	zi-	nkomo	‘cows’
11	u-	(lu-)	phondo	‘horn’
10 (bis)	i-	zi-	mpondo	‘horns’
14	u-	(bu-)	tshani	‘grass’
15	u-	ku-	cula	‘sing’
17		ku-		(locative)

It will be noted that in the chart, each noun is actually preceded by not one prefix but two. The first of these is termed the ‘augment’ (or ‘preprefix’), which can be thought of as a type of article, and the second the ‘class prefix’. Nouns exhibiting the augment are called ‘augmented’. Nouns are usually encountered in their augmented form, and this is also the citation form. Nouns lacking the augment will be referred to as ‘bare’ or ‘unaugmented’. Bare nouns function primarily as negative polarity items, with the meaning of ‘none, any’, as in:

- (2) A- ngi- fun- i ncwadi.
 neg- 1s.subj- want- neg 9.book
 ‘I don’t want any book.’

To shorten the glosses, the augment will always appear separately, but the class prefix will be glommed onto the noun stem except for class 15, as explained below. The augment will be glossed simply by its class number:

- (3) i- zincwadi
 10- 10.book
 ‘books’

Only a few remarks on particular noun classes are relevant to the syntactic issues at hand:

- a. Most class 1a and 2a nouns are either terms of kinship (e.g., *ugogo* ‘grandmother’), proper names of people (e.g., *uSipho* ‘Sipho (man’s name)’), borrowings (which may be non-human, e.g., *ubhanana* ‘banana’), or animals (though this is not the class in which most animals are found). The classes 1 and 1a are distinguishable only by their

nominal morphology. The concordial morphology which they trigger on adjectives, verbs, and the like is identical:

- (4) Umfana/ubhanana umncane ufikile.
 ‘The little boy/banana arrived.’

The same is true for classes 2 and 2a. This being the case, the glosses will not indicate any distinction between classes 1 and 1a or between classes 2 and 2a.

- b. Class 15 consists of infinitives (or verbal nouns) and a few concrete nouns (e.g., *ukudla*, which is ambiguous between the infinitive ‘to eat’ and the concrete noun ‘food’). Because of the need to present the verb stem as a separate morpheme, in the case of class 15 only will the class prefix be glossed separately from the stem, as illustrated here:

- (5) u- ku- cula
 15- 15- sing
 ‘to sing’

- c. Class 17 is a non-productive locative class with the noun class prefix *ku-*. It has a few modern reflexes in nouns such as *KwaZulu* ‘Zululand’. The relevance of this noun class is that class 17 verbal concord is a default (e.g., it is used for certain kinds of conjoined subjects) and is used in agreement failure constructions such as the impersonal passive.

As an example of concord in action, note the class 2 and class 10 morphology on the verb and adjectives in the following sentence:

- (6) A- ba- fana a- ba- ncane ba- zo- zi- thenga i- zi- cwadi i- zi- nkulu.
 2- 2- boy 2- 2- small 2.subj- fut- 10.obj- buy 10- 10- book 10- 10- big
 ‘The little boys will buy the big books.’

1.3 Verbal Morphology

The Zulu verb stem can be augmented with one or more derivational suffixes. The suffixes relevant in this paper are the passive suffix *-w* and the applicative suffix *-el*. The use of derivational suffixes to build verb stems is illustrated in (7):

- (7) Building verb stems
- a. *cul*, ‘sing’
 - b. *culw*, ‘be sung’
 - c. *culel*, ‘sing to, sing for’
 - d. *culelw*, ‘be sung to’

A complete Zulu simple verb form can be thought of in terms of slot and template morphology, whereby a number of elements can be prefixed or suffixed to the verb stem, but only in a fixed order:

(8) Zulu Verbal Inflection (somewhat simplified)

(negative)	subject clitic	(auxiliary)	(object clitic)	verb stem	final vowel <i>or</i> mood <i>or</i> aspect <i>or</i> negation
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What are often termed subject and object ‘markers’ in the traditional Bantu literature will be termed ‘clitics’ in this paper. Subject and object clitics encode either person and number (for first and second persons) or noun class (for third person).¹ In the first case, the class will indicate person and number as *1s*, *1p*, *2s*, *2p*. In the second case, only the noun class number will be indicated, without *s* or *p*. Thus, *1s.obj* will indicate a first person singular object clitic, while *1.obj* (without the *s*) will indicate a noun class 1 object clitic.

In many cases subject and object clitics are identical, but not always, for example *2s.subj* is *u*, while *2s.obj* is *ku*. Furthermore, orthographically identical subject clitics can actually be divided into three distinct series, differentiated by tone (and, in a few cases, also by segments). The distribution of the three series of subject clitics is regulated by the mood of the verb.

Here are some examples of Zulu simple verb forms. Note how the order of the morphemes corresponds to the template in (8).

- (9) a. ba- ya- yi- cul- a
2.subj- foc- 6.obj- sing- default.vowel
‘they are singing it (the song)’
- b. a- ngi- cula- nga
neg- 1s.subj- sing- neg
‘I didn’t sing’
- c. u- zo- ngi- cul- el- a
2s.subj- fut- 1s.obj- sing- appl- default.vowel
‘you will sing to me’
- d. ni- cul- e
2p.subj- sing- subjunct
‘that y’all sing’

Subsequent glosses will not indicate the default vowel as a separate morpheme, since it can be argued that it is added entirely for phonotactic reasons.

1.4 Sentence Types

Subject agreement constructions. ‘Subject agreement constructions’ will refer to all constructions in which the verb agrees² with the surface subject.³ SVO is one of these constructions, and it can be considered to be the prototypical sentence type in Zulu:

¹ As noted above, most noun classes also encode number.

² Unless otherwise indicated, ‘agreement’ will be used in a pre-theoretical sense, meaning that the verb bears morphology carrying the noun class, person, and/or number features of the relevant subject or object.

³ The question of what counts as subject for defining ‘subject agreement constructions’ becomes complicated when quasipassives are considered, since by subject we sometimes mean highest theta role and at others a

- (10) U- Siphō u- (li-) zo- pheka i- zambane.
 1- 1.Siphō 1.subj- 5.obj- fut- cook 5- 5.potato
 ‘Siphō will cook the potato.’

However, the subject can appear in a postverbal position, either preceding or following the object.

- (11) U- zo- (li-) pheka i- zambane u- Siphō.
 1.subj- fut- 5.obj- cook 5- 5.potato 1- 1.Siphō
 ‘Siphō will cook the potato.’

- (12) U- zo- (li-) pheka u- Siphō i- zambane.
 1.subj- fut- 5.obj- cook 1- 1.Siphō 5- 5.potato
 ‘Siphō will cook the potato.’

Sentences such as (11) and (12) will also be termed ‘subject agreement constructions’. Issues: Do all speakers accept sentences such as (12)? What accounts for the variability? Are there any differences in meaning between pairs like (11) and (12)?

There are several types of questions concerning subject agreement sentences. These concern, for example, whether preverbal and postverbal subjects share all the same properties in these constructions (they probably don’t), whether the postverbal subject is always in the same position (and specifically, whether it can appear in a position which is either lower than a preverbal subject or higher than/identical to the preverbal subject), and the distribution of object clitics.

An important assumption in this regard will be that subject agreement in Zulu entails raising the subject to the IP region and, likewise, that object clitic-doubling entails raising the object at least as high as the projection where the object clitic pronoun is introduced. These assumptions will be justified in section 2.

VS with default agreement. In these constructions, the subject occurs postverbally and default agreement (noun class 17) appears on the verb. Sometimes, these are interpreted with sentence-wide focus (as in response to the question ‘What happened?’),⁴

- (13) Ku- phek- e u- Siphō i- zambane.
 17.subj- cook- perf 1- 1.Siphō 5- 5.potato
 ‘Siphō cooked a potato.’

while in other contexts, the interpretation has subject focus,

- (14) Yinindaba ku- phek- e u- Siphō?
 why 17.subj- cook- perf 1- 1.Siphō
 ‘Why is it that it’s Siphō who cooked?’

structural position or the trigger for a particular type of verbal agreement morphology. We will therefore treat quasipassives as a distinct sentence type.

⁴ Issues: Can this be a subject-question response? (I think it can.) Is this grammatical with a full range of object types (animate, pronoun, etc.)?

The two readings behave differently with respect to their ability to support objects. Both readings disallow object clitics, except, curiously, for the reflexive object clitic (in some contexts). The subject-focus construction illustrated in (14) will sometimes be referred to as the ‘quasileft construction’. The question of the two readings becomes particularly important because in some contexts a particular reading is forced, with grammatical consequences. For example, embedding a clause under *yinindaba* ‘why’, forces the subject-focus reading (as in (14)), This subject-focus reading of the default agreement construction does not admit an object:

- (15) * Yinindaba ku- phek- e u- Sipho i- zambane?
 why 17.subj- cook- perf 1- 1.Sipho 5- 5.potato
 ‘Why is it that it’s Sipho who cooked a potato?’

Issues: Do these two readings have different syntactic structures? Why does the reflexive clitic behave differently from other object clitics in these constructions? In what contexts is a particular reading of these constructions forced?

Impersonal passive. In the impersonal passive, the verb has passive morphology, but no argument raises to preverbal subject position. The verb has default class 17 agreement and does not require any overt argument:

- (16) Ku- zo- phek- wa.
 17.subj- fut- cook- passive
 ‘There will be cooking. (German: Es wird gekocht werden.)’

Why can the impersonal passive (unlike an active default agreement construction) lack an overt argument?

An additional question concerns sentences like (17), in which an impersonal passive verb form is followed by the direct object:

- (17) Ku- phek- wa i- zinhlane lapha.
 17.subj- cook- passive 10- 10.fish here
 ‘Fish are cooked here.’

It is unclear whether this is simply a default agreement construction with a derived subject (promotion of object to subject), or whether it is actually ambiguous between that analysis and a distinct construction which lacks a subject (derived or otherwise) and which the object actually occurs in a normal object position.

Quasipassive. In the quasipassive (also called subject-object inversion), the verb lacks passive morphology, but the object raises to preverbal subject position and the verb subject-agrees with it:⁵

⁵ The active counterpart of (18) is:

- a. A- bantu ba- phithizela e- mgwaqweni.
 2- 2.person 2.subj- move.about loc=3- 3.road
 ‘People are roaming about the road.’

- (18) U- mgwaqo u- phithizela a- bantu. (Nkabinde 1988)
3- 3.road 3.subj- move.about 2- 2.people
'People are roaming about the road.'

