Situating the Subject in Bantu
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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.
? Just a 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.	Yòháná	éésònyá		ómwèènè
	Yòháná	á-á-í-sòní-á		ó-mù-èènè
	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.
	Enkulu	ibhokwe	yatya		amathathu	amabanana.
	Enkulu I	i-bhokwe	i-a-ty-a		amathathu	a-ma-banana
	C9-c9-big	c9-goat	SM.c9-PST-eat-fv		c6-c6-three	c6.c6-banana

2.	The chief	gave		the girls	presents.
	Usibonda	wanika		amantombazana	izipho.
	U-sibonda	u-a-nik-a		a-ma-ntombazana	i-zi-pho
	C1-chief	SM.c1-PST-give-fv		c6-c6-girls	c8-c8-presents

3.	The axe	can easily cut		this	firewood.
	Izembe	lingagawula	lula	ezi	nkuni.
	I-zembe	li-nga-gawul-a	lula	ezi	n-kuni
	C5-axe	SM.c5-be-cut-fv	easily	this	c9-firewood

4.
Mary	believes		that	these	children	should not
UMary	ukholelwa		ukuba	aba	bantwana	akumele
U-Mary	u-kholel-w-a		ukuba	aba	ba-ntwana	aku-mel-e
C1-Mary	SM.c1-believes-PASS-fv		that	these	SM.c2-c2-children	NEG-should-fv

meet	you.
badibane	nawe.
ba-diban-e	nawe
c2 meet-fv	you

5.
We made	the boys	wear	new	shoes	to school.
Senza	amakwenkwe	anxiba	ezitsha	izihlangu	esikolweni
Si-a-enz-a	a-ma-kwenkwe	a-nxib-a	e-zi-tsha	i-zi-hlangu	e-sikolweni
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.
Umntu	wanqonqoza	emnyango.
U-m-ntu	u-a-nqonqoz-a	e-mnyango.
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
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

for you.
wena.
wena.

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
Omnye	umntu	kumele	asebenze.	Ngubani
Omnye	u-m-ntu	ku-mele	a-sebenz-e.	Ngubani
C1-c1-one	c1-c1-person	EXPL-must	c1-work-fv.	Who

Should	do it?
ekumele	enze oko?
e-ku-mele	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	ifike	ngale	ntsasa.
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,	buza	nje	ebantwini.
Xa	u-lahl-eka,	buza	nje	e-bantwini.
If	SM.c1-lost-N,	ask	just	LOC-people.

Somebody	will	help	you.
Umntu	uya	kunceda	wena.
U-m-ntu	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-venkileni
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-venkileni
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.
I-ncwadi	i-a-khe,	u-m-fundi	nga-m-nye	ku-mele	a-fund-e.
C9-C9-book	OM-GEN-his,	?c1-c1-student	INS-SM-every	cl15-should	PRS-read-fv

8. His book, every student should read it (with OM, with bound variable reading)

Incwadi	yakhe,	umfundi	ngamnye	kumele	ayifunde.
I-ncwadi	i-a-khe,	u-m-fundi	nga-m-nye	ku-mele	a-yi-fund-e.
C9-C9-book	OM-GEN-his,	c1-c1-student	INS-SM-every	cl15-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.
I-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.
I-nja	yayo,	i-nkwenkwe	nga-nye	ku-mele	i-yi-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 unacceptable 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
       Ndi- bona   i-n-to
       SM.ISG-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   umntu.
       Ndi-thand-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-go   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   m-ntu
       SM.NEG.1st.Sg-like-fv   c1-anybody

4

5.   I didn't   see   anything.

I didn't	see	anything.
Andizange	ndabona	nto.
A-ndi-zange	ndi-a-bon-a	nto
SM.NEG.1st.Sg-not	1st.Sg-PST-see-fv	anything

6.   I didn't   go   anywhere.

I didn't	go	anywhere.
Andikhange	ndaya	ndawo.
A-ndi-khange	ndi-a-ya	ndawo
NEG.1st.Sg-not	1st.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	ndithanda	nabanina.
U-John	aka-cingi	ndi-thand-a	nabanina
C1-John	NEG.think	1st.Sg-like –fv	anybody

8.

John	doesn't believe	I saw	anything.
UJohn	akakholelwa	ndabona	nto.
U-John	aka-kholel-w-a	ndi-a-bon-a	n-to
C1-John	NEG.believe-PASS-fv	1st.Sg-PST-see-fv	c9-anything

9.

