NegLaB Research Colloquium, 15 July 2025

Negation in isiZulu
and its relation to
focus and case

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Outline

1. Negation strategies in Bantu languages (Guérois, Gibson & Marten 2024; Devos to appear)

2. Negation in isiZulu (Nguni; S42) (Buell 2005; Pietraszko 2017, 2018a, 2018b)

3. Negation and focus in isiZulu (Zeller 2021)

4. [-A] nominals and structural case

   (Halpert 2015; Carstens & Mletshe 2016; Pietraszko 2021; Carstens 2025)

Negation strategies in Bantu languages

Bantu languages mark negation in a variety of ways (Kamba Muzenga 1981; Güldemann 1999; Nurse 2008; Devos & van der Auwera 2013; Guérois et al. 2024; Devos to appear):

1.) Verbal inflection: pre- and post-initial NEG-markers.

Pre-initial	Subject marker	Post-initial	Tns/Asp	Object marker	Verb	Extensions	Final	post-final
ha-	tu-		ta-		lim-		-a	
	tú-	táa-	ku-		ful-		-a	

(1) Swahili   G40

ha-tu-ta-lim-a
NEG-SM1PL-FUT-cultivate-FV

'We will not work on the field.'

(2) Lungu   M14

tú-táa-ku-ful-a
SM1PL-NEG-PROG-wash-FV

'We are not washing.'

[Devos to appear: 293]

Negation strategies in Bantu languages

In languages with both markers, the choice is determined by clause type/TAM:

(3)
A-**si**-po-ku-j-a   mapema,   **ha**-ta-maliz-a
SM1-NEG-REL16-15-come-FV   early   NEG.SM1-FUT-finish-FV

kazi   yake.
9.work   9.POSS1

'Unless he comes early, he will not finish his work.'

[Swahili G40; Guérois et al. 2024: 107]

Negation strategies in Bantu languages

In languages with both markers, the choice is determined by clause type/TAM:

(4)   DJ   a-kínákú   kha-phwań-nye
                  2-others   NEG.2-meet-PERF.DJ
                  'the others didn't come across it'

        CJ   o-hi-thum-álé   esheení?
                  2SG-NEG-buy-PERF.CJ   9.what
                  'what didn't you buy?'

[Makhuwa P31; Van der Wal 2009: 103]

Negation strategies in Bantu languages

2.) Independent NEG particles (pre- and postverbally):

(5) a. **Mbadi** *na-mu-dimuk-a.*
   NEG   SM1SG.PRS-OM1-know-FV

   'I do not know him.'   [Mbukushu K333; Guérois et al. 2024: 111]

b. gágònusa   ló   shèla   ga-hos-idi
   1.woman   NEG   really   SM1-talk-PFV

   'The woman has not at all talked.'   [Mbala H41; Devos to appear: 295]

Negation strategies in Bantu languages

2.) Independent NEG particles (pre- and postverbally):

(6) a. tu-n-sumba   ko
         SM1.PL-PRES-buy   NEG

         'We don't buy.'   [Kongo H16; Nurse 2008: 182]

     b. na-kok-í   ko-kend-a   na   ndakó   nayé   té
         SM1SG-can-PRS   15-go-INF   to   9.house   POSS1   NEG

         'I cannot go to her house.'   [Lingala C30B; Devos to appear: 295]

Negation strategies in Bantu languages

3.) Periphrastic constructions (NEG auxiliary):

(7) a. u-koto   ku-gend-a   na   mu-ndu   ʋyʋ   ndava   mu-ifi   (cf. *kotoka*, 'stop')
        SM2SG-NEG INF-walk-FV COM   NCP1-personPROX.DEM1 because NCP1-thief
        'you shouldn't hang out with him, because he is a thief'

[Manda S21C; Bernander 2017: 323]