The quasipassive is subject to some interesting restrictions involving argument superiority. Furthermore, it does not tolerate double objects.

Issues: The quasipassive appears to be a kind of locative inversion in Zulu. Is there another kind of locative inversion in the language?

1.5 Literature and Resources

1.5.1 Literature

a. Grammars and dictionaries.

The Nguni languages enjoy a large body of descriptive literature, a healthy portion of which is even written by native speakers. The classic reference grammar of Zulu is Doke's *Textbook of Zulu Grammar* (Doke 1973), originally published in 1927. Pedagogical methods of Zulu include *A Comprehensive Course in the Zulu Language* (Cope 1983), *Teach Yourself Zulu* (Wilkes and Nkosi 1995), and *Learn Zulu* Nyembezi (1994) (Nyembezi 1994), as well as some more modern methods which incorporate multimedia presentations. Nyembezi's *Learn More Zulu* (Nyembezi 1970) is an in-depth, advanced textbook, with an abundance of information and examples, and comprises a class in itself.

Several other modern books give descriptions in varying degrees of detail on various aspects of Zulu grammar. These include *Handbook of IsiZulu* (Taljaard and Bosch 1988), *A Linguistic Analysis of Zulu* (Poulos and Msimang 1998), and *A Handbook of the Zulu Language* (Ziervogel and Louw 1976).

Several dictionaries have appeared over the last century, the most up-to-date and useful of which is *Scholar's Zulu Dictionary* (Dent and Nyembezi 1995). *Isichazamazwi 2* (Nkabinde 1985), a dictionary with a limited number of entries and written entirely in Zulu, is of particular value because its useful tonal indications.

b. Linguistics literature.

There are a number of South African linguists and others who do linguistic research on Nguni languages, including Zulu. This work covers the subfields of syntax, phonology, historical linguistics, and acquisition.

Most of the syntactic work I have been able to read is written in non-Chomskyan frameworks (LFG, Relational Grammar, etc.), and thus does not immediately address the sorts of questions we ourselves would ask about Zulu. However, these articles and books invariably contain interesting observations or data which can be applied to our own line of enquiry.

1.5.2 Other Resources

Unless otherwise indicated, judgements in this prospectus were given by my Zulu instructor at UCLA, Dr. Zilungile Sosibo (Lungi). Lungi is a highly educated native speaker of Zulu and holds a doctorate in adult education. Lungi was born in a Natal village, but lived in various places in South Africa over the course of her childhood, as well as in Swaziland. In addition to English and Zulu, Lungi speaks Swati, the national language of Swaziland and a member of the Nguni language cluster.

I am planning a three-month stay in Natal over the summer of 2002 with the sole purpose of improving my practical knowledge of Zulu. I will be living primarily in Lungi's birth village of Eluphepheni, with some time away in the nearby town of Port Shepstone and the city of Durban. Steps have been taken for me to work part-time as a volunteer at the elementary school in Eluphepheni, which will give me close and constant contact with Zulu-speaking teachers and children. I will also have daily exposure to Zulu-language newspapers and radio. While I will certainly collect some data which will feed directly into my dissertation, my main goal is to gain fluency in the language and to master the tonal system. This will allow me to make more efficient use of my elicitation time with Lungi upon my return, and will allow me to use prosodic phenomena to delimit syntactic boundaries.

Informants for other Bantu languages include UCLA graduate students Masangu Matondo for Sukuma and for Standard Swahili and Kamil Ud Deen for Sheng (Nairobi) Swahili.

2 Assumptions and Preliminary Results

2.1 Some Basic Assumptions

- a. Kayne's (1994) antisymmetry framework will be assumed, at least as regards XP movement. A consequence of this assumption is that all rightward 'movement' will be treated as left movement and subsequent remnant movement.
- b. It will not be assumed that phonological words are necessarily heads. This will mean that Zulu verb forms such as *uzolipheka* 'he will cook it' will be open to at least three different types of analytical options:
 - (a) *Uzolipheka* is a single complex head.
 - (b) The form consists of two complex heads [uzo][lipheka].
 - (c) The form consists entirely of simple, in situ heads [u][zo][li][pheka].⁶

2.2 Verb Focus, Subject Raising, and Clitic-Doubling

This section will discuss and justify the following three assumptions.

- (19)
 - a. Neutral-focus verb forms are never the last overt element in VP.
 - b. Subject/verb agreement entails raising the subject out of VP.

⁶ This analysis isn't trivial since some tonal (and hence non-concatenative) morphology is involved.

- c. When an object is clitic-doubled, the DP object lies outside the VP region.

Many of the example sentences in this section are taken from van der Spuy (1993).

This section deals with subjects either staying inside a very low constituent in the syntactic tree or moving out of it. A label is needed to refer to this constituent. For convenience, because it is a very low constituent which contains (or contained) a verb and which may contain also either a subject or object in their lowest observable position, this constituent will be referred to as ‘VP’. VP as used here, then, may be defined as the smallest constituent which in some matrix clause types contains both a verb and a postverbal subject.

2.2.1 Neutral-Focus Verb Forms Are Not VP-Final

Verb-focus and neutral-focus verb forms. Many Bantu languages have two contrasting forms for certain tenses which are sensitive both to what material follows the verb and to what information in the sentence is being emphasized. A typical example of these contrasting forms is what in the pedagogical literature on Zulu is referred to as the long and short forms, but which in this paper will be referred to as the verb-focus and neutral-focus forms, respectively. In Zulu, the neutral-focus/verb-focus contrast is exhibited only in the present and perfect tenses. In the present tense, the verb-focus form contains the morpheme *ya*, which is lacking in the neutral-focus form:

- (20) a. U- ya- cula. (verb-focus or long form)
 1.subj- foc- sing
 ‘He is singing.’
 b. U- cula u- mculo. (neutral-focus or short form)
 1.subj- sing 3- 3.song
 ‘He is singing a song.’

In the perfect, the verb-focus suffix is *-ile*, while the neutral-focus suffix is *-e*:⁷

- (21) a. U- cul- ile. (verb-focus or long form)
 1.subj- cul- perf.foc
 ‘He is singing.’
 b. U- cul- e u- mculo. (neutral-focus or short form)
 1.subj- sing- perf 3- 3.song
 ‘He is singing a song.’

The canonical environment for the verb-focus verb form is the sentence-final position, while one of the canonical environments for the neutral-focus verb form is preceding the direct object, and these are the environments in which they are presented in (20) and (21). Due to this distribution, in pedagogical texts, the verb-focus form is sometimes referred to as the final form, while the neutral-focus form is called the non-final form. However, this

⁷ Orthographically the neutral-focus suffix is *-e*, but it actually constitutes a long vowel and is stressed. This makes the neutral-focus suffix look like a contracted form of the verb-focus suffix.

terminology is misleading if by ‘final’ is meant ‘sentence-final’. Rather, the choice of a verb-focus or neutral-focus verb form is contingent on what information is being focused in the sentence. The (b) sentences in (22) and (23) show that either a verb-focus or neutral-focus verb form can precede an adverb, but that the resulting sentences are used to answer different questions.⁸

- (22) a. Ba- dlala- phi?
 2.subj- play- where
 ‘Where are they playing?’
- b. Ba- dlala phandle. (neutral-focus)
 2.subj- play outside
 ‘They’re playing outside.’
- (23) a. B- enza- ni phandle?
 2.subj- do- what outside
 ‘What are they doing outside?’
- b. Ba- ya- dlala phandle. (verb-focus)
 2.subj- foc- play outside
 ‘They’re playing outside.’

For reasons to be explained, it will be assumed that neutral-focus verb forms are never phrase-final, while the correlate as to whether verb-focus forms are always phrase-final needs to be explored.

No sentence-final neutral-focus verb forms. Evidence that neutral-focus verb forms cannot appear as the last overt element in VP comes from the fact that such forms cannot appear in sentence-final position.

- (24) a. * A- bafana ba- dlala. (neutral-focus present)
 2- 2.boy 2.subj- play
- b. A- bafana ba- ya- dlala. (verb-focus present)
 2- 2.boy 2.subj- foc- play
 ‘The boys are playing.’

⁸ The verb-focus form indicates that the verb itself is in focus, as in (23). The neutral-focus form is used when either something the following the verb is in focus, as in (22), or when a larger constituent containing the verb is in focus. Thus, the following sentence can be used to answer either ‘What are you doing?’ (VP focus), or ‘What are you cooking?’ (DO focus):

- a. Ngi- pheka i- nyama. (neutral-focus)
 1.subj- cook 9- 9.meat
 ‘I’m cooking meat.’

It seems hard to argue that the focus/non-focus variation is simply prosodic. Such an analysis would want to say that the neutral-focus form occurs when the verb is unstressed while the verb-focus form occurs when it is stressed. This is hard to maintain in the case of enclitic Wh words, as in (25):

- (25) a. A- bafana ba- dlalá -phi? (neutral-focus present)
 2- 2.boy 2.subj- play where
- b. * A- bafana ba- ya- dlala -phi? (verb-focus present)
 2- 2.boy 2.subj- foc- play where
 ‘Where are the boys playing?’

In questions such as (25) it is the verb which is stressed (although the Wh enclitic induces penultimate stress), so the licenser for the neutral-focus form in (25a) is the presence of a Wh element following the verb, which is a syntactic property, not a prosodic property.

The assumption that neutral-focus forms are not VP-final affords us a powerful diagnostic tool; the first element appearing to the right of a neutral-focus form will necessarily be taken as lying inside VP.

Unfortunately, as we will see shortly, we will not be able to maintain the converse of this assumption; verb-focus verb forms are not always VP-final.

2.2.2 Agreeing Subjects Raise out of VP

We can now use the previous assumption to establish that, in Zulu, when agreement is observed between the verb and the subject, this entails that the subject has moved out of VP.

Let us consider a minimal sentence with an intransitive (unergative or unaccusative) verb and an overt DP subject. The neutral manifestation of this type of sentence has a preverbal subject and an agreeing verb:

- (26) A- bafana ba- ya- dlala. (verb-focus verb)
 2- 2.boy 2.subj- foc- play
 ‘The boys are playing.’

As described above, a neutral-focus verb form cannot be the last overt element in VP. This will preclude a variant of this sentence employing a neutral-focus form:

- (27) * A- bafana ba- dlala. (neutral-focus verb)
 2- 2.boy 2.subj- play
 ‘The boys are playing.’

