

## **Implications of Xhosa expletive constructions**

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In addition to SVO clauses with full-featured subject agreement (SA), Xhosa has VSO clauses in which SA has default features, subjects surface low, objects cannot be pronominalized, a subject focus reading is obligatory, and transitive experiencer verbs with 2 DP arguments are precluded (though with bare NP or CP arguments, transitive experiencer verbs can participate). We argue that the probe features involved in SA, EPP, object shift, and nominative/accusative valuation within SVO clauses are all absent in VSO constructions; hence T and  $v^*$  of VSO clauses are impoverished or defective. An unusual focus-linked strategy is the only option for Case-licensing full DPs, but it is incompatible with inherent Cases borne by arguments of experiencer verbs. We claim that CPs and NPs can appear in positions where DPs cannot surface because  $uCase$  is a feature of D. Our study provides striking evidence for abstract Case in Xhosa despite the presence of anomalies which led Harford Perez 1985, Diercks 2012 to argue that Case is absent in Bantu and Halpert 2012 to propose that full DPs in Zulu have intrinsic Case. We conclude that the standard diagnostics yield misleading results for Bantu. Our re-analyses of the problem facts are consistent with the presence of abstract Case in Xhosa and by extension, other Bantu languages that exhibit the same anomalies. We also argue that NPIs in both Xhosa and Zulu are *n*-words and must move leftwards, as Haegeman 1995 proposed for *n*-words in West Flemish. This explains aspects of their distribution that Halpert 2011, 2012 attributes to Zulu NPIs having Case needs that full DPs do not: they are barred from preverbal subject position even in the scope of negation, and  $vP$ -internally, since  $v^*$  cannot shift objects in TECs, edge features of Appl/Caus are needed to satisfy the *n*-word raising requirement. The proposals yield a unified account of DP and NPI positions in Xhosa and Zulu.