I. Introduction.

This questionnaire is part of an attempt to understand the patterns of placement and interpretation of subjects of sentences in Bantu languages.

In many of the tasks that follow, you will be asked not only for a translation of a model sentence, but for judgments about the scenarios in which the sentence can be appropriately uttered. Please be sure to indicate as clearly as possible which reading for any given sentence is the one you find acceptable and if you find that some examples are more acceptable than others, please use our acceptability scale to give graded judgments, if you feel that such gradations accurately capture your intuitions. The scale is as follows:

* Unacceptable either at all or at least under the interpretation that you have been asked about.
*? Very marginally possible, perhaps only by comparison with an example or interpretation that is clearly *
?? Very odd. You probably would not say this sentence this way or would not say it this way for the interpretation you have been asked about.
? Little off. Something not quite right about it.
OK This sounds like a natural sentence and is an appropriate sentence to use for the interpretation that you have been asked about.

When providing a sentence in your language, whether it is based on a model sentence or is one that you formulate or add in a comment about the sentence you are eliciting, always use the following format (example from Lubukusu).

1. **Yohana césónyá**
   **ómwèéné**
   **Yohana áá-i-sóní-á**
   **ómù-ééné**
   **Yohana SM.c1-PST-RFM-shame-fv**
   **c1-c1-own**
   **John**
   **shamed**
   **himself.**

The first line is a rendering in the latinate alphabet that is typically used for your language with tone marked accordingly. If your language has no latinate representation or certain diglosses are used for certain sounds (e.g., -kh- for the voiceless velar fricative, or -sh- for the voiceless palatal fricative) then please indicate this information in some explanatory commentary provided with your answers to the questionnaire. The glossing conventions we want you to use are available on the Afranaph site: Look at the lefthand margin of the homepage and click on glossing conventions.

Unless you are explicitly asked to use a particular word order or manner of translation, provide more than one translation if you think the sentence is ambiguous or might be said more than one way. Your comments about what you think might be factors in making the judgment that you do are always welcome and are very frequently useful, if you will be kind enough to provide them.

After we receive your responses to our questionnaire, we will think about the data you have given us and we will be contacting you again both to insure that we have everything we need and that the responses are clear and complete, as well as to ask follow-up questions, questions that involve asking you for new data, especially when an empirical pattern seems to be of particular rarity or serves a particular theoretical interest.

II. Base line sentences.

This section is designed to give us an overview of how sentences are constructed in your language. Please translate them using the glossing conventions described above.

1. **A big goat ate three bananas.**
   **Ibhokwe yaty a-amathathu a-mabanana.**
   **Ibhokwe i-a-ty a-amathathu a-mabanana.**
   **9-goat SM.c9-PST-eat-fv c6-c6-three c6-c6-banana**

2. **The chief gave the girls presents.**
   **Wanika amantombazana izipho.**
   **U-a-nik-a a-ma-ntombazana i-zi-pho.**
   **SM.c1-PST-give-fv c6-c6-girls c8-c8-presents**

3. **The axe can easily cut this firewood.**
   **Lingagawula lula ezi nkuni.**
   **L-i-ga-gawul-a lula ezi n-kuni.**
   **SM.c5-be-cut-fv easily this c9-firewood**
4. Mary believes that these children should not meet you.
UMary ukholo-lda ukuba aba bantu-ana akumele
C1-Mary SM.c1-believes-PASS-fv that these SM.c2-c2-children NEG-should-fv
ba-diban-e nawe
C2 meet-fv you

5. We made the boys wear new shoes to school.
Senza amakwenkwe anxiba ezitsa izihlangu esikolweni
Si-a-enz-a a-ma-kwenkwe a-nxib-a e-zi-tsha i-ziziflu ngakumele
1st pl-PST-make-fv c6-c6-boys c6-wear-fv new c8-c8-shoes LOC-school

III. Indefinite subjects with non-specific readings.

Please translate the following literally, without altering word order. We would like the sentences to include subject markers on the verb, so if our choices of sentences happen to have translations in your language that involve uninflecting copulas or tenses that do not inflect for subject agreement (such as the Swahili habitual) please indicate that you are avoiding these and use another tense. Provide a judgment of acceptability for the reading described or for appropriateness for the context described in (a-c) under the examples.