Postverbal agreeing subjects. But SV is not the only word order available for the type of sentence described. A VS order is also possible with an agreeing verb, but note that only the verb-focus verb form is possible:

- (28) a. Ba- ya- dlala a- bafana. (verb-focus verb)
 2.subj- foc- play 2- 2.boy

- b. * Ba- dlala a- bafana. (neutral-focus verb)
 2.subj- play 2- 2.boy
 ‘The boys are playing.’

Given our previous assumption about neutral-focus verb forms, a straightforward syntactic analysis is readily available. The subject in (28b) is VP-internal.

The two forms in (29) differ structurally only in subject/verb agreement:

- (29) a. * Ba- dlala a- bafana. (neutral-focus verb)
 2.subj- play 2- 2.boy
 ‘The boys are playing.’
 b. Ku- dlala a- bafana. (neutral-focus verb)
 15.subj- play 2- 2.boy
 ‘It’s the boys who are playing./The boys are playing.’

Sentence (29a) is ungrammatical because the subject must raise out of VP to trigger subject/verb agreement. The (29b) sentence is grammatical because the verb agrees with a null expletive subject.

This much established, we can now show that although a neutral-focus verb form is a clear indication that the verb is not VP-final, the converse is not so obviously true of verb-focus verb forms.

This default agreement option seems to be available only when the subject remains inside VP, as was the case in (29b). Default agreement is unavailable when the subject is preverbal:

- (30) * A- bafana ku- ya- dlala $_{VP}$]
 2- 2.boy 16.subj- foc- play
 ‘The boys are playing.’

Now note that the default agreement construction is compatible with both verb-focus and neutral-focus verb forms:⁹

- (31) a. Ku- ya- dlala a- bafana $_{VP}$]. (verb-focus verb)
 16.subj- foc- play 2- 2.boy
 b. Ku- dlala a- bafana $_{VP}$]. (neutral-focus verb)
 16.subj- play 2- 2.boy
 ‘It’s the boys who are playing./The boys are playing.’

By the reasoning just presented, the subject in (31a) must be VP-internal, because the verb has default agreement, and the focused verb form in this sentence is not VP-final. Thus, as illustrated in (32), a verb-focus verb form can be either final or non-final in VP. Another possibility remains to be explored, namely, that the verb-focus verbs are always VP-final, but that the subject can undergo two degrees of raising. The lower of these results in a postverbal subject, as in (31b), and the position is too low to trigger subject/verb agreement. The higher of these does trigger subject/verb agreement.

⁹ At least two descriptions of Zulu suggest that a verb-focus verb with default agreement followed by a subject is ungrammatical, but my consultant does not reject these forms.

(32) a. Verb-focus verb form VP-final:

A- bafana ba- ya- dlala VP].
2- 2.boy 2.subj- foc- play

‘The boys are playing.’

b. Verb-focus verb non-final in VP:

Ku- ya- dlala a- bafana VP].
16.subj- foc- play 2- 2.boy

‘It’s the boys who are playing.’

The assumption established in this section has a useful corollary: since a verb must raise out of VP to trigger subject/verb agreement, it follows that any subject appearing to the right of a verb with which it agrees must be right-dislocated.

2.2.3 Clitic-Doubled Objects Lie Outside VP

As mentioned above, ‘clitic-doubling’ will refer to the presence of an overt lexical DP object accompanied by an object marker on the verb. As in other Bantu languages, clitic-doubling of objects is pervasive in Zulu:

(33) A- bafana ba- ya- si- hlupha i- salukazi. (verb-focus verb)
2- 2.boy 2.subj- foc- 7.obj- annoy 7- 7.old.woman

‘The boys annoy the old woman.’

Clitic-doubling enables all permutations of SVO. A sentence such as (33) can appear with a wide range of word orders:

- (34) a. SVO: Abafana bayasihlupha isalukazi.
b. VOS: Bayasihlupha isalukazi abafana.
c. SOV: Abafana isalukazi bayasihlupha VP].
d. OSV: Isalukazi abafana bayasihlupha VP].
e. OVS: Isalukazi bayasihlupha VP] abafana.
f. VSO: Bayasihlupha VP] abafana isalukazi.

Issues: What will the results of c-command tests be run on these different permutations? Can all of these permutations occur in all embedded contexts?

All clitic-doubled objects are dislocated. Sentences (34c-f) show that the clitic-doubled object may be dislocated, but the (34a,b) sentences seem ambiguous: the object could be either inside VP or right-dislocated. It will be argued here that even cases such as (34a,b) are always dislocated. Any clitic-doubled overt DP lies outside VP, and the subject/verb agreement indicates that the subject has raised out of VP.

Clitic-doubling with neutral-focus verbs. Note that a neutral-focus verb form is compatible with an immediate postverbal object:

- (35) a. A- bafana ba- hlupha i- salukazi. VP] (neutral-focus verb)
 2- 2.boy 2.subj- annoy 7- 7.old.woman
- b. Ba- hlupha i- salukazi VP] a- bafana. (neutral-focus verb)
 2.subj- annoy 7- 7.old.woman 2- 2.boy
- ‘The boys annoy the old woman.’

The neutral-focus verb form cannot be VP-final, so it is the object in such cases which is the last overt element within VP.

However, the neutral-focused verb form becomes ungrammatical once an object clitic is added which co-refers with this object:

- (36) a. * A- bafana ba- si- hlupha i- salukazi. VP] (neutral-focus verb)
 2- 2.boy 2.subj- 7.obj- annoy 7- 7.old.woman
- b. * Ba- si- hlupha i- salukazi VP] a- bafana. (neutral-focus verb)
 2.subj- 7.obj annoy 7- 7.old.woman 2- 2.boy
- ‘The boys annoy the old woman.’

This fact cannot be due to a co-occurrence restriction holding between neutral-focus verb forms and object clitics, for such combinations do occur, as before certain adverbs,¹⁰ exemplified in (37) by *kakhulu* ‘much’:

- (37) A- bafana ba- si- hlupha kakhulu. VP]
 2- 2.boy 2.subj- 7.obj- annoy much
- ‘The boys annoy her a lot.’

or when the object clitic and the immediate postverbal object do not co-refer, as in applicative and other double object constructions:¹¹

- (38) A- bafana ba- si- dlal- ela i- bhola VP] i- salukazi. (non-focused verb)
 2- 2.boy 2.subj- 7.obj- play- appl 5- 5.ball 7- 7.old.woman
- ‘The boys play ball for the old woman.’

This pattern is easily captured in a single generalization: an object clitic and an overt co-referring DP cannot co-occur within VP.

This generalization is corroborated by two additional diagnostics: prepausal lengthening and vocative insertion, both of which are exploited in van der Spuy (1993).

¹⁰ These adverbs includes *kahle* ‘well’ and *kakhulu* ‘much’. These will be termed ‘inner adverbs’.

¹¹ Issues: What are the c-command facts (every ball, its owner)? Can you elide a vowel between the two arguments?

Prepausal lengthening. Prepausal lengthening is a phenomenon by which a penultimate syllable is lengthened before a pause.¹² This lengthening is known to participate in the Zulu tonal system (Laughren 1984). The phenomenon is illustrated in (39) where /incwadi/ is realized as [incwa:di] in (a), where it occurs sentence-finally, but as [incwadi] in (b), where it is followed by a possessive:

- (39) a. Ngi- funda i- ncwa:di. (*incwadi* lengthened)
 1s.subj- read 9- 9.book
 ‘I’m reading a book.’
- b. Ngi- funda i- ncwadi ya:mi. (*incwadi* not lengthened)
 1s.subj- read 9- 9.book 9.my
 ‘I’m reading my book.’

Prepausal lengthening is relevant to the question at hand because a focused verb with an object clitic undergoes such lengthening even when the co-referent object DP immediately follows it:

- (40) A- bafana ba- ya- si- hlu:pha *VP*] i- salukazi.
 2- 2.boy 2.subj- foc- 7.obj- annoy 7- 7.old.woman
 (*bayasihlupha* lengthened)
 ‘The boys are annoying the old woman..’

In contrast, such prepausal lengthening is infelicitous in the neutral-focus verb form:¹³

- (41) ? A- bafana ba- si- hlu:pha i- salukazi *VP*].
 2- 2.boy 2.subj- 7.obj- annoy 7- 7.old.woman
 (*basihlupha* lengthened)
 ‘The boys are annoying the old woman.’

Such a contrast is easily explainable under the assumptions made. The verb in (41) is neutral-focus and hence not VP-final; the final element in VP is the object. Prepausal lengthening is awkward in this sentence because it is awkward to pause within VP. As for sentence (40), its object DP is right-dislocated and its verb is final in VP. Prepausal lengthening of the verb is natural because it is natural to pause between these phrase boundaries. (Or, put another way, the VP syntactic right bracket typically corresponds to a prosodic right bracket.)

Vocative insertion. Vocative insertion involves inserting a vocative phrase, such as ‘o father’, sentence-medially.

- (42) a. ? A- bafana ba- hlupha baba i- salukazi *VP*].
 2- 2.boy 2.subj- annoy voc.father 7- 7.old.woman

¹² This description is somewhat simplified.

¹³ Van der Spuy claims that a lengthened neutral-focus form is ungrammatical. This may be the case, but my own informant did not reject such a form. However, she spontaneously produced prepausal lengthening only with the clitic-doubled focused form. I suppose that many issues like this will be clarified when I am able to read about Xhosa phrasal phonology in Jokweni.

- b. A- bafana ba- ya- si- hlupha *VP*] baba i- salukazi.
 2- 2.boy 2.subj- foc- 7.obj- annoy voc.father 7- 7.old.woman
 ‘The boys are annoying, Dad, the old woman.’

The vocative insertion argument follows a line similar to that of prepausal lengthening. If vocative insertion is felicitous only between certain types of phrase boundaries, the contrast in (42) receives an immediate explanation. The insertion is unnatural inside the VP as in (42a), but is completely natural after the VP boundary in (42b).

Nothing has been said so far about prepausal lengthening and vocative insertion with respect to focus verb forms without clitic doubling.

- (43) a. ? A- bafana ba- ya- hlupha baba i- salukazi *VP*].
 2- 2.boy 2.subj- foc- annoy voc.father 7- 7.old.woman
 (focused verb, no object clitic, vocative insertion)
 ‘The boys are annoying, Dad, the old woman.’
- b. ? A- bafana ba- ya- hlu:pha i- salukazi *VP*].
 2- 2.boy 2.subj- foc- annoy 7- 7.old.woman
 (focused verb, no object clitic, prepausal lengthening)
 ‘The boys are annoying the old woman.’