The kids	don't like	to go	anywhere.
Abantwana	abathandi	kuya	naphina.
A-ba-ntwana	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
Asisayi		kutsho	ukuba	uMary	waya
Asi-sayi		ku-tsho	ukuba	u-Mary	u-a-ya
SM.NEG.1st.pl-c2-FUT-will		EXPL-say	that	c1-Mary	SM.c1-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.

She doesn't like	anybody.
Akathandi	mntu.
Aka-thand-i	m-ntu
3rd.Sg-NEG-like-fv	c1-anybody

b.

Anybody,	she doesn't like.
??Nabanina,	akathandi.
Nabanina,	aka-thand-i
Anybody,	3rd.Sg-NEG-like-fv

c.

Anybody,	she doesn't like	him.
Nabanina,	akamthandi	yena.
Nabanina,	aka-m-thand-i	yena.
Anybody,	3rd.Sg-NEG-OM-c1-like-fv	him

d.

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

e.

Anybody,	Stella	doesn't like
?Nabanina,	UStella	akamthandi
Nabanina,	UStella	aka-m-thand-i
Anybody,	SM.Stella	3rd.Sg-NEG-OM-c1-like-fv

12.   a. I don't go   anywhere.
            Andiyi   naphina.
            A-ndi-yi   naphina
            NEG-1st.Sg-go   anywhere

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

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

         d. I don't buy   anything
         Andithengi   nto
         A-ndi-theng-i   nto
         NEG-1st.Sg-buy-fv anything

         e. Anything,   I don't buy
         ??Nantoni,   andithengi
         ??Nantoni,   a-ndi-theng-i
         Anything,   NEG-1st.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.
        *UJohn   akacingi   ukuba   nabanina,   ndiyamthanda.
        U-John   aka-cing-i   ukuba   nabanina   ndi-ya-m-thand-a
        C1-John NEG-think   that   anybody   1st.Sg-PROG-OM.c1-thand-fv

      b. John doesn't think anybody that I like him.
        UJohn   akacingi   nabanina ukuba   ndiyamthanda.
        U-John   aka-cing-i   nabanina ukuba   ndi-ya-m-thand-a
        C1-John NEG-think   anybody   that   1st.Sg-PROG-OM.c1-thand-fv

14. a.   John doesn't think that anything, I saw it.
        *UJohn   akacingi   ukuba   nantoni,   ndayibona.
        U-John   aka-cing-i   ukuba   nantoni,   ndi-a-yi-bon-a
        C1-John NEG-think-fv   that   anything, 1st.Sg-OM-c9-PST-see

      b. John doesn't think anything that, I saw it.
        UJohn   akacingi   nantoni ukuba,   ndayibona.
        U-John   aka-cing-i   nantoni ukuba,   ndi-a-yi-bon-a
        C1-John NEG-think-fv   anything that   1st.Sg-OM-c9-PST-see

15. a.   We will not say that anywhere, Mary went there.
        Asisayi   kutsho   naphina ukuba   uMary
        Asi-si-a-yi   ku-tsho   naphina ukuba   u-Mary
        SM.1st.pl-c1-FUT-AUX   EXPL-say   anywhere that   c1-Mary
        waya   apho.
        u-a-ya   apho
        SM.c1-PST-AUX   there

      b. We will not say anywhere that, Mary went there.
        Asisayi   kutsho   naphina ukuba uMary   waya
        Asi-si-a-yi   ku-tsho   naphina ukuba u-Mary u-a-ya
        SM.1st.pl-c1-FUT-AUX EXPL-say   anywhere   that   c1-Mary SM.c1-PST-AUX
        apho.
        apho.
        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.

Sabulisa	inkwenkwe	nganye.
Si-a-bul-is-a	i-n-kwenkwe	nganye
SM.1st.pl-PST-greet-CAUS-fv	c9-c9-boy	each

b. Each boy,   we greeted.

Inkwenkwe	nganye,	?sabulisa.
I-n-kwenkwe	nganye,	si-a-bul-is-a
C9-C9-boy	each,	SM.1st 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.1st 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   that   anybody   likes me.

