

Predicate-centred Focus in Southeastern Ju

Dialect diversity in Southeasten Ju: A documentation of ꞑKx'aoꞑ'ae (Ph.D Project)

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1. Introduction

Previous presentations centred on the description of seemingly ubiquitous and polyfunctional morphemes in some Southeastern Ju languages, *kòm* and *m̩*.

- Corpus studies of these forms revealed a strong correlation between the forms and two functions, entity-central thematicity and term focus (Güldemann and Pratchett 2014). The results also mirrored findings for similar grams in several other unrelated Khoesian languages (cf. Güldemann 2010 for Tuu, Güldemann and Witzlack-Makarevich 2013 for Nǀng and Richtersfeld Nama).

Open questions:

- If entity-central theticity and term focus is not formally marked by *kòm* or *m̃* in other ‘conservative’ Southeastern Ju dialects, how is it/is it formally marked?

- What is the link between these forms in Groot Laagte +Kx'ao||'ae and tè kòm which was deemed to be unique to Tsumkwe Jul'hoan?

- What function do *tê kôm* constructions have in Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan and how are these functions expressed in other varieties? **Is *tê kôm* related to predicate-centred focus?**

This presentation seeks to give a complete picture of these particular morphemes and separate form from function, but most importantly, precisely delineate in which varieties certain forms are used and how they are used.

1.1 Preliminaries

Data for this presentation from three topolects: Groot Laagte (2), Donkerbos (1) (= Southern Ju'hoan), and Tsumkwe (1) (= Tsumkwe Ju'hoan). All speakers are of comparable age, using data predominantly sourced from QUIS questionnaires and natural discourse where possible.

Basic clause structure for all SE Ju varieties:

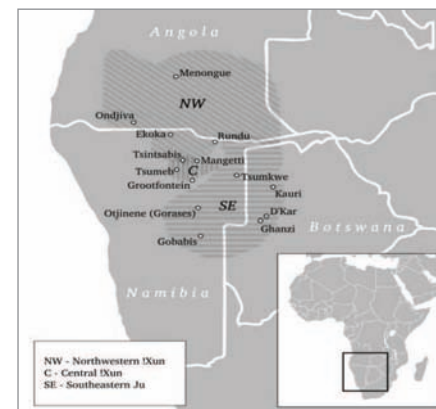
(1) SUBJECT-(SENTENCE.TYPE)-ADVERB-PRED.OP-VERB-OBJECT-PREP + OBLIQUE

Canonical sentences are said to be S V (O). Markers in clause-second are therefore a deviation from this. There is considerable variation with regards to clause-second morphemes within the language-cluster (examples (2) and (3)). There are also other markers which follow extraposed topics (example (4)). Analysis is difficult, but does, however, become much clearer when dialects are kept apart:

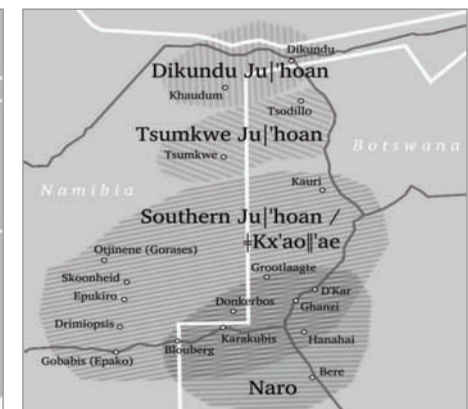
(2) *m-lá ré kà jóá ǽ?* *án-àn, m-lá tè kà //kàà*
 1.INCL-P Q PRS NEG go no 2.INCL-P PRS work
 {Are we not going?} No, we are going to finish working. (Tsumkwe, f.n.)

(3) *n!úú kòm g+àán ó !'hoàn*
 moon.3 ECT long.ago COP man.1
 {Opening line in a narrative} Long ago, the moon was a man. (Groot Laagte, narrative)

(4) *||à'ŋkà òà kantoor òà ká ó hǎ tɛà-sí*
 today TOP office.5 TOP 5.PRO COP 3S.POSS sleep-place
 Nowadays, as for the office, it is her sleeping place. (Donkerbos Ju'hoan, narrative)



Map 1. The Ju language-continuum.