The degraded status of these forms might suggest that all overt DP objects are VP-internal unless clitic-doubled. But this would predict a form such as (44) to be ungrammatical, which is not the case. In this sentence, the subject *abafana* must be right-dislocated because the focus form of the verb is employed. Therefore, the object *isalukazi* must also be right-dislocated.¹⁴

- (44) Ba- ya- hlupha a- bafana i- salukazi. (focused verb)
 2.subj- foc- annoy a- 2.boy 7- 7.old.woman
 ‘The boys are annoying the old woman.’

This is an unresolved issue. Perhaps VP-finality is a necessary but insufficient condition for closing the prosodic domain relevant for prepausal lengthening.

***Na*-insertion: an additional diagnostic.** Placement of the optional *na* question particle,¹⁵ which can be used in either yes/no questions or Wh questions, give us an additional diagnostic for phrase finality. The following examples show that *na* cannot follow a neutral-focus verb form. *Na* is long and stressed. As such, it may be more analogous to an English tag question like *is it?* than it is to classic question particles such as Japanese clause-final *ka* or Polish clause-initial *czy*.

- (45) a. Ufunde lencwadi na? (neutral-focus)
 b. * Ufunde na lencwadi?

¹⁴ Issue: Can an agreeing subject intervene between a negative verb and a bare object, as in *abahluphi abafana salukazi*? I think I have data which shows that this is not grammatical.

¹⁵ Can *na* occur in embedded contexts?

- c. Ufundile lencwadi na? (verb-focus)
 - d. Ufundile na lencwadi?
'Did you read this book?'
- (46) a. * Abafana badlala na phandle? (neutral-focus)
- b. Abafana bayadlala na phandle? (verb-focus)
'Are the children playing outside?'

This is taken to mean that *na* cannot occur within the minimal constituent containing the verb and its object or an internal adverb.

2.2.4 Recap

This section has justified the three assumptions in (19), repeated here as (47):

- (47) a. Neutral-focus verb forms are never the last overt element in VP.
 b. Subject/verb agreement entails raising the subject to the IP region.
 c. When an object is clitic-doubled, the DP object lies outside the VP region.

In the course of this task, other useful things were demonstrated:

- (48) a. A postverbal subject agreeing with a verb is right-dislocated.
 b. A subject is VP-internal when the verb exhibits default agreement.
 c. Unlike neutral-focus verb forms, focus verb forms cannot be used as a diagnostic for the verb's final or non-final status within VP.

3 Subjects

3.1 Raised and Non-Raised Subjects

Recall the assumption that subjects in subject agreement constructions are raised whether they appear to the left or the right of the verb. In default agreement constructions, the subject will be assumed not to have raised (or at least not to have raised as far as agreeing subjects). Issues: What semantic difference is there between these raised and non-raised subjects?

Universally quantified preverbal subjects cannot be reconstructed under negation:

- (49) B- onke a- bafundi a- ba- phuma- nga.
 2- all 2- 2.student neg- 2.subj- leave- neg
 'All the students didn't leave.'
 = 'None of the students left.' all > not
 ≠ 'Not all of the students left.' not > all

Furthermore, bare¹⁶ noun subjects must appear postverbally:

- (50) a. * Bafana a- ku-/ba- cula- nga.
 2.boy neg- 16.subj-/2.subj- sing- neg
 b. A- ku- cula- nga bafana.
 neg- 16.subj- sing- neg 2.boy
 ‘No boys sang.’

3.2 Distinguishable Subject Positions

There seem to be at least four distinct subject positions which can be argued for:

- a. The in situ subject position. This is the position in which the present or perfect tense verb appears in the neutral focus form:

- (51) Ku- cul- e u- Siphó u- mculo. (neutral-focus verb)
 17.subj- sing- perf 1- 1.Siphó 3- 3.song
 ‘Siphó sang a song.’

I surmise that this will also be the only position in which bare nouns can occur. Because bare noun arguments appear only under negation, and because there is no verb/neutral-focus distinction in any negative tense, this is testable only using tonal and prosodic information which is as yet inaccessible to me. This information would help delimit phrasal boundaries presumed to correspond to syntactic boundaries.

- b. The immediate extraposition position. The subject has moved out of VP, such that the verb is final in VP. This is the position of a subject which is preceded by a verb-focus verb.

- (52) Ku- cul- ile $_{VP}$] u- Siphó u- mculo. (verb-focus verb)
 17.subj- sing- perf.foc 1- 1.Siphó 3- 3.song
 ‘Siphó sang a song.’

Such a position must be distinguished from the in situ position if it is maintained that verb-focus verbs are always VP-final. However, if such verbs are not always VP-final, it will be difficult to show whether such a position exists.¹⁷

- c. The subject agreement position. The subject has moved high enough to trigger subject agreement, but is low enough to be under the scope of negation.

- (53) A- ba- cula- nga $_{VP}$] bonke a- bafana. $_{NegP}$
 neg- 2.subj- sing- neg 2.all 2- 2.child
 ‘Not all of the children sang.’

¹⁶ ‘Bare’ as first illustrated in (2).

¹⁷ Again, it’s not clear how real this data is. I will try with a range of objects and subjects. In South Africa, I will also check with various speakers.

d. The preverbal subject position. The subject is in preverbal position and cannot be reconstructed under negation:

- (54) Bonke a- bafana [_{NegP} a- ba- cula- nga.
 2.all 2- 2.child neg- 2.subj- sing- neg
 ‘None of the children sang.’ (≠ ‘Not all of the children sang.’)

The distinction between positions (a) and (b) allows for the strong claim that neutral-focus verbs are never VP-final while verb-focus verbs always are. The distinction between positions (b) and (c) allows for a structural explanation of why a post-verbal subject scoped under negation may occur with either an agreeing or a non-agreeing verb. While the distinction between positions (c) and (d), which obviously must be posited under any analysis, since their word order differences are overt, show differing scopal properties with respect to negation.

3.3 What Are Subject Markers?

As described in the introduction, in the traditional literature on Bantu languages, prefixes and infixes on the verb which indicate subject and object agreement (in a pretheoretical sense) are referred to as ‘subject markers’ and ‘object markers’. Thus in the verb form in (55), *u-* is the subject marker and *ngi-* is the object marker.

- (55) U- Siphu u- zo- ngi- nika i- sinkwa.
 1- Siphu 1.subj- fut- 1s.obj- give 7- 7.bread
 ‘Siphu will give me some bread.’

The question arises as to the nature of subject markers. These could be pronouns (Zwart 2000) or AgrS heads. If they are pronouns, then a postverbal subject must be extraposed to a position higher than that pronoun, because if it weren’t we would expect a Principle C violation. If they are AgrS heads, then the subject must have moved to spec-AgrS to establish the agreement relationship in Zulu.¹⁸ Although in some languages verbal agreement of some sort is exhibited even when no such spec/head relationship is thought to be established (as in the case of Italian postverbal subjects), this is not likely to be the case in Zulu, since all evidence for postverbal subjects in Zulu with accompanying subject agreement indicates that these subjects are right-dislocated, as was discussed in section 2.2.

Although there is a great deal of literature on the question as to whether object and subject markers in Bantu languages are agreement morphemes or incorporated pronouns, this literature is largely in the Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG) framework, and it is far from evident that the results of these studies are directly translatable into a Chomskian

¹⁸This is not a theoretical claim about Universal Grammar, but a claim about Zulu specifically. It was earlier shown that agreeing postverbal subjects are right-dislocated in Zulu. A VP-internal subject in Zulu does not induce subject agreement on the verb. This contrasts with the situation in languages such as Italian, where postverbal subjects do induce subject agreement on the verb even though they do not appear to be right-dislocated.

framework. This has to do with the fact that LFG lacks the concept of *pro*. It is not obvious what sort of evidence would be able to tell the difference between these two possibilities.¹⁹

Issues: What things can satisfy the EPP in Zulu. What distinguishes preverbal subjects from other preverbal elements?

4 Objects

4.1 Right-Dislocation

Since we assume that all movement is leftward, by ‘right-dislocation’ is meant first raising of an element, then raising other material around it in such a way that it appears to have undergone rightward movement. ‘Right-dislocation’ as used here is not necessarily taken to mean that the element receives a topic-like interpretation.

Issues: When are postverbal arguments and adverbs right-dislocated? What diagnostics exist? For elements shown to be right-dislocated, why do they right-dislocate? Or why does other material move past them?

Postverbal subjects as diagnostics. As discussed earlier, a postverbal subject with full subject agreement on the verb is taken as unequivocal evidence for subject raising and right-dislocation. This makes right-dislocated subjects a useful diagnostic tool. Items which can appear to the right of a right-dislocated subject have also escaped from inner constituents (if they are indeed moved). For example, in (56), the agreeing subject *uSipho* is taken to be right-dislocated. Therefore, the direct object *isinkwa* is also right-dislocated.²⁰

- (56) U- dl- ile u- Sipho i- sinkwa.
 1.subj- eat- perf.foc 1- Sipho 7- 7.bread
 ‘Sipho ate bread.’

Prosodic evidence. Eventually, tonal and intonational information will be used to argue for phrase boundaries. A right-dislocation boundary may be the locus of a prosodic boundary.

Clitic-doubled objects. It’s not clear how to treat clitic-doubled objects. They can appear to the left of a negative polarity item.

- (57) A- ngi- si- dla- nga i- sinkwa nhlobo.
 neg- 1s.subj- 7.obj- eat- neg 7- 7.bread at.all
 ‘I didn’t eat the bread at all.’

In (57), *isinkwa* is a clitic-doubled object, and as such is assumed to be right-dislocated, as discussed in section 2.2.3. However, *nhlobo* is a negative polarity item, which, as such, must be c-commanded by a negative element. Therefore, the object must be dislocated

¹⁹ *Work in your new data: Nobody came. Yes, he came. Yebo/cha, akafikanga. Yebo/cha, ufikile. Where should i put this? This shows a subject/object asymmetry with respect to cliticization.*

²⁰ Ask Nhlanhla about (56). the issue is why there’s no clitic.

to a lower point in the tree than one of the two negative heads (the two distinct negative morphemes in the verb form). Thus, several questions arise concerning these constructions:

- a. What is the hierarchical structure of right-dislocated material?
- b. What specific positions do these right-dislocated elements occur in?
- c. If the Zulu verb form is not a single head, which of the two negative heads c-commands *nhlobo*?
- d. Assuming that the position of the negative polarity item *nhlobo* remains constant, are there any semantic or syntactic differences between elements dislocated to the left of *nhlobo* (and hence lower than *nhlobo*) and those dislocated to the right of it?