   b. *Ndembo*   *ka-lem-a*   *ku-yend-a.*
        9.elephant   SM1.PERF-refuse-FV   15-go-FV
        'The elephant has not gone.' (Lit: 'The elephant has refused to go.')
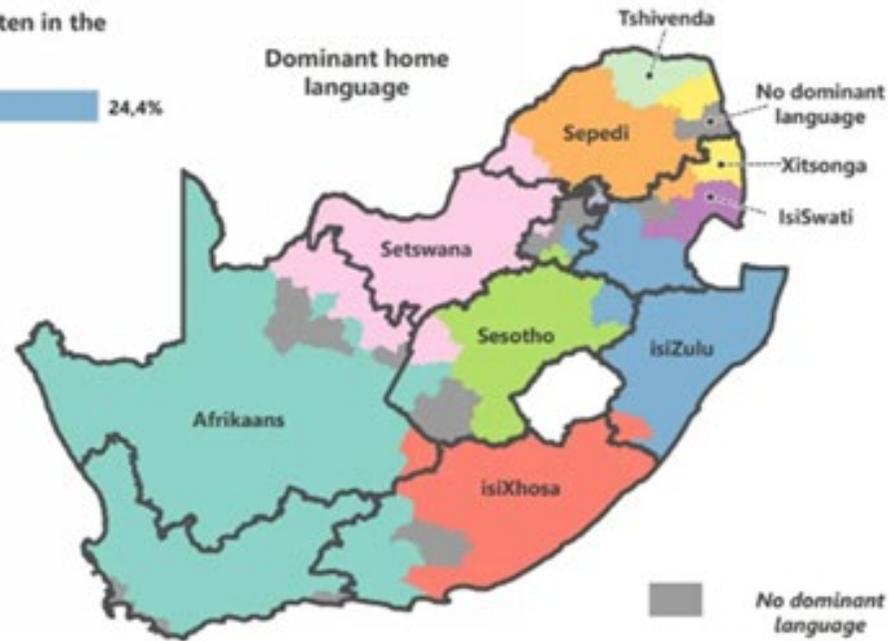
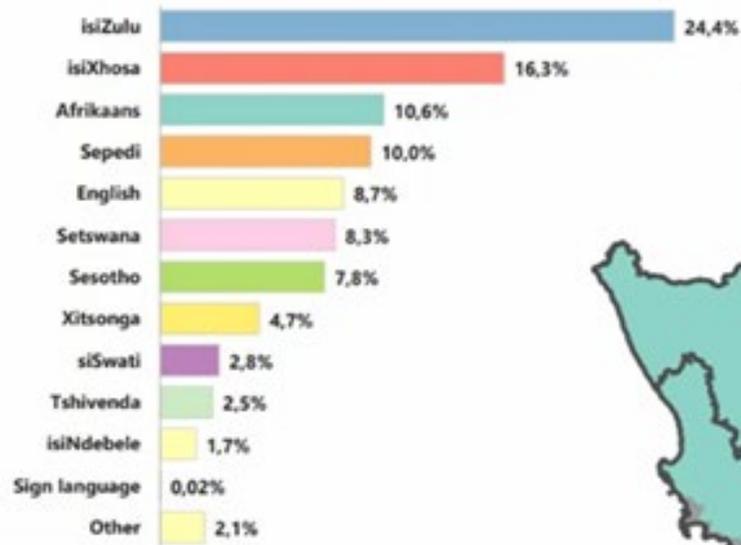[Ndamba G52; Guérois et al. 2024: 111]

Negation strategies in Bantu languages

Negative stacking - multiple exponents of negation (Devos & van der Auwera 2013):

(8) a.   ha-waa-kóm-i
        NEG-SM2-reach-NEG

        'They can't reach.'   [Chimwiini G412; Devos to appear: 295]

    b.   me   n-síí-tin-a   mukáándá   ko
         I   1SG-NEG1-write-PRF   3.letter   NEG2

        'I have not written a letter'   [Beembe H11; Devos & van der Auwera 2013: 209]

    c.   lo   gwâmi nga-swĕg-á   ídondo lo
         NEG   NEG   1SG.PST-hide-PRF   9.meat (NEG3)

        'I have not hidden the meat.'   [Kwezo L13; Devos & van der Auwera 2013: 211]

Negation in isiZulu (S42)

Population distribution by language spoken most often in the household, 2022

Language	Percentage
isiZulu	24,4%
isiXhosa	16,3%
Afrikaans	10,6%
Sepedi	10,0%
English	8,7%
Setswana	8,3%
Sesotho	7,8%
Xitsonga	4,7%
siSwati	2,8%
Tshivenda	2,5%
isiNdebele	1,7%
Sign language	0,02%
Other	2,1%

Dominant home language

Source: Stats SA

Negation in isiZulu (S42)

Main strategy: negative prefix (pre-initial *a-* or post-initial *nga-*) + final vowel *-i*:

(9) Present indicative

u-   ya- cul- a
1.SBJ- DJ- sing- FV

"she is singing"

(10) a. Present principal

a-   ka-   cul- *i*
NEG- 1.SBJ- sing- NEG

"she doesn't sing"

b. Present participial

uma e-   nga- cul- *i*
if   1.SBJ- NEG- sing- NEG

"if she doesn't sing"

c. Infinitive

u- ku- nga- cul- *i*
15- 15- NEG- sing- NEG

"to not sing"

d. Subjunctive

ukuze a-   nga- cul- *i*
so.that 1.SBJ- NEG- sing- NEG

"so that she not sing"

[Buell 2005: 73]

Negation in isiZulu (S42)

Associated tonal processes:

(11) a. ngì- yà- nàmàthèlìs- à
          1S.SBJ- *ya-* stick-   FV

      "I stick"

      b. à-   ngì- nàmàthèlís- ì
          NEG- 1S.SBJ- stick-   NEG

      "I don't stick"   [Buell 2005: 83]

(12)   si-   ba- ncane;   a-   si-   ba- ncané
          1P.SBJ- 2-   small   NEG- 1P.SBJ- 2-   small=NEG

      "we're small; we're not small"   [Buell 2005: 102]

Negation in isiZulu (S42)

Different suffix in recent past tense:

(13)   Recent past

a.   ba-   cul-   ile
      2.SBJ- sing-   PST
      "they sang"

b.   a-   ba-   cul- ángà
      NEG- 2.SBJ- sing- NEG
      "they didn't sing"

c.   uma be-   nga- cul- ángà
      if   2.SBJ- NEG- sing- NEG
      "if they didn't sing"

[Buell 2005: 81]

Negation in isiZulu (S42)

Periphrastic constructions with negative auxiliary (Slattery 1981; Bevis in progress):

(14) a.   A-si-**zange**   si-ku-bon-e   e-mhlangan-weni.
         NEG-1.PL-never   1.PL-2.SG-see-SBJ   LOC-3.meeting-LOC
         'We never saw you at the meeting.'

                                     [Slattery 1981: 27]

   b.   Ngi-funa   ukuba   a-ba-ntwana   ba-**ngabe**   be-sa-dlala   e-ndl-ini.
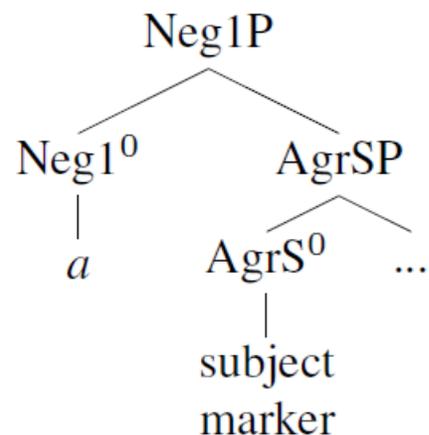   1SG-want   that   AUG-2-child   2.SM-no_longer   1.PL-DUR-play   LOC-9.house-LOC
         'I want that the children should no longer play in the house.'

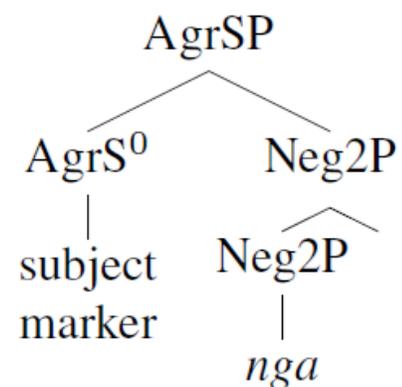   [Slattery 1981: 48]

Negation in isiZulu (S42)

Syntactic analysis I: Neg projects either above or below AgrSP (Buell 2005):
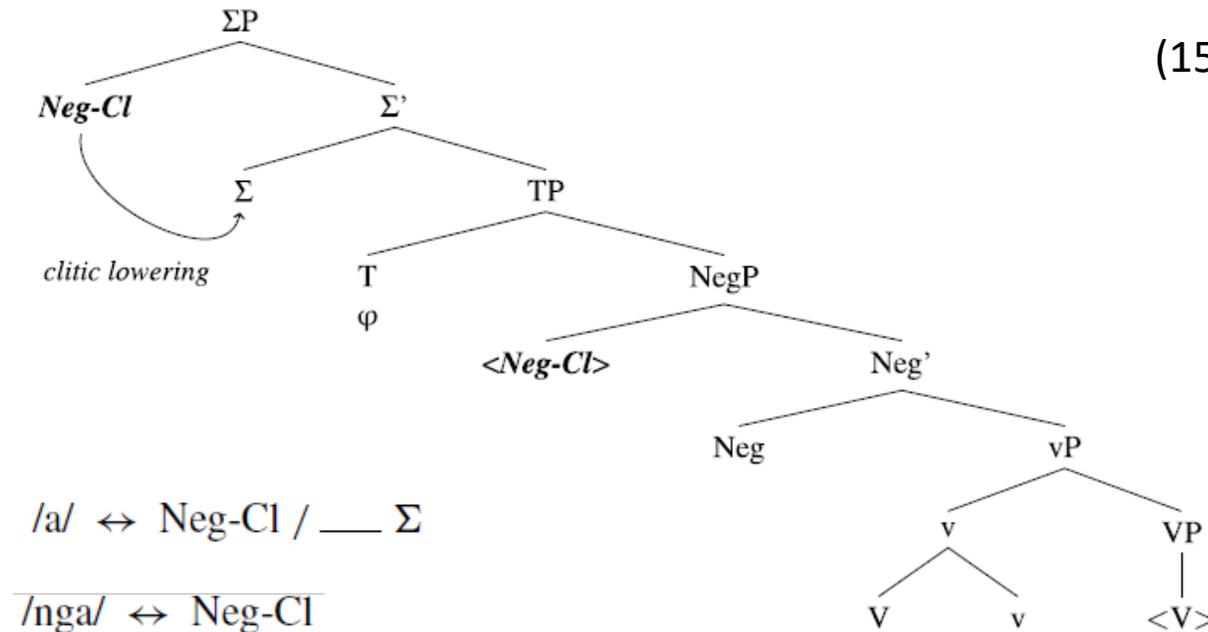
High negation (pre-initial *a*-):