Map 2. Southeastern Ju varieties (maps by Simon Argus)

1.2 Theoretical outline

Thetic statements: a single and compact information unit ‘neutralising/cancelling sentence-internal focus-background configuration induced by the default interpretation of a particular morphosyntactic construction’ (Güldemann 2008, 2014). No internal information-structure (cf Sasse 1987; “sentence focus” in Lambrecht 1987, 1994).

Thetic statement: [—————]
[There was a cow]

Regarding thetic statements, a further sub-classification is necessary.

Event-central thetic statements: “fails to contain a referential NP, and therefore does not tell something about an entity” (Sasse 1987: 526f).

Entity-central thetic statements: “introduces an entity but fails to report an event about it” (ibid.: 527).

Categorical statements: two information units, either topic-comment structure or focus-background structure

- **(Sentence) topic:** what the sentence is about (often, but not always, the subject) (Dijk 1977)
- **Comment:** what is added as information about the topic
- **Focus:** the most salient information in the sentence (Dik 1997)

Topic-Comment: [—————]_{Topic} [—————]_{Comment}
[The woman] [hit the man in the face]

Focus-Background: [—————]_{Focus} [—————]_{Background}
[It was the man] [who hit the woman]

Focus is distinguished into **term** (subject, object, adverbial) and **non-term** focus or ‘predicate-centred focus’ (Güldemann 2009).

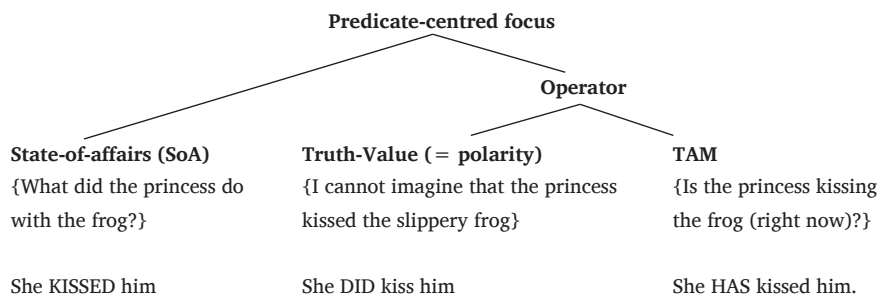


Fig.1 Basic sub-classification of predicate-centred focus types (Güldemann 2009)

2. Previous research on focus in Southeastern Ju

Certain markers and clause positions play a crucial role in the formal marking of focus. As this has already been thoroughly analysed for term focus, and in anticipation of a number of parallels with VP focus, this section will revisit and develop upon term focus in ꞤKx’aoꞤ’ae and lay foundations for the analysis of VP focus.

2.1 Term focus and entity-central theticity in Groot Laagte ꞤKx’aoꞤ’ae

Entity-central theticity and term focus constructions with *kòm~m* quantitatively analysed (Güldemann & Pratchett 2014). The particle is described as a “cop[ula] part[icle] sometimes used in conjunction with ‘be’ ɔ” (Dickens 1994: 229). The constructions create a bi-partite structure allowing the pragmatic restructuring of the default salience hierarchy (topic/comment or background/focus).

- (5) S V O – entity central theticity AND focus on the agent

[—————]
!’hoàn *kòm* nꞤà’m dshàú
man.1 ECT hit woman.1
{What happened?} The man hit the woman. (Groot Laagte, FT)

- (6) S V O – focus on the agent

[—————]_{Focus} [—————]_{Background}
!’hoàn *kòm* nꞤà’m dshàú
man.1 T.FOC hit woman.1
{Who hit the woman?} THE MAN hit the woman. (Groot Laagte, FT)

- (7) O S V – focus on patient

[—————]_{Focus} [—————]_{Background}
!’hoàn *kòm* dshàú nꞤà’m
man.1 T.FOC woman.1 hit
{Who did the woman hit?} The woman hit THE MAN. (Groot Laagte, FT)

- (8) {Lion is busy but his food is nearly cooked, so Jackal asks if he should check on it. Lion says:}

[[—————]_{Foregrounded sub.clause} [—————]_{Main}]
ká ă Ꞥà kxò-à toà *kòm* mí g'àè ká ă zì
SUB 2S touch pot.5-REL be.that FG 1S arrive CONN 2S shit
If you so much as touch that pot I will beat the shit out of you (lit. I come and you shit)
(Groot Laagte)

The full structural profile of *kòm* in Groot Laagte ɛKx'aoɽ'ae is given in Figure 2 below.