Swahili data shows that this is just an instantiation of a more general problem across Bantu languages in that right-dislocated elements seem to be c-commanded by negation while preverbal subjects are not, as illustrated in (58). Note that the Swahili phrase *wo wote* is like English ‘any’—it can be either a negative polarity item (as in this case) or a free choice item.²¹

(58) Swahili agreeing postverbal subjects.

- a. Ha- wa- ta- fika watu w- o w- ote.
neg- 2.subj- fut- arrive 2.person 2- o 2- all
- b. * Watu w- o w- ote ha- wa- ta- fika.
2.person 2- o 2- all neg- 2.subj- fut- arrive
‘Nobody (at all) will come.’

4.2 Ellipsis

Be overt, as a DP or as a clitic. Data shows that it is generally impossible to elide a direct object, whether this object is low or whether it is right-dislocated. Instead it must be cliticized.²²

(59) Uphekile uSipho izambane/lezambane.

‘Sipho cooked a/the/this potato.’

- a. Yebo, uliphekile.
- b. # Yebo, uphekile.
‘Yes, he did.’ (lit. ‘Yes, he cooked (it).’)

²¹ This data is problematic. Kamil didn’t like (58b), but Matondo did. Well, this just means that only one of the speakers allows reconstruction.

²² Note that if the subject marker *u* in example (59) is a pronoun, than it can’t c-command *uSipho*, as this would incur a Principle C violation. Well, this isn’t necessarily the case. What about French *Il n’est pas venu, le prof*. I think that this is analogous. But are the negation scope facts the same for right-dislocated subjects in Zulu and French?

What are the analytical options for this distribution? One option is for a requirement that either the clitic head or its specifier contain overt material (at the relevant point in the derivation). This brings into question how constraints referring to the overt and covert nature of material can be evaluated. This particular analysis would require overtness to be evaluated over the course of the derivation. In contrast, the Generalized Doubly Filled Comp Filter (Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000) is also crucially sensitive to the overt/covert distinction, but by virtue of being a filter, it evaluates representations and cannot be allowed to filter out moves over the course of a derivation. Is it plausible that both derivations and representations are sensitive to the overt/covert distinction?

If so, a derivational requirement could hold in Zulu that either the clitic head or its specifier be filled with overt material. Under such an analysis, material must be covert early enough in the derivation to be relevant for evaluation. This precludes dropping material late in the derivation (contra Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000). Is this preclusion reasonable? This analysis also assumes that the Clitic projection is always present and moved to, even in the absence of an overt clitic. Is this tenable?

The distribution facts also add support to the idea that object markers are clitic pronouns, rather than agreement heads. While it would be quite unusual for an agreement relation to be sensitive to whether an item was overt or not, it is expected that the distribution of a pronoun will be sensitive to the co-occurrence of an overt element with which it co-refers.

The cases of ellipsis seen so far:

a. Infinitival complement.

- (60) U- Siphō a- ka- fun- i u- ku- cula, kodwa u- Thandi u- ya- funa.
 1- 1.Siphō neg- 1.subj- want- neg 19- 19- sing, but 1- 1.Thandi 1.subj- foc- want
 ‘Siphō doesn’t want to sing, but Thandi does.’

b. Objects in a few idioms (but not all idioms).

- (61) Mina ngi- shay- e u- cingo, no- Thandi u- shay- ile.
 me 1s.subj- hit- perf 11- 11.phone and=1- 1.Thandi 1.subj- hit- foc.perf
 ‘I phoned, and Thandi did, too.’

Why are these exceptions possible?

Object Drop in Double Object Constructions Example (62) shows that an ordinary direct object cannot be dropped.

- (62) Mina a- ngi- dla- nga mahhabula,
 me neg- 1s.subj- eat- neg 6.apple
 no- Thandi a- ka- *(wa)- dla- nga.
 and=1- 1.Thandi neg- 1.subj- 6.obj- eat- neg

‘I didn’t eat any apples, and Thandi didn’t, either.’

So, why can one object in a double object construction be dropped without being cliticized, as shown in (63)? The direct object *mahhabula* ‘apples’ has been elided in the second clause.

- (63) Mina a- ngi- mu- pha- nga mahhabula,
 me neg- 1s.subj- 1.obj- give- neg 6.apple
 no- Thandi a- ka- mu- pha- nga.
 and=1- 1.Thandi neg- 1.subj- 1.obj- give- neg

‘I didn’t give him any apples, and Thandi didn’t either.’

There are two approaches to this question:

- a. Morphological approach. The morphological approach would be to say that using both clitics on the verb results in illicit words. (Two object clitics is never possible in a single verb word.) Then the question will arise as to why one clitic appears rather than the other, or better yet, why utterances which would seem to require both clitics aren’t simply ungrammatical (and unrepairable).
- b. Syntactic approach. The syntactic approach would be to find an analysis in which only one of the two objects could reach the clitic projection. The question then arises as to how the non-raising object can be simply dropped. Woolford ((Woolford 2000)) argues that the unexpressed object is dropped VP-internally.

Since the morphological approach is necessarily stipulative, a syntactic approach is preferable.

4.3 Infinitival Objects

What do infinitival objects tell us?

Cliticization. Infinitives in Zulu (as in Bantu languages generally) have nominal morphology and some nominal properties. In Zulu an infinitival can be cliticized or clitic-doubled:²³
 HERE

- (64) a. Ngi- ya- (ku-) thanda u- kucula.
 1s.subj- foc- 19.obj- like 19- 19.sing
 ‘I like to sing.’
 b. Ngi- ya- (ku-) thanda.
 1s.subj- foc- 19.obj- like
 ‘I like to.’

This is a noun-like property, but the cliticization is optional in at least one context in which for a non-infinitival nominal it would be obligatory, namely (direct) object ellipsis.²⁴ What accounts for optional nature of cliticization of infinitival objects?

²³ Data from other tenses shows that the *ku* cannot be simply a residual infinitival prefix on the matrix verb stem. However, there is a strong possibility that the *ku* is a default object clitic, not agreeing with the infinitival object. This would be analogous to English *it* in *I hate it when/that he does that*. I think that it’s impossible to tell the difference between a default *ku* object clitic and one agreeing with the infinitive.

²⁴ This won’t be true for infinitive reason applicative objects.

The bare/augmented distinction. Another nominal property of Zulu infinitivals is the fact that they display the bare/augmented distinction already illustrated for other DPs:

- (65) a. A- ngi- thand- i ku- cula.
 neg- 1s.subj- like- neg 17- sing
 ‘I don’t like to sing/any singing.’ (sounds rude or arrogant)
- b. A- ngi- thand- i u- ku- cula.
 neg- 1s.subj- like- neg 17- 17- sing
 ‘I don’t like to sing/singing.’

Possession. And yet another noun-like property of these clauses is the fact that in some contexts they can be possessed:

- (66) Ngi- ya- (ku-) thanda u- ku- cula kw- akho.
 1s.subj- foc- 19.obj- like 19- 19- sing 19- your
 ‘I like your singing. I like for you to sing.’

Control clauses. When the infinitive complement is a control clause (such as the complement of ‘want’) the clause can be cliticized, but analogous forms cannot be constructed in which the infinitive is possessed:²⁵

- (67) Ngi- ya- ku- funa u- ku- phuma (ngokushesha/manje).
 1s.subj- foc- 19.obj- want 19- 19- leave immediately/now
 ‘I want to leave (immediately/now).’
- (68) * Ngi- ya- ku- funa u- ku- phuma kw- ami.
 1s.subj- foc- 19.obj- want 19- 19- leave 19- my
 ‘I want my leaving. I want to leave.’
- (69) * Ngi- ya- ku- funa u- ku- phuma kw- akho.
 1s.subj- foc- 19.obj- want 19- 19- leave 19- your
 ‘I want your leaving. I want you to leave.’

What other distributional differences are there between control complements and other infinitival complements?

Infinitival applicative objects. One of the uses of the applicative form of the verb is to express a reason. In (70) the applicative object *imali* ‘money’ functions as the reason for which the women sew dresses:

- (70) A- bafazi ba- thung- ela i- mali i- zingubo.
 2- 2.women 2.subj- sew- applic 3?- 3.money 10- 10.dress
 ‘The women sew dresses for money.’

²⁵ Compare with English ? *I want me to go.*

Such objects are termed ‘reason applicative objects’. Some speakers allow infinitive clauses as reason applicative objects, as in (71):

- (71) Ngi- jabul- ela u- ku- kwazi.
 1s.subj- be.glad- appl 19- 2.obj- 19.know
 ‘I’m happy to meet you.’

Issues: How do infinitival applicative objects compare to DP applicative objects? Why do some speakers (including my informant) reject infinitival reason applicative objects but not substantive ones? What is the difference between an infinitival reason argument, as in (72) and its non-applicative counterpart, as in (72):

- (72) Ngi- ya- jabula u- ku- kwazi.
 1s.subj- foc- be.glad 19- 2.obj- 19.know
 ‘I’m happy to meet you.’

4.4 Cliticization

When can/must objects be cliticized or clitic-doubled?

Definiteness. Canonical translations suggest that object cliticization implies a definite interpretation of the object:

- (73) a. Ngi- funda i- ncwadi.
 1s.subj- read 9- 9.book
 ‘I’m reading *a* book.’
 b. Ngi- ya- *yi-* funda i- ncwadi.
 1s.subj- foc- 9.obj- read 9- 9.book
 ‘I’m reading *the* book.’

However, it is clear from more extensive data that object clitics used alone do not necessarily refer to either referential or definite objects, as shown in this example:

- (74) Mina ngi- dl- e i- sinkwa,
 me 1s.subj- eat- perf 7- 7.bread
 kodwa u- Thandi a- ka- *si-* dla- nga.
 but 1- 1.Thandi neg- 1.subj- 7.obj- eat- neg
 ‘I ate some bread, but Thandi didn’t.’

- (75) Mina a- ngi- dla- nga sinkwa
 me neg- 1s.subj- eat- neg 7.bread
 kodwa u- Thandi u- *si-* dl- ile.
 but 1- 1.Thandi 1.subj- 7.obj- eat- perf.foc
 ‘I didn’t eat any bread, but Thandi did.’