Low negation (post-initial *nga*-):

Negation in isiZulu (S42)

Syntactic analysis II: Low NegP and high ΣP (Pietraszko 2017, 2018a, 2018b):

ΣP

Neg-Cl   Σ'

clitic lowering   Σ   TP

                  T   NegP

                  φ   <Neg-Cl>   Neg'

                                    Neg   vP

                                          v   VP

/a/ ↔ Neg-Cl / ___ Σ   v   v   <V>

/nga/ ↔ Neg-Cl

[Pietraszko 2018a]

(15)   A-ka- qali abale.   (Aux below NegP)
       neg-1-first read.SUBJ
       He doesn't first read

(16)   a.   *A-ka- lokhe e-bala.   (Aux above NegP)
             neg-1-still   1-read
             ('He is still not reading')
       b.   U- lokhe e-nga-bali.
             1-still   1-**neg**-read
             'He is still not reading'

[Zimbabwean Ndebele; Pietraszko 2018b: 316]

Negation and focus in isiZulu

Different strategies to negate a transitive sentence in isiZulu (Zeller 2021):

(17)   U-Sipho   u-qed-e   i-sobho.
           AUG-1.aSipho   1.SM-finish-PST AUG-5.soup
           'Sipho finished the soup.'

(18)   U-Sipho   a-ka-**li**-qed-anga   i-sobho.   [Strategy 1 – object marker (OM)]
           AUG-1a.Sipho   NEG-1.SM-5.OM-finish-PST.NEG   AUG-5.soup
           'Sipho didn't finish the soup.'

[Zeller 2021: 38]

Negation and focus in isiZulu

Different strategies to negate a transitive sentence in isiZulu (Zeller 2021):

(17)   U-Sipho   u-qed-e   i-sobho.
        AUG-1.aSipho   1.SM-finish-PST AUG-5.soup
        'Sipho finished the soup.'

(19)   U-Sipho   a-ka-qed-anga   i-sobho.   [Strategy 2 – no OM; contrastive object/VP-focus]
        AUG-1a.Sipho   NEG-1.SM-finish-PST.NEG   AUG-5.soup
        'Sipho didn't finished the SOUP (but he finished/did something else).'

[Zeller 2021: 38]

Negation and focus in isiZulu

Different strategies to negate a transitive sentence in isiZulu (Zeller 2021):

(17) U-Sipho   u-qed-e   i-sobho.
      AUG-1.aSipho   1.SM-finish-PST AUG-5.soup
      'Sipho finished the soup.'

(20) U-Sipho   a-ka-qed-anga   sobho.   [Strategy 3 – no OM; no augment; NPI-reading]
      AUG-1a.Sipho   NEG-1.SM-finish-PST.NEG 5.soup
      'Sipho didn't finish any soup.'

[Zeller 2021: 39]

Negation and focus in isiZulu

Strategy 1: Presence of the object marker signals object (right) dislocation.

(21) a. U-John u-nik-a a-ba-ntwana i-mali.]$_{vP}$ S-V-IO-DO

     AUG-1a.John SM1-give-FV AUG-2-child AUG-9.money

     'John is giving the children money.'

  b. *U-John   u-ba-nik-a   a-ba-ntwana i-mali.]$_{vP}$ *S-V$_{Agr}$-IO-DO

     AUG-1a.John SM1-OM2-give-FV AUG-2-child AUG-9.money

  c. U-John   u-ba-nik-a   i-mali]$_{vP}$ a-ba-ntwana. S-V$_{Agr}$-DO-IO

     AUG-1a.John SM1-OM2-give-FV AUG-9.money AUG-2-child

     'John is giving the children money.'