(I)	[Term	<i>kòm</i>]	Identification
(II)a	[[Term	<i>kòm</i>] [Clause]]	Term focus
(II)b	[[Term	<i>kòm</i>] [Clause]]	Entity-central theticity
(III)	[[<i>ká</i> Clause]	<i>kòm</i> [Clause]]	'once, just when, whenever'
(IV)a	[S/A	<i>kòm</i> V Other]	Topic shift
(IV)b	[S/A	<i>kòm</i> V Other] + [S/A <i>kòm</i> V Other]	Topic contrast in sentence pair
(V)	[S/A	<i>te kòm</i> V Other]	? (rare and Tsumkwe only)

Figure 2: Structural & functional profile of *kòm*-constructions in ɛKx'aoɽ'ae (Güldemann & Pratchett 2014)

No.	Construction type	Total	% of clause total (1760)
(I)	Identification	11	0,63%
(II)a	Term focus	25	1,42%
(II)b	Entity-central theticity	7	0,4%
(III)	'once, just when, whenever'	35	2%
(IV)a	Topic shift	9	0,51%
(IV)b	Topic contrast in sentence pair	4	0,23%
(V)	<i>te kom</i>	2	0,05%
	Total	93	5,24%

Table 1. Frequency of different *kòm*-constructions (Güldemann & Pratchett 2014)

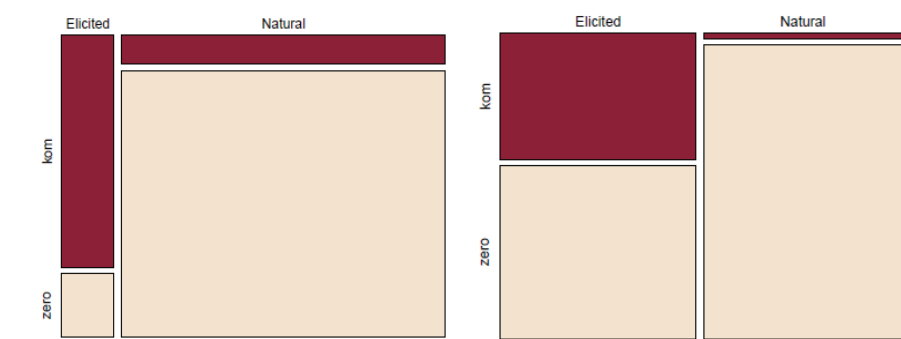


Figure 3: Frequency of *kòm* across natural and elicited language data for two speakers (SP A 116 clauses elicited vs. 630 natural, SP D 125 elicited vs. 120 natural) (Güldemann & Pratchett 2014).

In the following section, I will demonstrate that this is not a feature of only the ɛKx'aoɽ'ae variety and that the various different clause-second markers in SE Ju become more transparent when dialects are analysed independently of one another.

2.2 Term focus in Tsumkwe Juɽ'hoan

Previous presentations remarked that *kòm* is not a typical feature of the Tsumkwe Juɽ'hoan lect (with the exception of *te kom* constructions). Term focus is by and large not formally marked. Example (9) has the same function as (II)a in Figure 1 (cf. (6)), with non-canonical word order to front the agent/patient.

- (9) O S V – patient focus fronting
xáí n!àni mí 'm
bread.3 three 1s eat
{How many loaves of bread did you eat?} I ate three (loaves of) bread. (Tsumkwe, SLP)

Prototypicalthetic utterances are also not formally marked like (II)b in Fig. 1 (cf. (5)).

- (10) S V O – entity centralthetic
tjù n!a'àn lxobu
house.5 be.big collapse
{What happened?} The house collapsed. (Tsumkwe, SLP)

Example (11) below is comparable in function with (IV)b in Figure 1.

- (11) topic-focus contrast pair
nláú n!a'án tchì ghú tè !árlkxàò-má tchì birà
old.man big:IPFV drink water.5 CONN young.man-dim:IPFV drink beer.5
{What are those two men drinking?}
The old man is drinking water and the young man is drinking beer. (Tsumkwe, SLP)

However, in some cases, Tsumkwe Juɽ'hoan does formally mark term focus by means of the morpheme *re*. The morpheme is described in Tsumkwe Juɽ'hoan as a question particle (Dickens 2005: 77).