6. Somebody knocked on the door.
Umuntu wamqonqoza emnyango.
U-m-ntu u-a-nqonqoza-a e-nmyango.
C1-C1-somebody SM.c1-PST-knock-fv LOC-c3-door

a) Is this sentence appropriate if the one who utters it does not know who it is who knocked on the door? Yes

b) Is this sentence appropriate if the one who utters it knows who is at the door and wants the addressee to go to the door to see for himself? No

c) Is this sentence an appropriate response to the question, “Did anything happen while I was out?” Yes

7. Last night a cab driver came looking for you.
Ngokuhlwa izolo umqhubi taxi ufike wafuna
Ngokuhlwa izolo u-m-qhubi taxi u-fik-e u-a-fun-a
Last night c1-c1-driver cab SM.c1-IMP-come-fv SM.C1-PST-look-fv

a) Is this sentence appropriate if the speaker has a particular cab driver in mind (e.g., the one who was wearing a yellow t-shirt)? No

b) Is this sentence appropriate if the speaker knows that some cab driver came looking, but he doesn’t know who or why? No

8. One person must work. Who
Omnxy omuntu kumele asebenze. Ngubani
Omnxy u-m-ntu ku-mele a-sebenze. Ngubani
C1-c1-one c1-c1-person EXPL-must c1-work-fv. Who

Should do it?
ekumele enze oko?
c-e-kumele enze oko?
IMP-EXPL-should do it?

(Just provide a translation modeled as closely as possible on the English).

9. A letter arrived this morning.
Ileta i-fik-e ngale n-tsasa.
I-leta i-fik-e ngale n-tsasa
C9-letter SM.c9-arrived this c9-morning
a) Could this be an appropriate response to “Did anything happen while I was out?” (Assume the letter is not in view; you are just reporting the morning’s events). Yes

b) Could this be appropriate in addressing a person who was only expecting to receive parcels while he was out? See if it works in this context as a continuation of the sentence, “You didn’t receive any parcels but…” (As in (a), assume no letter is in view; you are just reporting the morning’s events). Yes

c) Could this be an appropriate response if someone asks “Did the governor send his reply?” and you respond with (4) while placing the letter in the questioner’s hand. Yes

5. Please translate the following. We are interested to know how ‘somebody’ is expressed and whether it can appear in preverbal position. Assume the intent of the speaker is that there are lots of unknown but friendly people around who would be likely to help you.

10. If you get lost, just ask people.  
    Xa ulahleka, buya nje ebantwini.  
    Xa u-lahl-eka, buza nje e-hantwini.  
    If SM.c1-lost-N, ask just LOC-people.  
    Somebody will help you.  
    Ummtu uya kunceda wena.  
    U-mntu u-ya ku-nced-a wena  
    C1-C1-somebody SM.c1-AUX-will EXPL-help-fv you

IV.  
Preverbal subjects and left-dislocation.  
IV.a Left-dislocation diagnostics.  

Please translate and judge the following:

1. This book, I read yesterday.  
   Le ncwadi, ndifunde izolo  
   Le n-cwadi, ndi-yi-fund-e i-zolo  
   This c9-book, 1st.Sg.SM.c9-PST-read-fv c9-yesterday

2. This book, I read it yesterday (with object marking).  
   Le ncwadi, ndiyifunde izolo  
   Le n-cwadi, ndi-yi-fund-e i-zolo  
   This c9-book, 1st.Sg-OM.c9-read-PST-fv c9-yesterday

3. Mary, I see at school.  
   ?UMary, ndibona esikolweni.  
   U-Mary, ndi-bon-a e-sikolweni  
   C1-Mary, 1st.Sg-see-fv LOC-school

4. Mary, I see her at school. (with OM)  
   UMary, ndimbona esikolweni.  
   U-Mary, ndi-m-bon-a e-sikolweni  
   C1-Mary, 1st.Sg-OM-see-fv LOC-school

5. A book, I will buy at the store.  
   ?Incwadi, ndiya kuthenga evenkileni.  
   I-n-cwadi, ndi-ya ku-theng-a e-enkileni  
   C9-C9-book, 1st.Sg-AUX EXPL-buy-fv LOC-store

6. A book, I will buy it at the store.  
   Incwadi, ndiya kuyithenga evenkileni.  
   I-n-cwadi, ndi-ya ku-yi-theng-a e-enkileni  
   C9-C9-book, 1st.Sg-AUX EXPL-OM.c9-buy-fv LOC-store

For examples (7-10), please indicate whether or not each sentence permits a bound variable reading, that is, a reading where the choice of book owners always corresponds to the choice of student (7-8), or the choice of boy corresponds to the choice of dog owner (9-10). In 7, for example, the bound variable reading would imply that ‘John should read the schoolbook that is his, Sam should read the schoolbook that is his, etc.’). Readings like these are known as ‘bound variable readings’ because, as semanticists put it, the choice of owner must covary with each choice of a member of the set denoted by the quantifier.
7. His book, every student should read (with bound variable reading, no OM)
   Incwadi yakhe, 'umfundi ngamnye kumele afunde.
   l-newadi i-a-khe, u-m-fundu nga-m-nye kumele a-fund-e.