Negation and focus in isiZulu

- Object dislocation in Strategy 1 as a *maximal backgrounding*-strategy to place focus on (negative) polarity (Güldemann 2016; Bloom Ström & Zeller 2023; Kerr & Van der Wal 2023)

- Removal of non-focal material leaves the verbal predicate as the sole element in the focus domain (the VP)

- → predication focus (= focus on the verb or verbal inflectional categories incl. polarity) (Hyman & Watters 1984; Güldemann 2003)

(22) U-Sipho a-ka-**li**-qed-anga i-sobho, u-li-lahl-ile.
AUG-1a.Sipho NEG-1.SM-5.OM-finish-NEG.PST AUG-5.soup 1.SM-5.OM-throw.away-DJ.PST
'Sipho didn't FINISH the soup, he THREW it AWAY.'

[Zeller 2021: 43]

Negation and focus in isiZulu

Strategy 2: VP-internal object is (part of) the focus.

VP-internal objects in Zulu can be modified by focus markers and can be wh-phrases:

(23) a.   U-cul-e   iphi   ingoma?]$_{VP}$
           2S.SM-sing-PERF 9which 9song

      b.   * U-(yi-)cul-ile]$_{VP}$ iphi   ingoma?
             2S.SM-9OM-sing-PERF 9which 9song
           'Which song did you sing?'

(24) a.   Ngi-bon-e   uSipho kuphela.]$_{VP}$
           1S.SM-see-PERF 1Sipho only

      b.   * Ngi-m-bon-ile]$_{VP}$ uSipho kuphela.
             1S.SM-1OM-see-PERF 1Sipho only
           'I saw only Sipho.'

[Buell (2008), ex. (5)/(6)]

Negation and focus in isiZulu

The *presuppositional skeleton* (Presup) of a sentence: Replace focus with a variable.
(Jackendoff 1972; Rooth 1985)

(25)   Sipho finished [the soup]$_F$

Presup of (25):   Sipho finished x

The focus alternative set of (25) is the set of all propositions that take the form of the Presup, where x is replaced with an alternative to the focus.

Presupposition of (25): Sipho finished something.

Negation and focus in isiZulu

Negation *associates with focus*! (Jackendoff 1972; Kratzer 1989; Fălăuş 2020) Therefore:

(19)   U-Sipho   a-ka-qed-anga   i-sobho.   [Strategy 2]
        AUG-1a.Sipho   NEG-1.SM-finish-PST.NEG   AUG-5.soup
        'Sipho didn't finished the SOUP (but he finished/did something else).'

Presup of (19):   Sipho finished x

Like its affirmative counterpart, (19) presupposes that Sipho finished something, but asserts that he did *not* finish *the soup*: contrastive inference.

Negation and focus in isiZulu

Strategy 3: VP-internal object without augment ([-A] nominal); no contrastive inference.

(20)
U-Sipho	a-ka-qed-anga	sobho.
AUG-1a.Sipho	NEG-1.SM-finish-PST.NEG	5.soup

'Sipho didn't finish any soup.'

[-A] forms are negative polarity items (NPIs).

(Progovac 1993 (for Kinande); Halpert 2012, 2015; Carstens & Mletshe 2016)

Negation and focus in isiZulu

Zeller (2021): analysis of [-A] forms based on Lahiri's (1998) analysis of NPIs.

Lahiri (1998):

- NPIs contribute a scalar inference (similar to *even*):

  (26) John doesn't own *any* book.   ≈   John doesn't own *even one* book.

  (27) Implicature of (26): That John doesn't own any one book is less likely than John not owning a new book, an expensive book, two books…

Negation and focus in isiZulu

Zeller (2021): analysis of [-A] forms based on Lahiri's (1998) analysis of NPIs.

Lahiri (1998):

- A cardinality predicate **one** ("the weakest of all predicates") is part of the semantics of indefinites.

    (28)   John owns a book.

    (29) $\exists x[\mathbf{one}(x) \ \& \ book(x) \ \& \ John \ owns \ x]$

Negation and focus in isiZulu

Zeller (2021): analysis of [-A] forms based on Lahiri's (1998) analysis of NPIs.

Lahiri (1998):

- With an NPI-object, **one** is focused and introduces alternatives. Negation does not associate with focus.

  (30)   John doesn't own any book.   ≈   John doesn't own *even one* book.

  (31)   Alternative set of (30):

  {John doesn't own a new book, John doesn't own an expensive book;
  John doesn't own two books...}

Negation and focus in isiZulu

Problems with adopting Lahiri's (1998) NPI-account for isiZulu:

- no overt morpho-syntactic element corresponding to the **one**-predicate
- no overt morpho-syntactic element corresponding to the scalar focus marker
- not clear why focus falls on the **one**-predicate and not on the object
- not clear why negation does not associate with focus

[-A] nominals and structural case

Main properties of [-A] nominals in isiZulu:

- licensed by negation and as wh-phrases

[-A] nominals and structural case

(32) a. Ngi-fun-a   i-zin-cwadi.
          1.SG-want-FV   AUG-10-book
          'I want (the) books.'

     b. A-ngi-fun-i   zin-cwadi.
         NEG-1.SG-want-NEG   10-book
         'I don't want any books.'

     c. *Ngi-fun-a   zin-cwadi.
         1.SG-want-FV   10-book
         Intended: 'I want books.'