- (12) à ré tsà'd
2s Q understand
Do you understand?

(13) below is structurally and functionally comparable with *kòm*-construction (III) ‘whenever/as soon as’ in Figure 1 (cf. (8)). (13) is taken from an online corpus transcribed (without tones!) by the Ju|’hoan Transcription Group in Tsumkwe, Namibia.

(13) *ka ju n/ui ho tci he se re he ju !xare ho /xoa re*
SUB person.1 certain find thing.5 CONN see FG CONN person.1:P some find also FG
i /u tsa’a
2P NEG:IPFV hear
And whenever so. finds sth. and sees it, and other people also find [sth.], you never listen.
(Xamsa101, Biesele =)

In example (14) below, the two different functions of the morpheme *re* are clearly distinguishable.

(14) *ka a gu xoromente n/ui re a re ka gu ha //’a a n/ai /xoa ju*
SUB 2S take government.? another FG 2S Q now take 3 DEI 2S CAUS live person.1:P
And if you build another government, will you take it and let it help the people? (ibid.)

The third clearly identifiable construction with *ré* is exemplified below. In these examples the morpheme occurs in conjunction with the negation particle */óá*. Example (15) marks **entity-central theticity**, example (16) and (17) **contrastive term focus** (subject).

(15) Entity-central theticity
mí dshàú rè /óá !áǎ
1S woman.1 ECT:PST NEG die
{On noticing that the speaker’s house is a mess: ‘what happened?’} My wife died. (Tsumkwe, f.n.)

(16) Contrastive agent focus
án-àn Dǐ||xàò rè /óá //xobe ká
no PN T.FOC NEG borrow 5.PRO
{Did Nǎisa borrow your bike?} No, Di||xao borrowed it! (Tsumkwe, QUIS)

(17) Contrastive agent focus pre-posing construction
Dǐ||xàò rè /óá hǎ hìn kò //xobe ká
PN T.FOC NEG 3S EMPH PST borrow 5.PRO
{Why is Nǎisa riding my bike?} Di||xao, she [is the one] borrowed it! (Tsumkwe, QUIS)

In all of the above examples we can observe that *re /oa* serves creates a bi-partite construction to offset the clause-initial element. In (15) this results in a neutralisation of internal information structure hierarchy to create a unitary information package (=thetic utterance). In (16) and (17) the clause-initial element is raised, this time above the predicate which in both contexts is backgrounded.

2.3 Development from interrogative marker to T.FOC?

In interrogative clauses which consist of an exhaustive list of possibilities, these can, optionally, be formally marked. The same can be achieved in Groot Laagte ǁKx’ao||’ae with QP *bà*.

(18) *Hàjóé ré n||àq’ará Tom //’à hǎ ǁxanǎ Viktoria (ré) kàná Lee (ré)*
who Q read PN DEI 3S.POSS book PN Q or PN Q
Who read Tom’s book, Viktoria or Lee?*

*To which the answer is probably: which one, the new one (re) or the even newer one (re)?

Hypothesis: is it a logical step in the progression of *re* from interrogative marker to term focus marker by way of the negation marker? > *Who is it [that] read the book, X is it or Y is it?* → *[it is] X isn’t it.*

The complimentary distribution with regards to form and function in Groot Laagte ǁKx’ao||’ae means that this construction is not found in the dialect.

The functional profile of *ré* is clearly larger than previously thought, almost completely mirroring the structural profile of *kòm*, i.e. in clause-second position and between clauses.

(I)		[S/A	<i>re</i>	V Other]	polar question
(II)a	~ <i>kòm(II)a</i> .	[S/A	<i>re /oa</i>	V Other]	(contrastive) subject/agent focus
(II)b	~ <i>kòm(II)b</i> .	[S/A	<i>re /oa</i>	V Other]	entity-central thetic
(III)	~ <i>kòm(III)</i>	[[<i>ká</i> Clause]	<i>re</i>	[Clause]]	‘once, just when, whenever’

Figure 4: Structural & functional profile of *re*-constructions in Tsumkwe Ju|’hoan.