8. His book, every student should read it (with OM, with bound variable reading)
   Incwadi yakhe, umfundi ngamnye kumele ayifunde.
   l-newadi i-a-khe, u-m-fundu nga-m-nye kumele a-yi-fund-e.
   C9-C9-book OM-GEN-his, c1-cl-student INS-SM-every c15-should PRS-OM-read-fv

9. His dog, every boy should feed. (with bound variable reading but no OM)
   Inja yayo, ?inkwenkwe nganye kumele ityise.
   l-nja yayo, ?i-nkwenkwe nga-nye ku-mele i-ty-is-e.
   C9-C9-dog GEN-his, ?c9-c9-boy INS-every c15-should SM-feed-CAUS-fv

10. His dog, every boy should feed him. (with OM, with bound variable reading)
    Inja yayo, inkwenkwe nganye kumele iyityise.
    l-nja yayo, i-nkwenkwe nga-nye ku-mele i-ty-is-e.
    C9-C9-dog GEN-his, c9-c9-boy INS-every c15-should SM-OM-feed-CAUS-fv

Sentences (7 & 9) without the OM yield unacceptably constructions particularly the latter part of the sentence.
Sentences (8 & 10) permit a bound variable with the OM.

IVb. Negative Polarity Items.

A. Does your language have words like “anybody” or “anything”? If nouns have augment vowels that can be dropped, the augmentless nouns may fulfill this function. Here are some Xhosa examples to illustrate the general pattern that’s been found in languages where augmentless nouns function as NPIs:

(a) Ndibona into
    Nd- bona i-n-to
    SM.1SG-see c9-c9-thing
    ‘I saw a/the thing’

(b) Andibonanga nto
    A-ndi-bon-anga nto
    NEG-SM.1SG-see-PAST thing
    ‘I didn’t see anything’

For purposes of comparison, please start by translating the following:

1. I like somebody.
   Ndithanda umuntu.
   Nd-thon-a u-m-ntu
   SM.1ST.Sg-like-fv C1-C1-somebody

2. I saw something.
   Ndabona into.
   Ndi-a-bon-a i-nto
   SM.1ST.Sg-PST-see-fv C9-something

3. I went somewhere.
   Ndaya endaweni.
   Ndi-a-ya e-ndaweni
   SM.1ST.Sg-PST-LOC somewhere

Now translate (4-6) and indicate whether the result is acceptable.

4. I don’t like anybody.
   Andithandi mntu.
   A-ndi-thand-i n-ntu
   SM.NEG.1ST.Sg-like-fv c1-anybody
5. I didn’t see anything.
Andizange nändabona nto.
A-ndí-zange ndí-a-bon-a nto
SM.NEG.1ª Sg-not 1ª Sg-PST-see-fv anything

6. I didn’t go anywhere.
Andikhange ndaya ndawo.
A-ndí-khange ndí-a-ya ndawo
NEG.1ª Sg-not 1ª Sg-PST-go anywhere

B. If your language does have words like “anybody” or “anything” or such meanings can be achieved only in the absence of augment vowels, we would like to know if these forms can be licensed by negation in a higher clause. Translate the following and indicate if they are acceptable.

7. John doesn’t think I like anybody.
UJohn akacingi ndithandu nabana
U-John aka-cingi ndí-thand-a nabana
C1-John NEG.think 1ª Sg-like-fv anybody

8. John doesn’t believe I saw anything.
UJohn akakhole lwana nändabona nto.
U-John aka-kholel-w-a ndí-a-bon-a n-to
C1-John NEG.believe-PASS-fv 1ª Sg-PST-see-fv c9-anything

9. The kids don’t like to go anywhere.
Abantarwa abanthandi kuya naphina.
A-ba-ntarwa a-ba-thand-i ku-ya naphina
C2-C2-kids SM.C2-C2-Neg-like-fv EXPL-go anywhere

10. We won’t say that Mary went
Asisiayi kutsho ukuba uMary waya
Asi-sayi ku-tsho ukuba u-Mary u-a-ya
SM.NEG.1ª pl-c2-fut-will EXPL-say that c1-Mary SM.cl-PST-go
anywhere.
naphina.
naphina.
Anywhere.

IVc. Combining NPIs and left-dislocation.

If there are negative polarity items, this section tests whether they can left-dislocate. Please give translated examples without object marking and then please give examples with object marking (marking them (a) and (b) corresponding to each example given below and in all similar cases in this section).