(33) a. U-bon-e   bani?
          2.SG-see-PST   1a-who
          'Who did you see?'

     b. U-bon-e   u-bani?
         2.SG-see-PST   AUG-1a-who
         'Who did you see?'

[-A] nominals and structural case

Main properties of [-A] nominals in isiZulu:

- licensed by negation and as wh-phrases

- licensed only vP-internally
  - NOT in SpecT
  - NOT in dislocated positions

[-A] nominals and structural case

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

     b. A-ku-fund-anga   ba-ntwana.
          NEG-17SA-study-NEG.PST 2-children
          'No children studied.'

                                          [Carstens & Mletshe 2016: 782]

(35) a. *A-   ngi- m- bon- i   vP] muntu
          NEG- 1SG- 1O- see- NEG   1person
          intended: 'I don't see anybody.'

     b. *A-   ngi- yi- fun- i   vP] mali
          NEG- 1SG- 9O- want- NEG   9money
          intended: 'I don't want any money.'

                                          [Halpert 2015: 75]

[-A] nominals and structural case

Main properties of [-A] nominals in isiZulu:

- licensed by negation and as wh-phrases

- licensed only vP-internally:
    - NOT in SpecT
    - NOT in dislocated positions

- not licensed in O-position of VSO

[-A] nominals and structural case

(36) a. ✓ **VSO augmentless–augmented**

a-   ku- phek- anga   muntu   iqanda
NEG- 17s- cook- NEG.PST 1person AUG.5egg
'Nobody cooked the/an/any egg.'

b. * **VSO augmentless–augmentless**

* a-   ku- phek- anga   muntu   qanda
NEG- 17s- cook- NEG.PST 1person 5egg

c. * **VSO augmented–augmentless**

* a-   ku- phek- anga   umuntu   qanda
NEG- 17s- cook   NEG.PST AUG.1person 5egg

[Halpert 2015: 80]

[-A] nominals and structural case

Main properties of [-A] nominals in isiZulu:

- licensed by negation and as wh-phrases

- licensed only vP-internally:
  - NOT in SpecT
  - NOT in dislocated positions

- not licensed in O-position of VSO

- Clause-mate restriction: not licensed by matrix negation in embedded indicative clauses (but possible in subjunctives)

[-A] nominals and structural case

(37) *U-Simiso   **a**-ka-tshongo   ukuthi   u-Nothando   u-theng-e   **mi-fino**.
AUG-1a.Simiso NEG-1.SM-say   that   AUG-1a.Nothando   1.SM-buy-PST   4-greens
'Simiso didn't say that Nothando bought any greens.'

[Carstens & Mletshe 2016: 770]

(38) **A**-   ngi- fun- **i**   [ukuthi uSipho   a-   phek- e   **qanda**]
NEG- 1SG- want- NEG that   AUG.1Sipho 1SJC. cook- SJC 5egg
'I don't want Sipho to cook any egg.'   [Halpert 2015: 71]

[-A] nominals and structural case

Two competing recent accounts of [-A] nominals in Nguni:

1.)   Carstens & Mletshe (2016); Carstens (2025):

- [-A] nominals participate in negative concord (= bear *u*Neg-features that require a local Agree-relation with *i*Neg (Zeijlstra 2004, 2008))
  - explains clause-mate restriction
- [-A] nominals have [+ focus] features: *[-A] in antifocus positions
  - explains *[-A] in dislocated positions and as O in VSO
- [-A] nominals in SpecT are ruled out because they cannot label (Carstens 2025)

[-A] nominals and structural case

Two competing recent accounts of [-A] nominals in Nguni:

2.)	Halpert (2012, 2015); Pietraszko (2021):

- Negative polarity and wh-hood are independent licensing requirements for [-A] nominals
- [-A] nominals are DPs that need structural case, which is assigned locally by a low licensing head L immediately above vP
- The augments is a case-assigner K; augmented ([+A]) nominals are KPs and do not need structural case

[-A] nominals and structural case

(39)

TP
- DP$_i$ *[−aug]
- T′
  - T
  - **LP**
    - L
    - vP
      - t$_i$
      - v′
        - v
        - VP
          - V
          - DP ✓[−**aug**]

(40)

TP
- T
- **LP**
  - L
  - vP
    - DP ✓[−**aug**]
    - v′
      - v
      - VP|
        - V
        - DP *[−aug]

(41)