Akacingi	ukuba	kukho	mntu	undithandayo.
Aka-cing-i	ukuba	ku-kho	m-ntu	u-ndi-thandayo
3rd.Sg-NEG-thnk-fv	that	EXPL-is	c1-person	c1-1st.Sg-likes-REL

b. She doesn't think   that   anybody   likes me.

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

18. a.   I don't think   that   anyplace has   enough water.

Andicingi	ukuba	kukho	ndawo	inamanzi aneleyo.
A-ndi-cing-i	ukuba	ku-kho	ndawo	i-na-a-ma-nzi aneleyo
NEG-1st.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-ndi-cing-i	ndawo	enokuba na-a-ma-nzi	aneleyo.	
NEG-1st.Sg-think-fv	c9-anyplace	(that) has c6-water	enough.	

19. a.   I didn't see that anything broke.

Andibonanga	kukho	nto	yaphukileyo.
A-ndi-bonanga	ku-kho	n-to	yaphukileyo
NEG-1st.Sg-PST-see	EXPL-is	c9-anything	broke-REL

b.   I didn't see   anything   that broke.

Andibonanga	nantoni	kwaphuka.
A-ndi-bonanga	nantoni	ku-a-phuk-a
NEG-1st.Sg-PST-see	anything	EXPL-PST-break-fv

20. a.   He said   that   each boy   worked.

Watsho	ukuba	inkwenkwe	nganye	yasebenza
Watsho	ukuba	i-n-kwenkwe	nganye	i-a-sebenz-a
3rd.Sg-PST-say	that	c9-c9-boy	each	c9-PST-work-fv

b.   He said each boy that worked.

Watsho	inkwenkwe	nganye	?esebenzileyo.
Watsho	i-n-kwenkwe	nganye	?a-i-sebenzileyo
3rd.Sg-PST-say that	c9-c9-boy	each	PST-c9-work-REL

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

Sikholelwa	ukuba	umfundi	ngamnye waphumelela	
Si-kholel-w-a	ukuba	u-m-fundi	ngamnye	u-a-phum-el-el-a
1st.pl-believe-PASS-fv	that	c1-c1-student	every	c1-PST-pass-APPL-APPL-fv

uviwo.

u-viwo.
c11-exam

b. We believe every student that passed the exam.
    Sikholelwa   umfundi   ngamnye   owaphumelela
    Si-kholel-w-a   u-m-fundi   ngamnye   a-u-a-phum-el-el-a
    1st.pl-believe-PASS-fv c1-c1-student every   REL-c1-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   ?undithanda.
     Aka-cing-i   m-ntu   ?u-ndi-thanda
     NEG-think-fv   c1-anybody   c1-1st.Sg-like

23. I don't think anyplace has enough water.
     Andicingi   nayiphina   indawo   ?inamanzi   anele.
     A-ndi-cing-i   nayiphina   i-n-dawo ?i-na-a-ma-nzi anele.
     NEG-1st.Sg-think-fv any   c9-place has water   enough

24.   I didn't see anything break.
     Andibonanga   nto   iphuka.
     A-ndi-bonanga   nto   i-phuk-a
     NEG-1st.Sg-see   anything   c9-break-fv

25.   He said each boy worked.
     Wathi   inkwenkwe   nganye   yasebenz-a.
     U-a-thi   i-nkwenkwe   nganye   i-a-sebenz-a
     2nd.Sg-PST-say c9-boy   each   c9-PST-work-fv

26. We believe every student passed the exam.
     Sikholelwa   umfundi   ngamnye   waphumelela
     Si-khole-w-a   u-m-fund-i   ngamnye   u-a-phum-el-el-a
     1st.pl-believe-PASS-fv c1-c1-student every   c1-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   unokundithanda.
     Aka-cing-i   mntu   ?ukuba   u-na-uku-ndi-thand-a.
     NEG-think-fv   c1-anybody   that   c1-**Copula**-c15-1st.Sg-likes-fv

28. We don't believe anyplace that (it) has enough water.
     ??Asikholelwa   nayiphina   indawo   ukuba   inamanzi
     Asi-kholel-w-a   nayiphina   i-n-dawo ukuba   i-na-a-ma-nzi
     NEG.1st.pl-believe-PASS-fv any   c9-place that   c9-**Copula**-c6-c6-water
     anele.
     anele.
     enough.