Differences to *kom*-constructions:

- Not (yet) found to mark other types of term focus (object, adverbial)
- My impression is that these constructions (except the use of the polar question construction) appear far less frequently than the *kòm* equivalents ǁKx’ao||’ae.
- Many responses are unmarked (i.e. ‘What happened?’ > ‘The king died!’). The examples in (13)- (14) are taken from natural discourse from the early 1990s. A much greater analysis of natural discourse from Tsumkwe Ju|’hoan is needed to know more about the predicatability of *re ~ re /oa* constructions.

2.4 *te kom* in Tsumkwe Ju|’hoan and the link to Predicate-Centred Focus

One *kòm*-construction seems to be unique (and rare) to the Tsumkwe Ju|’hoan dialect, namely the *te kom* construction. It is treated here provisionally as a borderline case.

(19) Framesetter marking?

[[*Namĩbĩā* *n'áng*]_{Framesetter} *tè kòm* [*jú* *áré* *lhā*]]
PN inside ? ? person.1:P like meat.5
In Namibia, people like meat. (Tsumkwe, elicitation (SLP))

(20) Framesetter marking?

[[*gòǎqn'án* *g'ú*]_{Framesetter} *tè kòm* [*bàndítí-sì* *gl'áí*]]
yesterday night ? ? thief.1-P escape
Yesterday evening, the thieves escaped. (Tsumkwe, elicitation (SLP))

(21) Framesetter marking?

[*khàmà* [*ká* *hā* *!hoàn tchì* *lxáí*]_{Framesetter} *tè kòm* [*hā* */ú* *jàn*]]
because SUB 3S.POSS man.1 drink beer.5 ? ? 3S NEG:IPFV be.good
{Her husband is drunk. Why is the woman angry?}
Because whenever her husband drinks alcohol, he isn't good.

(22) Parallel focus contrast?

[[*tòrà* *n'áng* *khòè-à*]_{Framesetter} *tè kòm* [*nàùànàùà* *n!obè* *ǎnì*]] *tè*
store.? inside place.5-TR ? ? banana.5 very be.expensive CONN
[[*shèbín-khòè*]_{Framesetter} *tè kòm* [*ká* */óá* *ktí* *ǎnì*]]
shebeen-place.5 ? ? 5.PRO NEG very be.expensive
In the store, bananas are expensive but in the shebeen, they are not so expensive. (Tsumkwe, SLP)

The examples (19)-(21) above are all thetic-like in so far that the speaker seeks to communicate compact information units without analysed internal information structure. The utterances consist of a main clause plus a clause-initial element extraposed with *tè kòm*. The main clause is thetic, and as we have seen, Tsumkwe Ju!'hoan tends not to formally mark thetic utterances. To present the entire utterance as a single unit, the canonical sentence structure is broken and *tè kòm* neutralises internal salience hierarchies. Example (22) exhibits a topic/focus parallel contrast pair.

Consider the following examples. They may appear thetic-like in nature, but the fact that the NP referent is activated, directly or inherently, means the function is cannot be thetic. The communicative goal of the speaker is to assert information about the active referent, thereby increasing the saliency of the predicate.

(23) Predicate-centred focus (operator focus?)

mí tè kòm ó sà bá
1S ? ? COP 1.DU:POSS father.1
{Two boys are in prison. Speaker A knows why. Speaker B asks "How do you know that?"}
I am their father

(24) Predicate-centred focus (operator focus?)

/Xúntà tè kòm kxàè 'm-sì
PN ? ? have food.5-P
{Speaker A says |Xunta is not hungry. Speaker B says:} |Xunta has food! (Tsumkwe, SLP)

(25) Predicate-centred focus (operator focus?)

à tè kòm 'mí lhá /káé/kàè kò gòǎqn'án
2S ? ? eat meat.5 bad MPO yesterday
{Speaker A is sick. Speaker B says:} You ate foul meat yesterday. (Tsumkwe, f.n.)

(26) Predicate-centred focus (operator focus?)

mí tè kòm /ú !aàh
1S ? ? NEG:IPFV run
{Do you like running?} I never run! (Tsumkwe, SLP)

Whilst some examples are less clear than others, it seems that *tè kòm* may be best analysed under PCF, the examples (23) to (26) potentially marking operator focus. Let us compare a final example from Tsumkwe Ju!'hoan where *tè* and *tè kòm* is possible.