11. a. She doesn’t like anybody.
Akathandi mntu.
Aka-thand-i m-ntu
3ª Sg-NEG-like-fv c1-anybody

b. Anybody, she doesn’t like.
??Nabanina, akathandi.
Nabanina, aka-thand-i
Anybody, 3ª Sg-NEG-like-fv

c. Anybody, she doesn’t like him.
Nabanina, akamthandu yena.
Nabanina, aka-m-thand-i yena.
Anybody, 3ª Sg-NEG-OM-c1-like-fv him

d. Anybody, Stella doesn’t like
??Nabanina, UStella akathandi
Nabanina, UStella aka-thand-i
Anybody, SM.Stella 3ª Sg-NEG-like-fv

e. Anybody, Stella doesn’t like
??Nabanina, UStella akamthandi
Nabanina, UStella aka-m-thand-i
Anybody, SM.Stella 3ª Sg-NEG-OM-c1-like-fv
12. a. I don’t go anywhere.
   Andiyi naphina.
   A-ndi-yi naphina
   NEG-1°.Sg-go anywhere

b. Anywhere, I don’t go.
   Naphina, andiyi.
   Naphina, a-ndi-yi
   Anywhere, NEG-1°.Sg-go

c. Anywhere, I don’t go there.
   Naphina, andiyi apho.
   Naphina, a-ndi-yi apho
   Anywhere, NEG-1°.Sg-go there

d. I don’t buy anything
   Andithengi nto
   A-n-dh-theng-i nto
   NEG-1°.Sg-buy-fv anything

e. Anything, I don’t buy
   ??Nantoni, andithengi
   ??Nantoni, a-n-dh-theng-i
   Anything, NEG-1°.Sg-buy-fv

In translating these examples, please use our glossing conventions for object markers, ’OM’, should be accompanied by noun class affiliation, e.g., for the noun class marker for plural persons, the marker should be glossed “OM.c2”.

IVd. Polarity items licensed from higher clauses: trying left-dislocation.

Please translate the following and provide grammaticality judgments.

13. a. John doesn’t think that anybody, I like him.

b. John doesn’t think anybody that I like him.

14. a. John doesn’t think that anything, I saw it.

b. John doesn’t think anything that, I saw it.

15. a. We will not say that anywhere, Mary went there.

b. We will not say anywhere that, Mary went there.
**IVe. Other quantificational NPs.**

For the sake of comparison, please translate the following and indicate whether they are grammatical (note that the presence or absence of a pronoun in the English sentences is intended to elicit sentences with and without object markers).

16. **a.** We greeted each boy.

   Sabulisana inkwenkwe nganye.
   Si-a-bul-is-a i-a-kwenkwe nganye
   SM.1\(^{st}\).pl-PST-greet-CAUS-fv c9-c9-boy each

   **b.** Each boy, we greeted.

   Inkwenkwe nganye, ?sabulisana.
   I-n-kwenkwe nganye, si-a-bul-is-a
   C9-C9-boy each, SM.1\(^{st}\).pl-PST-greet-CAUS-fv

   **c.** Each boy, we greeted him.

   Inkwenkwe nganye sayibulisa.
   I-n-kwekwe nganye si-a-yi-bul-is-a.
   C9-C9-boy each SM.1\(^{st}\).pl-PST-OM.c9-greet-CAUS-fv

**IVf. Trying subjects of embedded clauses.**

Here the higher verb is negated. The quantifier or NPI is subject of the embedded clause which crucially is NOT negative. Please include a complementizer like ‘that’ preceding the embedded subject.

17. **a.** She doesn’t think anybody likes me.

   Akacingi ukuba kukho mntu undithandayo.
   Aka-cing-i ukuba ku-kho m-ntu u-ndi-thandayo
   3\(^{rd}\).Sg-NEG-think-fv that EXPL-is c1-person c1-1\(^{st}\).Sg-likes-REL

   **b.** She doesn’t think anybody likes me.

   Akacingi ukuba ?umntu kukho undithandayo.
   Aka-cing-i ukuba ?u-m-ntu ku-kho u-ndi-thandayo
   3\(^{rd}\).Sg-NEG-think-fv that c1-c1-anybody EXPL-is 1\(^{st}\).Sg-likes-REL

18. **a.** I don’t think anyplace has enough water.

   Andicingi ukuba kukho ndawo inamanzi aneleyo.
   A-n-di-cing-i ukuba ku-kho ndawo i-na-a-ma-nzi aneleyo
   NEG-1\(^{st}\).Sg-think-fv ukuba EXPL-is anyplace c9-(that) has enough water

   **b.** I don’t think anyplace that has enough water.

   Andicingi ndawo enokuba namanzi aneleyo.
   A-n-di-cing-i ndawo enokuba na-a-a-ma-nzi aneleyo.
   NEG-1\(^{st}\).Sg-think-fv c9-anyplace (that) has c6-water enough.

19. **a.** I didn’t see that anything broke.

   Andibonanga kukho nto yaphukileyo.
   A-n-di-bonanga ku-kho n-to yaphukileyo
   NEG-1\(^{st}\).Sg-PST-see EXPL-is c9-anything broke-REL

   **b.** I didn’t see anything that broke.

   Andibonanga ntoni kwaphuka.
   A-n-di-bonanga ntoni ku-a-phak-a
   NEG-1\(^{st}\).Sg-PST-see anything EXPL-PST-break-fv

20. **a.** He said each boy worked.