29. They don't want anybody (that) to leave.
     Abafuni   mntu   ??ukuba   unokuhamba.
     A-ba-fun-i   m-ntu   ukuba   u-na-ku-hamb-a
     C2-c2-NEG-want-fv   c1-anybody   that   c1-**Copula**- EXPL-leave-fv

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30.   He doesn't expect anybody (that) to read the newspaper.
      Akalindelanga   mntu   ??(ukuba)   unokufunda   iphephandaba.
      Aka-lindelanga   m-ntu   ?? ukuba   u-na-uku-fund-a   i-phephandaba
      NEG-1st.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   kuhlawula   nabani   osebenza   nzima.
      Ndi-ya   ku-hlawul-a   nabani   a-u-sebenz-a   nzima
      1st.Sg-AUX   EXPL-pay-fv   anyone   REL-c1-works   hard

32.   I will   dismiss   anyone   who doesn't work   hard.
      Ndiya   kugxotha   nabani   ongasebenzi   kakhulu.
      Ndi-ya   ku-gxoth-a   nabani   a-u-nga-sebenz-i   kakhulu
      1st.Sg-AUX   EXPL-dismiss-fv   anyone   REL-c1-INS-work-fv hard

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

34.   I will   leave   anyplace that   has too much rain.
      Ndiya   kuhamba   naphina   ukuba   inemvula   eninzi.
      Ndi-ya   ku-hamb-a   naphina   ukuba   i-na-i-m-vula   eninzi
      1st.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-is-iw-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
      C1-2nd.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).
2.   What did you buy? Ans: Nothing.

If such words exist, please provide judgments for the following

3. Nobody   came.
   Akukho mntu   uzileyo.

4. Nothing   happened.
   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
    *Bekukho   abaninzi   abantwana   begibisela (direct translation)
    Bekukho   abantwana   abaninzi   begibisela
    Be-ku-kho   a-ba-ninzi   a-ba-ntwana   be-gib-is-el-a
    2-PST-EXPL-be c2-c2-many   c2-c2-kids   c2-throw-CAUS-APPL-fv

    rocks   off   a wall   yesterday.
    amatye   bephezu   kodonga   izolo.
    a-ma-tye   bephezu   k(u)-a-u-donga   izolo
    C6-c6-rocks   off   c15-GEN-c11-wall   yesterday.

    A rock   hit   every   passerby   on the head.
    *Ilitye   lichane   ngamnye   umhambi   entloko. (direct translation)
    Ilitye   lichane   umhambi   ngamnye   entloko.
    I-li-tye   li-chane   u-m-hambi   ngamnye   e-n-tloko.
    C5-c5-rock hit   c1-c1-passerby   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.   <u>a.</u>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   i-khalile.
    C5-Last INS-c3-night   at 9 pm   c9-c9-siren   c9-went off.

    Then   a dog   started   to bark   in every compound.
    Emva koko   inja   yaqala   ukukhonkotha   kumzi ngamnye.
    Emva koko   i-n-ja   i-a-qala   uku-khonkoth-a   ku-u-m-zi 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   i-khalile.
    C5-Last night   INS-c3-at 9 pm   c9-c9-siren   c9-went off.

Then	dogs	started	to bark	in every compound.
Emva koko	izinja	zaqala	ukukhonkotha	kumzi ngamnye.
E-m-va koko	i-zin-ja	zi-a-qala	uku-khonkoth-a	ku-u-m-zi ngamnye
C9-c9-then	c10-c10-dog	c10-PST-start	c15-bark-fv	GEN.c3-c3-compound every

3.
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	i-khalile.
C5-Last	INS-c3-night	at 9 pm	c9-c9-siren	c9-went off.

Then	dogs	started	to bark	in every compound.
Emva koko	izinja	zaqala	ukukhonkotha	kumzi ngamnye .
Emva koko	i-zi-n-ja	zi-a-qala	uku-khonkoth-a	ku-u-m-zi ngamnye
Then	c10-c10-dog	SM-PST-start	c15-bark-fv	GEN.c3-c3-compound every. 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
Kwintsasa	eyandulela		itsunami	umyalezo	wovelwano
Ku-i-n-tsasa	eyandulela		i-tsunami	u-m-yalezo	u-a-u-vel-w-an-o
EXPL-c9-c9-morning	after		c9-tsunami	c3-c3-message	SM.c3-GEN-c3-sympathy-PASS-RECP-fv

was sent	by each government.
wathunyelwa	ngurhulumente ngamnye.
u-a-thuny-el-w-a	ngu-u-rhulumente ? ngamnye
c3-PST-send-PASS-fv	COP-c1-government each.