(27) Thetic-like/operator focus?

khàmà hā ǎxae tè (kòm) nǎhàòh !húf-à ó hā gá
because 3S daughter.1 ? ? lose phone.5-REL COP 3S POSS.5
{Why does Di|xao look sad?} Because her daughter lost her phone. (Tsumkwe, SLP)

+ “the subject of the clause of reason than *khàmà* introduces is *normally* followed by complement particle *tè* or by the explanatory particle *nǎ*” (Dickens 2005: 57). I take issue with the *normally* as it is by no means always in any of the dialects. In any case, the result, in terms of information structure, is quite different with/without the particle and with *te kom*.

+ *khàmà* can be, and often is, omitted, making the utterance comparable to the preceding examples.

Hypothesis:

- in (27), the second particle *tè* neutralises the internal information structure of the *khàmà*-clause. Thetic-like constructions are also expected in ‘explanation’ environments.
- in the other examples, the referent is given or inherent. The clause-second *tè kòm* cancels the default information structure hierarchy of the *khàmà*-clause and must raise the predicate to avoid a thetic-like interpretation and maintain the predicate as the host of the most salient information.

A feature of the ɛKx’ao||’ae dialect is that *khàmà* is clause final. This is probably the result of contact with the Naro language (Khoe-Kwadi). The clause-second position is still taken up by a clause-second marker which in the dialect is the polyfunctional *kòm~ń*.

- (28) Predicate-centred focus (operator focus?)
hă ń drúgò khàmà
3s ? be.drunk because
{Speaker A tells a story about a man who went to prison and says “he was in prison” and
Speaker B clarifies and says,} Because he is/was DRUNK. (Groot Laagte, 14062013.wav)

It is possible in all varieties to drop *khàmà*. This would explain the occasional unexpected *tè* gram in clause-second position.

- (29) Predicate-centred focus (operator focus?)
ń té ó jù /’hoàn kè
1s ECT COP person.1 be.real ?
{The speaker talks about lack of housing, that he sleeps under the trees ‘like a snake’. ‘The
government should come and build me a home so I have a shelter’} I am a human! (Eiseb)

2.5 Section Summary

- *tè kòm* is in some examples functionally ambiguous. This could be due to contact with other SE Ju dialects where *kòm* is more versatile.
- Functional and pragmatic difference between *tè* and *tè kòm*. My impression of speaker intention is that *te kom* renders the predicate more salient in (23) to (26).
- *te kom* is unique to Tsumkwe Ju|’hoan. Many of the *kòm* constructions from other varieties have formally marked constructions in Tsumkwe Ju|’hoan, but with clause-second *ré*.
- A provisional look at VP focus marking with *tè* in Tsumkwe Ju|’hoan shows same construction with *ń* in other varieties, further increasing the potential polyfunctionality of the gram in those varieties.
- *te kom* is postulated as a strategy for predicative focus. This data supplements previous inclinations viz. example (30) below.

- (30) Operator focus (polarity focus)
ń hìn té kòm n||àq’ára hì
1s EMPH ? ? read 4
{Teacher: ‘You didn’t read the book’} I DID (TOO) read it! (Tsumkwe, f.n.)

3 Predicate-centred focus strategies in Southeastern Ju

There are a number of parallels between this section of the paper and the first section, namely the general presence of formal syntactic marking in Southern Ju|’hoan involving *kom~m* and the more conservative use of formal marking in Tsumkwe Ju|’hoan.

3.1 State-of-Affairs focus in SE Ju

In Tsumkwe Ju|’hoan two strategies were found to overtly mark for SoA focus. Adverb *sí* ‘only/just’ like in (31) or with a bipartite construction involving *tè* (32) (no data yet found for *te kom*).

- (31) Selective
án-àn ń sí n#haòh ǀ
no 1s just walk go
{Did you go walking and hunting?} No, I just went WALKING. (Tsumkwe, SLP)
- (32) Corrective
ín-ín ì-!á té ka ||kòà
no 2.incl-p ? now work
{Are we going?} No, we are WORKING (Tsumkwe, f.n.)

In Groot Laagte ɛKx’ao||’ae and other Southern Ju|’hoan varieties, there is strong evidence of a bipartite construction.