However, it is not clear that this is true of object clitics in clitic doubling constructions. Issues: Must clitic-doubled objects be definite? Must they be referential? (An entire range of objects must be considered: specific indefinite, etc.) If object clitics can refer to non-referential and indefinite objects when the full-NP object is absent, what prevents them from doing so in the presence of the NP?

Object DPs under negation. Under negation there may be a four-way distinction in postverbal object types:

(76) Bare DP object.

A- ngi- dla- nga sinkwa.
neg- 1s.subj- eat- neg 7.bread

‘I didn’t eat any bread.’

(77) Augmented DP object.

A- ngi- dla- nga i- sinkwa.
neg- 1s.subj- eat- neg 7- 7.bread

‘I didn’t eat bread.’

(78) Low clitic-doubled object (such as appears before a negative polarity item).

A- ngi- si- dla- nga i- sinkwa nhlobo.
neg- 1s.subj- 7.obj- eat- neg 7- 7.bread at.all

‘I didn’t eat the bread at all.’

(79) High clitic-doubled object (such as appears after right-dislocated subject).

A- ka- si- dla- nga u- Sipho i- sinkwa.
neg- 1.subj- 7.obj- eat- neg 1- 1.Sipho 7- 7.bread

‘Sipho didn’t eat the bread at all.’

(Clitic-doubled objects, such as in (78) and (79) are always augmented.)

4.5 Object Positions

It is intuitive to think that objects can occur in a range of positions analogous to those hypothesized for subjects in section 3.2. Recall that the indicators used for subject positions were verb focus and verb agreement. Using the same indicators for objects would yield the following postverbal positions:

- a. The in situ object position. This is the position in which the object is immediately preceded by a neutral-focus verb:

- (80) U- Thandi u- fund- e i- ncwadi.
 1- 1.Thandi 1.subj- read- perf 9- 9.book
 ‘Thandi read a book.’

Again, I surmise that this is the only position in which bare objects occur:

- (81) U- Thandi u- ka- funda- nga ncwadi.
 1- 1.Thandi 1.subj- neg- read- neg 9.book
 ‘Thandi didn’t read a book.’

- b. The immediate extraposition position. The object has moved out of VP, such that the verb is final in VP. This is the position which is immediately preceded by a verb-focus verb:

- (82) U- Thandi u- fund- ile i- ncwadi.
 1- 1.Thandi 1.subj- read- perf.foc 9- 9.book
 ‘Thandi read a book.’

- c. The clitic-doubling position. The object has raised just high enough to trigger the appearance of an object clitic on the verb.

- (83) U- Thandi u- yi- fund- ile i- ncwadi.
 1- 1.Thandi 1.subj- 9.obj- read- perf.foc 9- 9.book
 ‘Thandi read the book.’

Certain problems of a practical nature and questions of a theoretical nature arise concerning these positions. First, establishing the immediate extraposition position as distinct from the in situ position is difficult. If it is assumed that verb-focus verb forms are always VP-final, this position is necessarily distinct, but this assumption cannot be made without question, as will be discussed in the section on verb focus. An independent form of evidence which could be used to establish this position would be to find a type of DP which could occur in one position but not the other. An obvious candidate for such a DP is a bare DP. However, because these occur only under a negative verb form and because negative verb forms lack the verb-focus/neutral-focus distinction, the one clear diagnostic, another type of DP must be found. It would suffice to find a class of DP which could occur in the in situ position but not in the immediate extraposition position.

But what if a class of DPs is found which can appear in the immediate extraposition position, but not in the in situ position? This situation brings a new problem to the surface. The clitic-doubling position is distinguished by the presence of an object clitic on the verb, and immediate object extraposition therefore lacks a concomitant object clitic. However, it is not clear that the object clitic is obligatory when the object appears in clitic-doubling position. This problem is exemplified in sentence pairs like these:

- (84) U- fund- ile u- Thandi i- ncwadi.
 1.subj- read- perf.foc 1- 1.Thandi 9- 9.book
 ‘Thandi read a book.’

- (85) U- fund- ile i- ncwadi u- Thandi.
 1.subj- read- perf.foc 9- 9.book 1- 1.Thandi
 ‘Thandi read a book.’

In both of these sentences, the subject is assumed to be in the subject agreement position. First, consider sentence (84). Since the verb has verb-focus and lacks an object clitic, let us suppose that the object *incwadi* is in the immediate extraposition position. Now consider sentence (85). The object *incwadi* does not immediately follow a neutral-focus verb and the verb lacks an object clitic. We conclude, then, that the object is in the immediate extraposition position. But this is obviously a contradiction. We have said that in both sentences the subject is in the subject agreement position and the object is in the immediate extraposition position even though the only difference in the two sentences is the relative ordering of the subject and object. There are various ways to resolve this contradiction:

- a. Clitic doubling is obligatory when the object is in the clitic-doubling position, but there are multiple positions outside of VP in which the object can occur without clitic-doubling.
- b. Clitic doubling is obligatory when the object is in the clitic-doubling position, but the subject agreement position and the object immediate extraposition position are actually specifiers of an iterable head (in a fashion similar to Rizzi’s iterable Topic position). Reordering of the arguments can occur when both subject and object are moved to this position.
- c. Clitic doubling is not obligatory. While the clitic-doubling position is the lowest position to which an object can move triggering clitic-doubling, movement of the object to this position is an insufficient condition for the appearance of the object clitic.

It is unclear which of these solutions is correct. Two areas need to be explored to decide this case:

- a. The distribution of clitic doubling.
- b. The relative positions of subjects, objects, and adverbs.

4.6 Scrambling and the Definiteness Hierarchy

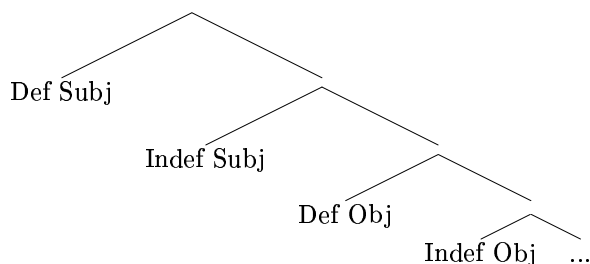
Exploration of postverbal subject and object positions will help decide the nature of scrambling. It has been proposed that arguments move as a function of a hierarchy which we will refer to here as the Definiteness Hierarchy.²⁶ The higher the argument falls in the hierarchy, the higher the position to which it moves. Such a theory explains, for example, why Dutch indefinite nouns cannot scramble in configurations where their definite counterparts can.

An area to be explored in such a theory is the relative positions to which subjects and objects of different types in the hierarchy can move. The two simplest conceptions of the organization of the definiteness-related (sub-IP) argument positions are as follows:

²⁶Strictly speaking, this is not merely a definiteness hierarchy since humanness also plays an important role independently of definiteness.

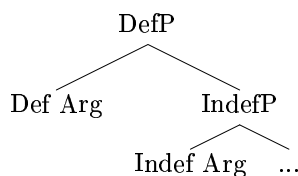
- a. The positions to which subjects and objects can move comprise two separate regions:

(86)



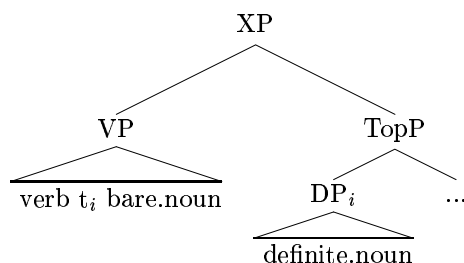
- b. There is a single layer to which both subjects and objects move:

(87)



Note that in both conceptions, being higher in definiteness implies moving higher in the tree. In Zulu, however, because bare DPs (which are low indefiniteness) are verb-adjacent, while clitic-doubled objects presumed to be high indefiniteness can be separated from the verb, it appears that increased definiteness in Zulu correlates with the ability to occur farther to the right. It thus looks as if more definite arguments are extraposed, which in the Kaynean framework assumed here entails raising the argument and then raising the VP around it:

(88)



27

4.7 Markers as Pronouns

If object and subject markers are pronouns rather than agreement markers, is there anything which can be said about their respective distributions? For example, if object markers are found to correlate in some way with specificity, does this correlation also hold true of subject markers? If so, we should be able to speak of cliticization and clitic-doubling with respect to subjects as well as objects.

²⁷ *Neither *Akubonanga uSipho lutho nor *Akubonanga lutho uSipho are grammatical.*

4.8 Constraints on Cliticization

When is cliticization impossible?

Bare objects. Cliticization is impossible if the object is bare.

(89) Bare object.

* A- ngi- si- dla- nga sinkwa.
neg- 1s.subj- 7.obj- eat- neg 7.bread

‘I didn’t eat any bread.’

Clitic-doubling and indefinites. We have already speculated that object clitic-doubling (but not cliticization) will be impossible when the object NP is indefinite, but this needs to be tested.

Clitics and default agreement constructions. Except for the reflexive object clitic *zi*, object clitics (with or without the overt NP) are excluded from the default agreement construction.²⁸

(90) a. * Ku- li- phek- e uSipho. (neutral focus, object clitic)
17.subj- 5.obj- cook- perf 1.Sipho

‘It’s Sipho who cooked it. Sipho cooked it.’

b. * Ku- li- phek- e uSipho izambane. (neutral focus, object clitic)
17.subj- 5.obj- cook perf 1.Sipho 5.potato

‘It’s Sipho who cooked the potato. Sipho cooked the potato.’

This might be explained by the way an object would need to raise, such as crossing a subject in a particular way, to reach the object clitic.²⁹ Any approach will need to mesh with the way that quasipassives are treated, where the object overtly crosses a subject:

(91) U- mgwaqo u- phithizela a- bantu. (Nkabinde 1988)
3- 3.road 3.subj- move.about 2- 2.people

‘People are roaming about the road.’

²⁸It is intriguing to ask whether the reflexive clitic can be clitic-doubled, but it is difficult to think of an example to test this, because the referring lexical DP will necessarily also co-refer to the subject. The following should be tested:

a. U- ku- phuma a- bazali ku- zo- ba ku- lukhuni.
17- 17- leave 2- 2.parent 17.subj- fut- be 17- difficult

‘For the parents to leave will be difficult.’

b. U- ku- zi- geza a- bafana ku- zo- ba ku- lukhuni.
17- 17- refl- wash 2- 2.child 17.subj- fut- be 17- difficult

‘For the children to wash themselves will be difficult.’