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.				
?Umbuzo	kwabonakala	ngathi	waphazamisa	intetho
U-m-buzo	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

nganye	kwinkomfa.
nganye	ku-i-n-komfa
every	EXPL-c9-c9-conference

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	izixeko	kwabonakala	kukhonkotha	inja nganye.
Ku-e-zi-nye	i-zi-xeko	ku-a-bon-akal-a	ku-khonkoth-a	i-n-ja nganye
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.
Kwisixeko ngasinye		kwabonakala	kukhonkotha	enye	inja.
Ku-i-si-xeko	ngasinye	ku-a-bon-akal-a	ku-khonkoth-a	e-nye	i-n-ja
EXPL-c7-c7-village	every	EXPL-PST-seem-N-fv	EXPL-bark-fv	c9-some	c9-c9-dog

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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
Wonke umntu	akanakungena		kula	moto.	Abanye	kufuneka
U-onke umntu	aka-nakungena		kula	moto.	A-ba-nye	ku-fun-ek-a
c1-every c1-person	NEG.can't fit		EXPL-that	car.	C2-c2-some	EXPL-have-N-fv

to take	a cab.
bathathe	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? Are both meanings possible?

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		ugalele	ukutya		kwisitya	ngasinye.
Heyi,	ndi-a-ku-cel-a		u-galel-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-zi-tya	azi-na-kutya
But	SM.c8-every	SM.c8-bowl	NEG-COP-c15-food

But	these	two	are still	empty
Kodwa	ezi	zimbini	azikabi	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-fundi	a-ba-zang-a		ba-theth-a	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,	umzekelo,	wayexoka,
Ndi-az-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-lie-fv,

even though	Luke	and	many	of the others
nangona	uLuke	kunye	nabaninzi	babanye
nangona	u-Luke	ku-nye	nabaninzi	ba-ba-nye
even though	c1-Luke	c15-and	many	POSS-c2-c2-others

might		have indeed	told	the truth
kungenzeka		ngokwenene	bathetha	inyaniso

ku-nga-enz-ek-a	ngokwenene	ba-theth-a	i-n-yan-is-o
c15-INS-PST-may-N-fv	indeed	c2-PST-speak-fv	c9-c9-truth-CAUS-fv

(= some	students	told	the truth
(=Abanye	abafundi	bathetha	inyaniso
(a-ba-nye	a-ba-fundi	ba-theth-a	i-n-yan-is-o
C2-c2-some	c2-c2-students	c2-PST-speak-fv	c9-c9-truth-CAUS-fv

and some	lied)
abanye	baxoka)
a-ba-nye	ba-xok-a)
C2-c2-some	c2-PST-lie

Both interpretations are possible

a)
As usual,	they all	lied
Njengesiqhelo	bonke	baxoka
Njenga-i-si-qhelo	ba-onke	ba-xok-a
As-c7-c7-usual	c2-all	c2-PST-lie-fv

(= no	student	told	the truth)
(= Akukho	mfundi	wathetha	inyani)
(Aku-kho	m-fund-i	u-a-theth-a	i-n-yani)
(NEG.EXPL-is	c1-student	c1-PST-tell-fv	c9-c9-truth)

IIX. Subjects and Focus.

1. How would you say "The woman   dropped   the pot?"
	Umfazi	wawisa	imbiza?
	U-m-fazi	u-a-wa-is-a	i-m-biza
	C1-c1-woman	SM.c1-PST-drop-CAUS-fv	c9-c9-pot

2. How do you say "What   happened?"
	Kwenzeka	ntoni?
	Ku-enz-ek-a	n-toni
	EXPL-PST-happen-fv	c9-what

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	wayiwisa.
I-m-biza,	u-m-fazi	u-a-yi-wa-is-a
C9-c9-pot,	c1-c1-woman	SM.c1-PST-OM-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.
I-m-biza	i-a-phuk-a
C9-c9-pot	SM.c9-PST-break-fv

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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-thand-a
DEM-This	COP-c9-c9-man	c9-PRS-1st.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
DEM.This COP-c9-c9-book	c1-John	REL-PST-see-REL	who	REL-PST-COP-c9-buy-fv-REL

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.