   Watsho ukuba inkwenkwe nganye yasebenza
   Watsho ukuba i-n-kwenkwe nganye i-a-sebenza-a
   3\(^{rd}\).Sg-PST-say that c9-c9-boy each c9-PST-work-fv

   **b.** He said each boy that worked.

   Watsho inkwenkwe nganye ?esebenziyo.
   Watsho i-n-kwenkwe nganye ?a-i-sebenziyo
   3\(^{rd}\).Sg-PST-say that c9-c9-boy each PST-c9-work-REL

21. **a.** We believe that every student passed the exam.

   Sikholela ukuba umfundi ngamanye waphumelela
   Si-khol-e-wa ukuba u-m-fundi ngamanye u-a-phum-cl-el-a
   1\(^{st}\).pl-believe-PASS-fv that c1-c1-student every c1-PST-pass-APPL-APPL-fv

   uviwo.
b. We believe every student passed the exam.  

Sikholelwa umfundisi ngamnye owaphumelela  
Si-kholelela-a u-mfundisi ngamnye a-ia-phum-e-cl-a  
1°.pl-believe-PASS-fv cl-cl-student every REL-cl-PST-pass-APPL-APPL-fv  
uviwo.  

u-viwo.  
c11-exam

IVg. As above, but without ‘that’.

Now please translate and judge the same sentences but minus the complementizer ‘that’.

22. She doesn’t think anybody likes me.  

Akacingi mntu ?unathenda.  
Aka-cing-i m-ntu ?u-ni-thanda  
NEG-think-fv c1-anybody c1-1°.Sg-like

23. I don’t think anyplace has enough water.  

Andicini nayiphina indawo ?imamanzi anele.  
A-ndi-cing-i nayiphina i-n-dawo ?-na-a-ma-nzi anele.  
NEG-1°.Sg-think-fv any c9-place has water enough

24. I didn’t see anything break.  

Andibonanga nto iphuka.  
A-ndi-bonanga nto i-iphuk-a  
NEG-1°.Sg-see anything c9-break-fv

25. He said each boy worked.  

Wathi inkwenkwe nganye yasebenza-a.  
U-a-thi i-nkwenkwe nganye i-a-sebenza-a  
2°.Sg-PST-say c9-boy each c9-PST-work-fv

26. We believe every student passed the exam.  

Sikholelwa umfundisi ngamnye waphumelela  
Si-kholelela-a u-m-fundisi ngamnye a-ia-phum-e-cl-a  
1°.pl-believe-PASS-fv cl-cl-student every cl-PST-pass-APPL-APPL-fv  
uviwo.  

u-viwo.  
c11-exam

IVf. Raising to object of NPIs.

This section explores the possibility of raising an NPI from embedded subject position to matrix object position. When translating these sentences, please be careful to include the complementizer (the word corresponding to English that) and please comment about whether or not it can or should be missing. The sentences are translated with the appropriate finiteness (or non-finiteness) for English, please translate into the appropriate forms for your language.

27. She doesn’t think anybody that (he) likes me.  

Akacingi mntu ?ukuba unokundithenda.  
NEG-think-fv c1-anybody that c1-Copula-c15-1°.Sg-likes-fv

28. We don’t believe anyplace that (it) has enough water.  

??Sikholelwa nayiphina indawo ukuba inamanzi  
Asi-kholelela-a nayiphina i-n-dawo ukuba i-na-a-nzi  
NEG.1°.pl-believe-PASS-fv any c9-place that c9-Copula-c6-c6-water  
anele.  

anle.  

enough.

29. They don’t want anybody that to leave.  

Aba-funi mntu ?ukuba unokuhamba.  
A-ba-fun-i m-ntu ukuba u-na-ku-hamba-a  
C2-c2-NEG-want-fv c1-anybody that c1-Copula-EXPL-leave-fv
30. He doesn’t expect anybody (that) to read the newspaper.
   Akalindelanga mntu ??(akuba) unokufunda iphephandaba.
   Aka-indelanga m-ntu ?? akuba u-na-uku-fund-a i-iphendaba
   NEG-1°.Sg-expect c1-anybody that c1 -Copula-c15-read-fv c9-newspaper

(COMP should be left out for the sentences to be grammatical)

IVg. Comparing with free choice any.

Can the same words that are used for ‘any X’ in negative contexts also be used outside of negative contexts to mean “anyone at all” or “whoever”? Please see if they are acceptable in translations of the following sentences.