If (a) is bad and (b) is good, then *abafana* in (b) must be construed as the object and *zi* is clitic-doubled.

²⁹This would still be mysterious since animate objects are not generally compatible with default agreement constructions.

Since VSO default agreement constructions seem to actually fall out into two distinct constructions, there are potentially two different answers to this question. The default agreement construction with subject focus will exclude object clitics for the same reason that it excludes full DP objects, whatever that reason might be.

As for the sentence-wide focus default agreement construction, it may be found that this construction is simply incompatible with topics.³⁰ If cliticization implies topicalization, then clitics in this construction will be excluded easily.

4.9 Reflexive Clitic

What accounts for the anomalous distribution of the reflexive *zi* object clitic? The reflexive clitic *zi* behaves as an object clitic with respect to imperatives; it blocks use of the default vowel:³¹

- (92) a. Default vowel
 Geza. * Zi- geza. * Li- geza.
 wash refl- wash 5.obj- wash
- b. Subjunctive vowel
 * Gez- e. Zi- gez- e. Li- gez- e.
 wash- subj refl- wash -subj 5.obj- wash- subj
- ‘Wash. Wash yourself. Wash it.’

But it does not behave like an object clitic with respect to default agreement constructions. As shown above in (90), object clitics are not licit in default agreement constructions, but the reflexive clitic is licit in some such contexts,

- (93) a. Ku- zi- bon- e uSipho e- sibukwe- ni. (with reflexive clitic)
 17.subj- refl- see- perf 1.Sipho loc=7- 7.mirror- loc
 ‘Sipho saw himself in the mirror.’
- b. * Ku- ba- bon- e uSipho e- sibukwe- ni. (with an object clitic)
 17.subj- 2.obj- see- perf 1.Sipho loc=7- 7.mirror- loc
 ‘Sipho saw them in the mirror.’

However, there is at least one context where even the reflexive clitic is not licit in a default agreement construction, namely, as the applicative object:³²

- (94) * Ku- zi- theng- el- e u- Sipho a- makhekhe.
 17.subj- refl- buy- appl- perf 1- 1.Sipho 6- 6.cake
 ‘Sipho bought himself some cakes.’

This is puzzling.³³ The facts in (93) might be explained by:

³⁰ If time adverbials are topics, than this probably isn’t the correct generalization.

³¹ *You should look at the tones on these.*

³² *Put in a double object example without clitic to show that this should, in principle, be good.*

³³ *How do you say ‘I saw myself on the list.’?*

- a. An account in which the reflexive clitic is the subject and the lexical DP with which it co-refers is actually an object. This is problematic, because we would expect a Principle C violation if the clitic c-commands the lexical DP.

Another problem with this account is that default agreement constructions require a subject, but not an object. If *zi* is in some sense a subject, it remains to be explained why a sentence such as (95) is ungrammatical.

(95) * Ku- zi- bon- ile.
 17.subj- refl- see- perf.foc
 ‘He saw himself.’

- b. An account in which the reflexive prefix is a derivational prefix rather than a clitic, as is assumed for the other object prefixes. Such a story would need to explain why the reflexive prefix consumes the object prefix ‘slot’, since the reflexive prefix cannot co-occur with a true object clitic.

If what we are calling the reflexive clitic is indeed an anaphor, the fact that forms such as (93a) can occur at all is baffling, since it does not appear to be bound (c-commanded by its co-referant).

4.10 The Interpretation of Object Clitics

What is the interpretation of object clitics? If object clitics are a kind of pronoun, what kind of pronoun are they? Is there more than one series of pronouns, one series definite which can co-occur with overt DPs and another series which cannot?

Examples (96) and (97) show that an object clitic can refer to something which is clearly neither definite nor referential:³⁴

(96) Ngi- dl- ile i- hhabula e- linye,
 1s.subj- eat- perf.foc 5- 5.apple 5.rel- 5.one

no- Leston u- li- dl- ile.
 and=1- 1.Leston 1.subj- 5.obj- eat- perf.foc

‘I ate another apple/the other apple, and so did Leston.’ *Confirm this.*

(97) Ngi- dl- ile a- mahhabula a- mabili,
 1s.subj- eat- perf.foc 6- 6.apple 6.rel- 6.two

no- Leston u- wa- dl- ile.
 and=1- 1.Leston 1.subj- 6.obj- eat- perf.foc

‘I ate two apples, and so did Leston.’

³⁴ You have to double-check that the focus form is really good in the first clause of (96) and (97). In (98), you need to also try *uwadlile* in the second clause.

Examples (98) shows that the clitic's referant cannot be restricted by a modifier:

(98) * Mina ngi- dl- e a- mahhabula a- mabili,
 me 1.subj- eat- perf 6- 6.apple 6- 6.two

kodwa u- Thandi u- wa- dl- e a- mathathu.
 but 1- 1.Thandi 1.subj- 6- eat- perf 6- 6.three

'I ate two apples, and Thandi ate three.'

4.11 Bare Objects

What is the distribution of bare DP objects? So far, we have seen the following contexts:³⁵

- (99) a. Under negation.
 b. Complement of *muni*.
 c. *Bani* 'who', used postverbally.
 d. Vocative.

Is there a unifying semantic characterization of syntactic context which captures all contexts of use?

There are detailed accounts of the distribution of bare DPs in Nande (Progovac 1993) and Bemba (Givón 1969). In both of these languages, bare DPs behave like weak negative polarity items (NPIs) since, for instance, they are licensed by polarity questions and, in many contexts, by NPI licensors in higher clauses. If the (99b) and (99d) cases in Zulu are to be accounted for separately, then Zulu bare DPs can be characterized as strict NPIs, since they require a tautoclausal NPI-licensor. Example (100) shows that a bare DP is licensed by a negative element in the same clause:

(100) A- wu- fun- i sinkwa.
 neg- 2s- want- neg 7.bread
 'You don't want any bread.'

Example (101) shows that a bare DP is not licensed by a negative in a higher clause, while example (102) shows that a bare DP is not licensed by a local Q operator:

(101) * A- ngi- thi u- funa sinkwa.
 neg- 1s- say 2s- want 7.bread
 'I'm not saying that you want any bread.'

³⁵ An additional usage of the bare DP is found in some proverbs, in which the bare DP seems to simply be indefinite. Due to the fact that it is found solely in proverbs, this usage should be considered archaic and thus beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, this usage is quite interesting, since it is not a usage found in Nande or Bemba, even though those languages use the bare form in a far wider range of contexts than Zulu.

³⁶ *You have to describe each of these contexts.*

- (102) * U- funa sinkwa?
 2s- want 7.bread
 ‘Do you want any bread?’

I have not yet found a weak NPI in Zulu. While it is tempting to say that Zulu simply lacks weak NPIs, it is perhaps more interesting to ask whether this categorial gap is not due rather to Zulu clauses being impenetrable to NPI licensors in a way in which Bemba and Nande clauses are not. If this were the case, something special would need to be said about polar questions, since Q is unable to license an NPI even within its own clause.

In a double object construction, both the applicative object and the direct object may appear in bare form:

- (103) A- ngi- phek- ela- nga muntu lutho.
 neg- 1s.subj- cook- appl- neg 1.person 11.thing
 ‘I didn’t cook anyone anything.’

However, a bare object cannot co-occur with a non-agreeing postverbal subject, regardless of whether that subject is bare or augmented:

- (104) * A- ku- bona- nga muntu lutho. (bare subject)
 neg- 17.subj- see- neg 1.person 11.thing
 ‘Nobody saw anything.’
- (105) * A- ku- bona- nga u- Siphso lutho. (augmented subject)
 neg- 17.subj- see- neg 1- 1.Siphso 11.thing
 ‘Siphso didn’t see anything.’

Why is this so? This may have to do more with default agreement constructions than with bare noun phrases. Such constructions are associated with particular readings with regards to focus, and the negative polarity items’ focal properties may conflict with these readings.

5 Structure of VP

5.1 Ordering of Postverbal Material

What are the possible orderings of postverbal arguments and adverbs? What do these orderings tell us about object VP-internal positions?

Data with negative polarity items seems to show that right-dislocated elements are lower than a preverbal subject, as shown for Swahili in example (58). Are there also right-dislocation positions which are higher than the preverbal subject? If so, what properties differentiate these lower and higher positions?

5.2 Wh in Situ

By ‘Wh in situ’ is meant a situation in which the Wh element fails to raise to either the IP region or the CP region. It is not assumed that ‘Wh in situ’ elements have not moved

within the sub-IP region (Ngonyani 1996). Why is Wh ‘in situ’?³⁷ This could be due to the Wh element being too deeply embedded to raise, either overtly or covertly. However, since subject Wh in situ is possible (in default agreement constructions) and since this Wh can appear in a position c-commanded by negation but interpreted outside the scope of negation, this account seems wrong.

- (106) A- ku- thunga- nga bani i- ngubo?
 neg- 17.subj- sew- neg who 9- 9.dress
 ‘Who didn’t sew a dress?’

Issues: Wh elements do not raise overtly to a high position in Zulu, but they often appear in a different postverbal position than their non-Wh counterparts.³⁸ Where is this position? What drives this movement? Is this partial Wh movement? Is it Focus?

5.3 Wh Under Negation

Why is there no DP Wh under negation?³⁹

- (107) * A- ku- fika- nga bani?
 neg- 17.subj- arrive- neg 1.who
 ‘Who didn’t come?’
- (108) * U- Siphso a- ka- bona- nga- ni?
 1- 1.Siphso neg- 1.subj- see- neg- what
 ‘What didn’t Siphso see?’

The data so far indicates that this is not an argument/adjunct distinction, since neither can be questioned under negation.⁴⁰

- (109) ‘Where’ as adjunct:
 * U- Siphso a- ka- zu- ngi- bona- phi?
 1- 1.Siphso neg- 1.subj- fut- 1s.obj- see- where
 ‘Where didn’t Siphso see me?’
- (110) ‘Where’ as argument:
 * U- Siphso a- ka- zu- ya- phi?
 1- 1.Siphso neg- 1.subj- fut- go- where

³⁷ Harold’s suggestions: (1) check position of DO-Wh with respect to adverbs, (2) check Q float, demonstrative float, etc., (3) describe and discuss Wh and verb-focus vs. neutral-focus forms, and (4) check the relevance of D-linking.