TP
- TP
  - DP$_i$ |*[−aug]
  - T′
    - T
    - **LP**
      - L
      - vP
        - t$_i$
        - v′
          - v
          - VP
            - V
            - t$_j$
- DP$_j$ *[−aug]

[Pietraszko 2021]
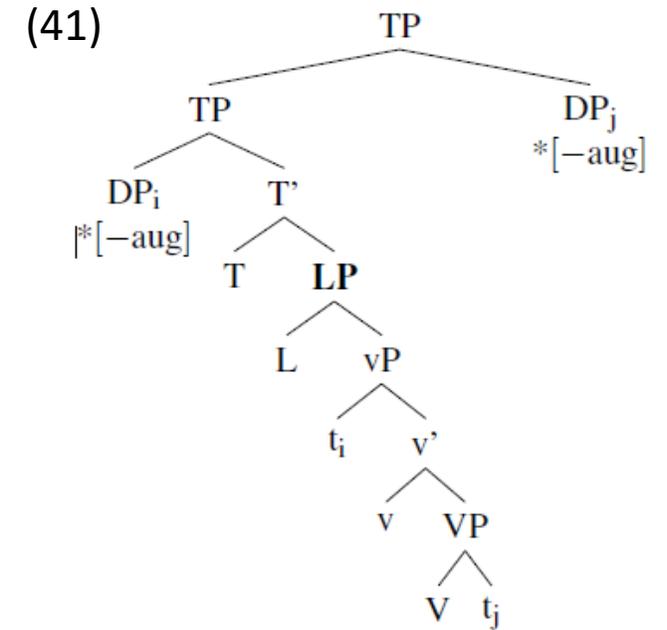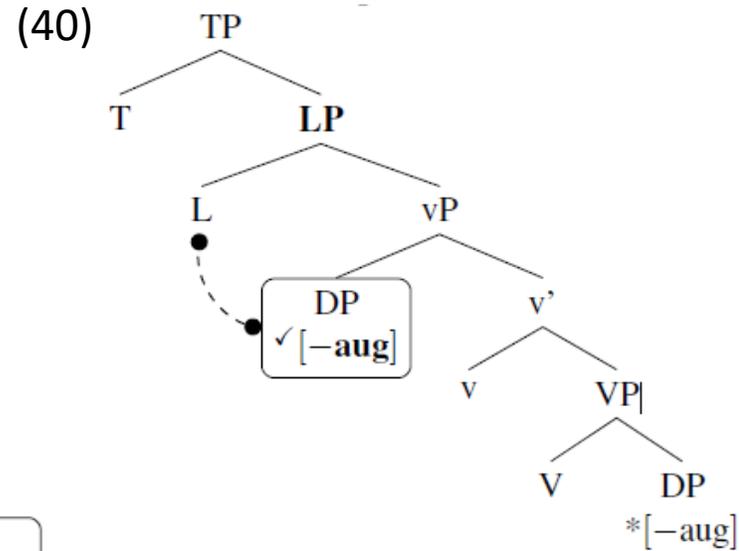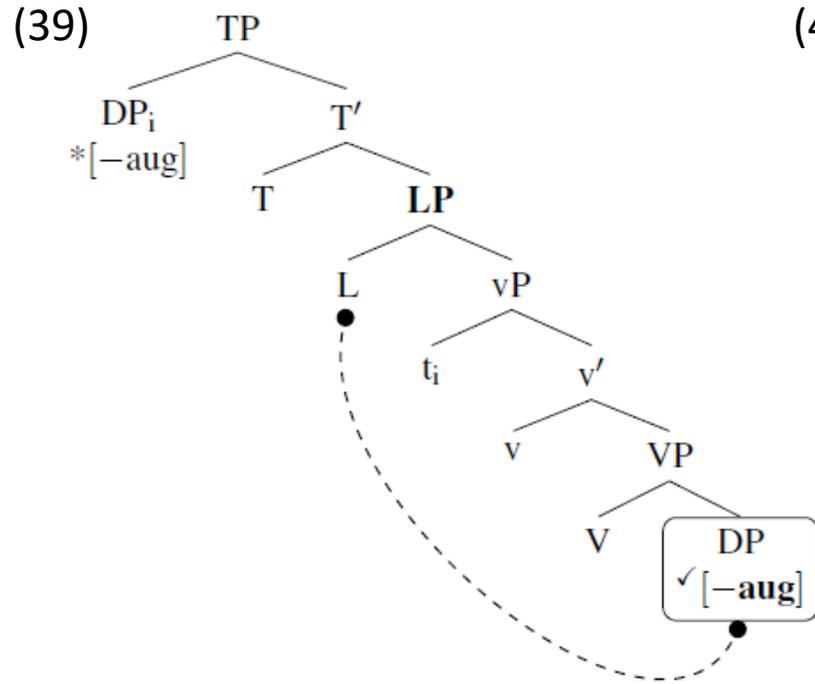
[-A] nominals and structural case