31. I will pay anyone who works hard.
   Ndiya kuhlwanala nabanani osebenza nzima.
   Ndi-ya ku-hlawul-a nabanani a-u-sebenz-a nzima
   1°.Sg-AUX EXPL-pay-fv anyone REL-cl-works hard

32. I will dismiss anyone who doesn’t work hard.
   Ndiya kugxotha nabanani ongasebenzi kakhulu.
   Ndi-ya ku-gxoth-a nabanani a-i-nga-sebenz-i kakhu
   1°.Sg-AUX EXPL-dismiss-fv anyone REL-cl-INS-work-fv hard

33. I will go anywhere that has good weather.
   Ndiya kuya naphina ukuba inemozulu entle.
   Ndi-ya ku-ya naphina ukuba i-na-i-m-ozulu entle
   1°.Sg-AUX EXPL-go anyplace that c1 -Copula-c9-c9-weather good

34. I will leave anywhere that has too much rain.
   Ndiya kuhamba naphina ukuba inemvula eninz.
   Ndi-ya ku-hamb-a naphina ukuba i-na-i-m-vula eninz
   1°.Sg-AUX EXPL-go-fv anyplace that c1 -Copula-c9-c9-rain too much

35. She will buy anything that is on sale.
   Uya kuthenga nantonina ukuba ihlisiwe.
   U-ya ku-theng-a nantonina ukuba i-hl-isw-e
   C1-AUX EXPL-buy-fv anything that c9-sell-CAUS-PASS-fv

36. She will return anything that doesn’t fit.
   Uya kubuyisa nantonina ukuba ayimlingani.
   U-ya ku-buy-is-a nantonina ukuba ayi-m-lingani
   C1-2°.Sg-AUX EXPL-return-fv anything that NEG-OM-fit

Yes they can be used though the expressions are different but mean the same thing.

V. Looking for negative NPs.

Are there words like ‘nobody’ and ‘nothing’? If so, they should be possible as stand-alone sentence fragment answers in exchanges like the following:

1. Who did you see? Ans: Nobody (or, no one).

If such words exist, please provide judgments for the following

   Akukho mntu uzileyo.

   Akukho nto yenzekileyo

5. We bought nothing.
   Asithenganga nto.
6. We saw nobody. Asibonanga mntu.

In Xhosa there are only two ways to negate the NP. You negate it in the following manner:

(i) You negate the verb by using the negative formatives –asi- which is prefixed onto the verb and -nga or –i which is suffixed onto the verb.
(ii) You can use Akukho meaning (there is no) placing it in front of the NP. In this instance negation is determined by the presence of –A- in front of kukho which means (there is). Once the negative formative –A- has been prefixed onto –kukho- it causes the NP to be negated by –akukho-

VI. Scope interactions.

Please translate the sentences in this section and then answer if they are acceptable with the interpretation described. Please comment on how the interpretation would be rendered if the translations of these sentences do not permit the intended reading. In case English is not one of your first languages, we include some information about what native English speakers assume in these contexts about what interpretation these sentences allow.

1. There were many kids throwing rocks off a wall yesterday.
   *Bekukho abarinzi abantwana be-gibisela (direct translation)
   Bekukho abantwana abarinzi begibiela
   Be-ku-kho a-ba-ninzi a-ba-ntswana be-gi-bi-ise-l-a
   2-PST-EXPL-be c2-c2-many c2-c2-kids c2-throw-CAUS-APPL-fv
   rocks off a wall yesterday.
   amatyeyebephezukodongaizolo.
a-ma-tyebe-phezu k(u)-a-u-donga izolo
   C6-c6-rocks off c15-GEN-c11-wall yesterday.
   A rock hit passerby on the head. *Iliye lichane ngamnye umhambi entloko. (direct translation)
   Iliye lichane umhambi ngamnye entloko.
   I-li-tye li-chane u-m-hambi ngamnye e-n-ntloko.
   C5-c5-rock hit c1-cl-passery each LOC-c9-head

   Please be sure to translate the sentence such that ‘a rock’ is the subject of the sentence, as indicated by the subject marker (SM) on the verb. In English, this context favors the interpretation ‘Each passerby was hit by a rock’ (and not the same rock crushing every passerby!). Is this an interpretation your translation allows? Is it the only one?
   Both interpretations are possible but the second interpretation is the most acceptable one than the direct translation.

2. a.Last night at 9 pm a siren went off.
   Izolo ngokuhlwa ngo 9 pm intsimbi ikhalile.
   Izolo ngokuhlwa nga-u-9 pm i-n-tsimbi ikhalile.
   C5-Last INS-c3-night at 9 pm c9-c9-siren c9-went off.
   Then a dog started to bark in every compound.
   Enva koko i-nja i-a-qala uku-khonkotha kumzi ngamnye.
   Then C9-c9-dog SM-PST-start c15-bark-fv GEN-c3-c3-compound every. every

   Please be sure to translate the sentence such that ‘a dog’ is the subject of the sentence. In English, the most plausible interpretation for this sentence is that in every compound, there was a different dog barking. Is this an interpretation your translation allows? Is it the only one? Is there a special word for ‘some’? If so, does it make a difference to say, “Some dog started to bark in every compound”?