³⁸ *To show this, you need to first find a sentence without Wh where the ordering is not free, then show that the Wh element can or must appear in a different position than its non-Wh counterpart.*

³⁹ Such questions must be expressed with clefts, e.g. ‘What is it that Siphso didn’t see?’

⁴⁰ I’m not sure how robust this data is. I seem to recall a discussion in an elicitation session where we found that *where* could be questioned under negation, but that it was hard to cook up a context in which such a form could be used (as is the case in English.)

‘Where won’t Siphon go?’

- (111) * A- ka- bona- nga muntu muni?
neg- 1.subj- see- neg 1.person 1.which
‘Which person didn’t he see?’

Neither does D-linking seem to be the relevant factor, since ‘which’ (which is necessarily interpreted as D-linked) under negation was rejected.

5.4 Sentential Arguments

What is the status of sentential arguments, sentential objects in particular?

Sentential arguments and verb focus. The status of sentential arguments is important, because sentential objects are normally preceded by neutral-focus verb forms. Under my current assumptions, this would mean that sentential objects are not dislocated.

5.5 Default Agreement: Two Readings

What accounts for the different readings (sentence-wide focus and subject focus) of the default agreement construction?

Subject position and licensing. If the subject is in a low focus position when this construction has subject-focus interpretation, where is the subject when we have sentence-wide focus? The pseudo-passive has the same problem; we don’t want to license the postverbal subject using DP-focus?

What forces a particular reading. We don’t know yet what the contexts are when one of the two readings is excluded. I only have one of these, where this construction under ‘why’ seems to license only the subject-focus reading and also disallows objects.

6 Verb Focus

What is V-focus? Do verb-focus and neutral-focus constructions have distinct syntactic representations? What can be semantically in focus in verb-focus constructions? (Polarity? Modality? Lexical content? Quotative inversions? Locative inversion?)

6.1 Auxiliary Focus

How does Zulu stand up to the predictions made by Hyman and Watters in their discussion of Auxiliary Focus (Hyman and Watters 1984)?

This theory makes two predictions.

- a. The focus forms should serve to contrast semantic features only as allowed by Hyman and Watters' implicational hierarchy. (For example, if allowed to contrast polarity, it must also be allowed to contrast the lexical meaning of the verb.)
- b. The tenses in which verb-focus/neutral-focus contrast occurs (present and perfect) should obey the markedness hierarchy. (The predictions here are borne out.)

The question of H&W's claim should be addressed that certain verb forms (such as negative) are intrinsically in focus. If this is so, than negatives, and certain other tenses should behave as focus verbs. This means that if any word orders are found to be possible only with neutral-focus verb forms, these orders should be excluded with, for example, negative verb forms. The facts concerning Wh would seem to be evidence against H&W's claim, since postverbal Wh requires a neutral-focus verb form, if available, but tolerates tenses which lack the verb-focus/neutral-focus contrast, such as future. The fact that these tenses also freely appear with either VP-internal and VP-external adverbs is also evidence against this claim.⁴¹

6.2 Constraints on an Analysis of Verb Focus

In devising an analysis for verb focus, there are a few factors which should be kept in mind. There are only two tenses which display a neutral-focus/verb-focus distinction—the perfect and the present. The distinction in the present is marked by the presence or absence of the prefix *ya* which occupies the same morphological slot as tense markers such as *zo* (future), *a:* (remote past), and *nge* (potential). If these tense markers are thought of as auxiliaries, then the *ya* prefix of the verb-focus present tense can be thought of as a semantically empty auxiliary, like English 'do'. In the perfect, on the other hand, the distinction is marked in the suffix. As such, the perfect morpheme does not seem easy to characterize as an auxiliary. But in spite of the morphological dissimilarity between the verb focus morphology for the present and perfect tenses, the verb-focus and neutral-focus relative distribution appears to be identical in the perfect and present tenses. Unless verb forms are to be thought of as complex heads composed in morphology rather than in the syntax, an analysis may need to resort to two different mechanisms for realizing the focus distinction, one mechanism for each of the two tenses, but an analysis must at the same time account for the identical distribution in the two tenses.

While such a claim needs to be tested, it is reasonable to assume that the same range of readings and constructions available in the present and perfect tenses is also available in tenses which do not display the verb focus/neutral-focus distinction.

To take a concrete example for which data is both readily available and transparent, consider the fact that in the present tense, a question using postverbal Wh word must employ a neutral-focus verb:⁴²

- (112) a. U- pheka- ni?
 2s.subj- cook- what

⁴¹ *This is where you need to add in new data where objects are facilitated by following adverbs.*

⁴² Note that this fact rules out a purely prosodic analysis of verb focus, since in forms such as (112a) verb must be prosodically prominent but must nevertheless in the neutral-focus form.

- b. * U- ya- pheka- ni?
 2s.subj- foc- cook- what
 ‘What are you cooking?’
- (113) a. U- zo- pheka- ni?
 2s.subj- fut- cook- what
 ‘What will you cook?’

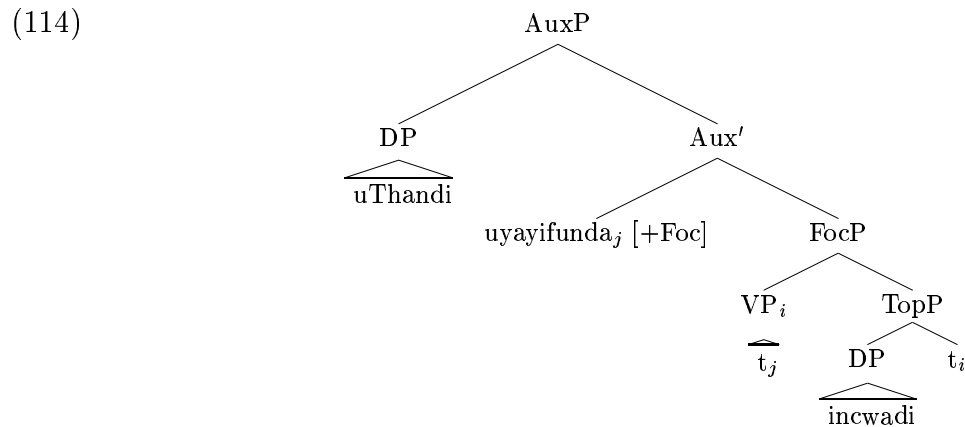
An analysis which allows or disallows movement of the verb stem depending on whether there is an overt auxiliary head to explain this distribution will need to explain why such questions are possible in the future tense, as shown in (113), where the surface form looks entirely parallel to the ungrammatical (112b).

6.3 A Simple Analysis of Verb Focus

This simple analysis will assume that a Zulu conjugated verb form comprises a single head. This is not an assumption that I really believe in, but it makes exploration of an account of verb focus much simpler. Later an analysis can be developed which does not rely upon this assumption.

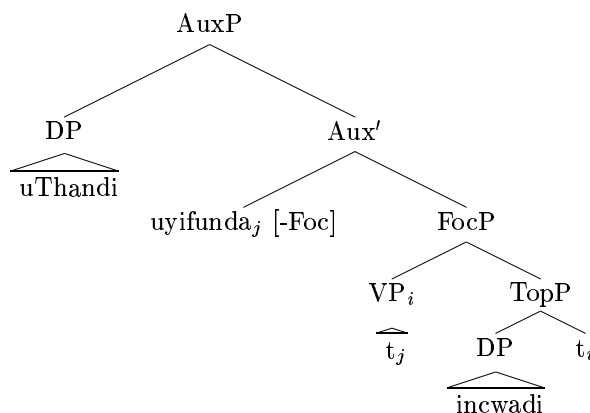
Since a later reincarnation of this analysis will probably assume that tense marker prefixes are auxiliary verbs, the projection to which the verb moves and in which subject/verb agreement is established will be called AuxP. We will assume that there is a Focus projection under AuxP. An element to be brought into focus in the sentence has a focus feature which must be licensed by moving to spec-FocusP. The element always pied-pipes along the entire VP (or remnant thereof). Once this feature is checked, the element is allowed to move on, should there be a reason and a possible configuration for it to do so.

Here is a tree for a the sentence *UThandi uyayifunda incwadi*, ‘Thandi will read the book’, in which only the verb (or the verb plus the object clitic) is in focus:



Let us consider the ungrammatical sentence **UThandi uyifunda incwadi*, which is bad because it employs a neutral-focus verb:

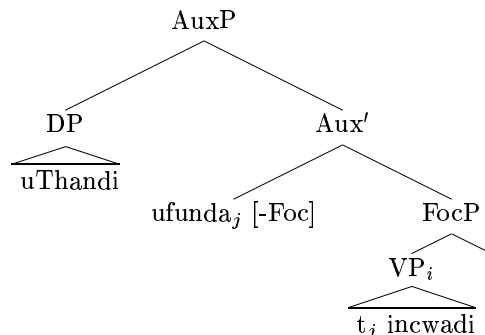
(115)



This form is predicted to be bad because no element bearing the [+Foc] was ever in VP. There was hence no way the VP could have moved to spec-FocP.

In a sentence with a neutral-focus verb form, the VP remnant contains overt material, such as the direct object:

(116)



Using the verb-word-as-head approach, little needs to be said about the morphological form of neutral-focus and verb-focus forms. When the verb has the feature [+Foc], it will appear in the verb-focus form. If it lacks the feature, it will take the neutral-focus form. However, in the final analysis an alternative will be examined, namely, that verb-focus forms correlate with syntactic phrase-finality while neutral-focus forms correlate with phrase-non-finality.

6.4 Verb Focus Postverbal Material

How does verb focus constrain the ordering and distribution of arguments and adverbs? Why do some adverbs prefer either neutral-focus verb forms (such as *kahle* 'well') or focus verb forms (such as *kusasa* 'tomorrow')?

7 Conclusion

In this prospectus I have touched on a number of issues which relate to topics of current interest in syntactic theory, including the following:

- a. The structure of the VP region.

- b. The licensing and interpretation of postverbal subjects.
- c. The nature of verbal agreement morphology.
- d. The forces which drive the movement of DPs.
- e. The definiteness hierarchy and movement.
- f. The nature of focus.

Additionally, other issues were addressed which are of particular interest to linguists working on Bantu languages:

- a. The correct characterization of the distribution of verb-focus verb forms.
- b. The constituent structure of various sentence types.
- c. The precise distribution of object markers.

It is hoped that the dissertation, of which this prospectus will serve as a starting point, will be of use to all linguists looking at these issues.

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