De Hoop (1992, 1997): two types of structural case:

- weak case:
  - DPs with weak case have weak indefinite readings
  - assigned at D-structure
  - DPs with weak case are part of the predicate (type e or <<e,t>, <e,t>>)

- strong case:
  - DPs with strong case have strong readings
  - only DPs with strong case can move
  - DPs with strong case are generalized quantifiers (type <<e,t>, t>)

[-A] nominals and structural case

De Hoop (1992, 1997): two types of structural case:

(42) a. Ostin leipää
          I bought bread$_{PART}$
          "I bought (some) bread"

      b. Ostin leivän
          I bought bread$_{ACC}$
          "I bought the bread"

(43) a. Ali kitabɨ okudu
          Ali book$_{ACC}$ read
          "Ali read the book"

      b. Ali kitap okudu
          Ali book read
          "Ali read a book"

[Finnish; De Hoop 1997: 71]   [Turkish; De Hoop 1997: 71]

[-A] nominals and structural case

The Russian *Genitive of Negation* (Pesetsky 1982; Bailyn 1997; Partee & Borschev 2004)

(44)   a. Saša   pokupaet   knigi.
             Sasha-NOM   buys   books-**Acc**
             "Sasha is buying books.

        b. Saša   **ne**   pokupaet   knig.
             Sasha-NOM   **neg**   buys   books-**GenNeg**
             "Sasha doesn't buy (any) books."

        c. Saša   **ne**   pokupaet   knigi.
             Sasha-NOM   **neg**   buys   books-**Acc**
             "Sasha doesn't buy books."   [Russian; Bailyn 1997: 85]

"[W]hen the verb is negated, it takes a 'weaker' kind of object, marked by Genitive"
(Partee & Borschev 2004: 226)

[-A] nominals and structural case

Partee & Borschev (2004) : Russian genitive DPs are property-type arguments (<e,t>)

(van Geenhoven 1992, 1996; McNally & van Geenhoven 1998; McNally 2020):

(45)   a.   *-tur-puq* 'ate.3sg.ind': $\lambda P \lambda w \lambda x \exists y [\text{eat}_w(x,y) \wedge P_w(y)]$
       b.   *ipili* 'apple': $\textbf{apple}$
       c.   *ipili-tur-puq* 'ate.3sg.ind an apple (lit. 'apple-ate')': $\lambda w \lambda x \exists y [\text{eat}_w(x,y) \wedge \text{apple}_w(y)]$

<div align="right">[McNally 2020: ex. (28)]</div>

- Negation changes the valency of the verb, such that it takes an internal argument of type <e,t> (marked by the Genitive in Russian)
- Negation thereby demotes the argument of a transitive verb ('decreased referentiality')

[-A] nominals and structural case

Towards a semantic account of [-A] nominals in isiZulu: (see also Carstens 2023)

- Verbal negation allows the verb to select one (or more) property-type argument(s) (Partee & Borschev 2004)

  → argument needs to be of type <e,t>

  → augment drop

- Structural case-assignment by L ("weak case") becomes necessary (Halpert 2015)

- The <e,t>-argument is incorporated into the predicate (van Geenhoven 1992, 1996)

- → Focus will fall on the complex predicate

[-A] nominals and structural case

Problems:

- Augment-drop with referential expressions:

(46)   U-Sabelo   a-ka-thand-i   Zodwa.
             AUG-1a.Sabelo   NEG-1.SM-like-NEG 1a.Zodwa
             'Sabelo doesn't like Zodwa.'   [Carstens 2025: ex. (42)]

(47)   a.   Ja   ne   videla   Mašu.
            I   NEG see   Masha-ACC.F.SG
            'I didn't see Masha.'
       b.   Ja   ne   videla   Maši.
            I   NEG see   Masha-GEN.F.SG
            'I didn't see Masha.'   [Russian; Partee & Borschev 2006: 11]

[-A] nominals and structural case

Problems:

- Augment-drop on nominal which is not an argument of the negated verb:

(38)   **A**-   ngi- fun- **i**   [ukuthi uSipho   a-   phek- e **qanda**]
NEG- 1SG- want- NEG that   AUG.1Sipho 1SJC. cook- SJC 5egg
'I don't want Sipho to cook any egg.'

[Halpert 2015: 71]

(48)   a-   ngi- fun- i   **muntu** [ukuthi **a**-   phek- e   (i)qanda]
NEG- 1SG- want- NEG 1person that   1SJC- cook- SJC (AUG).5egg
'I don't want anyone to cook an egg.'

[Halpert 2015: 97]

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