   Interpretation attributes the barking to only one dog. The reason for that is the fact that ‘dog’ is in the singular form. If the sentence can be re-arranged by using the plural form then the second interpretation is possible as in the following example:

   b.Last night at 9 pm a siren went off.
   Izolo ngokuhlwa ngo 9 pm intsimbi ikhalile.
   Izolo ngokuhlwa nga-u-9 pm i-n-tsimbi ikhalile.
   C5-Last night INS-c3-at 9 pm c9-c9-siren c9-went off.
3. a. Last night at 9 pm a siren went off.

Then dogs started to bark in every compound.

Emva koko izinja zaqala uku-thonkotha kunzi ngamnye
E-m-va koko i-zin-ja zi-a-qala uku-thonkoth-a ku-u-m-zi ngamnye
C9-c9-then c10-c10-dog c10-PST-start c15-bark-fv GEN.c3-c3-compound every

It needs to be pointed out though that sentence 2(b) is ambiguous. It is ambiguous in the sense that it could be interpreted like “A dog barked in every compound” or “A group of dogs went to every compound barking each time they arrived.”

3. The morning after the tsunami a message of sympathy was sent by each government.

Kwi-ntsasa eyandulela itsumi umyalezo wonvelano
Ku-i-ntsasa eyandulela i-tsunami u-m-yalezo u-a-u-rhulume-wo
EXPL-c9-c9-morning after c9-tsunami c3-c3-message SM.c3-GEN-c3-sympathy-PASS-RECP-fv

In English, this sentence is permitted to mean that each government that sent such a message sent a different one. Is this an interpretation your translation allows? Is it the only one?

In Xhosa the sentence would be interpreted to mean only a single government sent a message. For the sentence to have an interpretation of different governments two words would have to be in the plural form i.e. message and government.

4. At the conference, it seemed like a question interrupted every talk.

?Umbuso kwabonakala ngathi waphazamisa intetho
U-m-buso ku-a-bon-akal-a ngathi u-a-phazam-is-a i-n-tetho
C3-c3-question EXPL-PST-seem-N-fv like c3-PST-interrupt-CAUS-fv c9-c9-talk

Please be sure to translate the sentence so that ‘a question’ is the subject of the clause. In English, this can mean that every talk was interrupted and when a question was asked, but that the question posed was not necessarily the same question at every talk. Is this an interpretation your translation allows? Is it the only one?

Xhosa would not allow such a sentence to mean the assumed English interpretation. The sentence is close to being anomalous because the subject of the clause is in the singular form.

5. Here we put together quantifiers, locative inversion, and the raising verb ‘seem’. Please translate, matching the word order indicated.

a. In some villages seemed to bark every dog.

Kwezinye izinje kwabonakala uku-thonkotha njaga ngamnye
Ku-i-nts-nya i-zin-ja ku-a-bon-akal-a ku-thonkoth-a i-n-ja ngamnye
EXPL-c8-c8-some c8-c8-villages EXPL-PST-seem-N-fv EXPL-bark-fv c9-c9-dog every

Is this an acceptable way of expressing the meaning that it seemed some villages were such that every dog in them barked?

Yes

b. In every village seemed to bark some dog.

Kwi-xinje ngamnye kwabonakala uku-thonkotha enye njaga
Ku-i-si-xe xo ngamnye ku-a-bon-akal-a ku-thonkoth-a e-nye i-n-ja
EXPL-c7-c7-village every EXPL-PST-seem-N-fv EXPL-bark-fv c9-some c9-c9-dog
Is this an acceptable way of expressing the meaning that every village seemed to be such that at least one dog in it barked?

Could the dogs vary with the villages?

**The second interpretation seems to be the most plausible one.**

### VII. Clausal negation and scope over a subject quantifier.

1. Everybody can’t fit into that car. Some will have
to take a cab.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wonke umuntu</th>
<th>akakungena</th>
<th>kula</th>
<th>moto. Abanye</th>
<th>kufuneka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U-onke umuntu</td>
<td>aka-nakungena</td>
<td>kula</td>
<td>moto. A-ba-nye</td>
<td>ku-fun-ek-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c1-every c1-person NEG.cant’t fit EXPL-that car. C2-c2-some EXPL-have-N-fv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**to take** a cab.

bathethe i-taxi.

`ba-thath-e` i-taxi
c2-take-fv c9-cab

Please be sure to translate the first sentence so that ‘everybody’ is the subject of the clause. Most speakers of English permit the first sentence to mean that although some people can fit into the car, not all of them can. Please translate both sentences and comment as to whether the first sentence permits either of the two readings below. Which statement is true?

a) Sentence #1 has the ‘not all of them, but some’ reading.
b) Sentence #2 means that no one can fit into that car.

**The first sentence in Xhosa has sentence #2 interpretation, and sentence two has sentence #1 interpretation. Both these meanings are possible as separate entities.**

2. Hey, I asked you to put food in every bowl. 

Heyi, ndakucela ugalale ukuty a kwisitya ngasiyene.
Heyi, ndi-a-ku-cele-a u-gale-1-e u-ku-tya ku-i-si-tya nga-si-nye.
Hey, 1st.Sg.EXPL-PST-ask-fv c1-put-PST c15-c15-food EXPL-c7-c7-bowl INS-c7-every.

But every bowl doesn’t contain food:

Kodwa zonke izitya azinakutya;
Kodwa zi-onke i-z-i-tya azi-na-kytay
But SM.c8-every SM.c8-bowl NEG-COP-c15-food

But these two are still empty

Kodwa ezi zimbini azi-kabi nanto.
Kodwa ezi zi-m-bini azi-kabi na-n-to
But these SM.c8-two NEG-still COP-c9-empty

Please be sure to translate the second sentence with ‘every bowl’ as the subject of ‘contain’.

3. All the students didn’t tell the truth.

Bonke abafundi abazanga bathetha nyani.
Ba-onke A-ba-fiandi a-ba-zang-a ba-thetha nyani
SM.c2-all C2-c2-students c2-c2-NEG.PST-do-fv c2-c2-tell-fv truth

Please be sure to translate the sentence with ‘all the students’ as the subject. Answer whether both interpretations given below are possible, or if only one of them is:

| I know that Mary, for example, was lying, |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Ndazi ukuba uMary, umzakelo, wayexoka, |
| Ndi-a-z-i ukuba u-Mary, u-m-zekelo, u-a-ya-i-xok-a, |
| 1st.Sg-know that c1-Mary, SM.c3-c3-example, c1-PST-AUX-lye-fv, |
| even though Lake and many of the others |
| nangona u-Luke kunye nabanini babanye |
| nangona u-Luke ku-nye nabanini ba-ba-nye |
| even though c1-Lake c15-and many POSS-c2-c2-others |
| might have indeed told the truth |
| kungenzeka ngokwenene bathetha inyaniso |

12
The comment "This is/is not an appropriate answer to the question in this context."  Please translate the answer and indicate whether it is an appropriate answer in the context (with the comment "This is/is not an appropriate answer to the question in this context").

Suppose what happened is that the woman dropped the pot. Does it sound reasonable to word this answer to the "What happened?" question as follows:

Yes

3. The pot, the woman dropped (it)

Imbiza, umfazi wayi-wisa.
l-m-biza, u-m-fazi u-a-yi-wa-is-a
C9-c9-pot, c1-c1-woman SM.c1-PST-DROP-CAUS-is-fv

Please translate the answer and indicate whether it is an appropriate answer in the context (with the comment "This is/is not an appropriate answer to the question in this context").

This is an appropriate answer to the question in this context.

4. Alternatively in response to the question "What happened?" can you answer felicitously with SVO word order  "The woman dropped the pot!"? Or does the word order need to be different?

Please translate the answer and indicate whether it is an appropriate answer in the context (with the comment "This is/is not an appropriate answer to the question in this context").

Yes you can answer with SVO word order: Umfazi wawisa imbiza. This is an appropriate answer to the question in this context.

5. What if the answer is "The pot broke". What word orders are acceptable in the exchange, "What happened?" "The pot broke". Please translate the answers that are appropriate.

The pot broke
Imbiza yaphuka.
l-m-biza i-a-phuk-a
C9-c9-pot SM.c9-PST-break-fv
The word order can be inter-changed without the meaning being compromised. This is an appropriate answer to the question in this context.

IX. Embedded wh-subjects in object relatives.

How would you say the following:

1. This is the man that I know who likes.
   *Le yindoda endaziyo ukuba ithanda.
   Le y-i-n-doda e-ndi-azi-yo ukuba i-thanda-a
   DEM-This COP-c9-c9-man c9-PRS-1°-Sg-know-REL that c9-likes

   The intended reading of (1) is something like ‘I know who likes this man, and this is the man in question’. The sentence in (1), in case you are wondering, is typically judged unacceptable in English, but one thing we would like to understand is whether or not languages differ in this respect, and if so, how.

   The sentence is also unacceptable for isiXhosa because the transitive verb thanda (likes) has to subcategorize for an NP object.

   The sentence as appears is incomplete hence unacceptable.

2. This is the book that John saw who bought.
   Le yincwadi John abonayo ngubani owayithengayo.
   Le y-i-n-cwadi u-John a-bon-a-yo ngubani a-u-a-yi-theng-a-yo

   The intended reading of (2) is something like ‘John saw who it was that bought the book in question and this is the book (e.g., perhaps the speaker is holding the book up for the addressee to see). Once again, (2) is frequently judged unacceptable by many English speakers, but once again, we are interested in probing potential cross-linguistic differences.

   The sentence is regarded as an appropriate sentence in Xhosa.