- (33) Selective
ń ń kò #’ánkxàm hă
1s ? PST switch.off 3.PRO
{Did you turn the computer ON or switch it OFF?} I turned it OFF. (Groot Laagte, QUIS)

Focus operators like *sísí* ‘only’ can be used in conjunction with *ń*. My impression is that *sísí* is the more marked variant of *sí* in these varieties, i.e. ‘he came home and just went to sleep’.

- (34) Corrective/Restrictive
hă ń kò sísí kǀ gani hă
3s ? PST just IPFV push 3s
{The woman pushed and hit Peter} She did only PUSH him. (Groot Laagte, QUIS)

Of importance is that *sísí* is placed between the other predicate operators, viz. *kò* PST and *kǀ* IPFV.

Example (35) below is interesting in that *ń* is only present in the negatively asserted part of the utterance (= truth value clause). In the SoA clause, *ń* is absent.

(35) Corrective

[*hǎ* *m̃* *kò* /á //xobekxam *hǎ*]_{TV} *tè* [*!hún* *hǎ*]_{SoA}

3s ? PST NEG turn.on 3s CONN kill 3s.PRO

{Did she SWITCHED ON the computer?} She did not turned it on but turned it OFF. (Groot Laagte)

(36) Corrective

[*én-èn* *hǎ* *m̃* /á 'm̃ *ká*]_{TV} *tè* [*kò* *n/óá* *ká*]_{SoA}

no 3s ? NEG eat 5 CONN PST cook 5.PRO

{The woman ate the beans, didn't she?} No, she didn't eat them but COOKED them. (Groot Laagte)

(37) Corrective

[*hǎ* *m̃* /á *dcàá*]_{TV} *tè* [*#k'óm*]_{SoA}

3s ? NEG steal CONN be.poor

{Narrative describing a picture of a messy looking man. Speaker A says “he is stealing”. Speaker B responds;} He isn't STEALING he's POOR. (Groot Laagte)

By removing all other elements from the clause, the verbal lexeme is focalised by default. This becomes even clearer in example (38) below. Unlike the examples above, all non-focal information is omitted in BOTH clauses, resulting in two clauses with maximum focus on the verbal lexeme or operator.

(38) Corrective

[/á *n#à'm* *hǎ*]_{TV} *tè* [*kò* *kú* *!àù* *hǎ*]_{SoA}

NEG hit 3s CONN PST IPFV call 3s

{The woman hit Peter} [She did] not hit him but CALLED him.

This would seem to be evidence that the clause-second markers have a closer affinity to elements on the left periphery. In the absence of a left periphery element (S/A), the marker serves no purpose and can be omitted.

Hypothesis: the various markers involved in predicate-centred focus which give rise to a bipartite construction mark a boundary in the information salience hierarchy. Information to the left of the marker (S/A) is backgrounded without change to the word order, pragmatically raising the information status of the predicate.

In summary, it seems a minimum requirement for SoA focus is either a focus sensitive particle like 'only' or a preceding polarity focus clause. In the case of the latter, the first clause containing the polarity focus is more formally marked than the proceeding SoA focus clause. This will become clearer in the next section.

3.2 Operator focus in SE Ju

3.2.1 Polarity/Truth value focus

Let us return to example from earlier compared below with an unmarked canonical utterance.

(39) a. Canonical sentence	b. Contradicting truth value focus
<i>mí</i> <i>n/àq'ara</i> <i>#xani</i>	<i>mí</i> <i>tè</i> <i>kòm</i> <i>n/àq'ará</i> <i>hì</i>
1s read book.4	1s ? ? read 4
I read the book (Tsumkwe, f.n.)	{You didn't read the book} I DID (TOO) read it. (ibid)

This example is representative of several features of polarity focus constructions in SE Ju varieties.

- Tendency to be absent of tense/aspect markers. Tense/aspect is often taken from context.
- The presence of focus particles related to *kòm/m̃* or *tè kòm*. We have seen that the former is largely restricted to Southern Ju|'hoan varieties viz. *#Kx'ao||'ae*, and the latter is unique to Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan.

Another example is given in (40).

(40) Contradicting Truth Value focus

hì *tè kòm* /óá *swàk* *tè* *gàðh*

chair.4 ? ? NEG be.weak CONN be.strong

{The chair is weak. If the fat man sits on it, it will break!} The chair IS NOT weak . (Tsumkwe f.n.)

In (41) and (42) below the speaker switches between *kòm* and *m̃*. This does not seem to imply any change in interpretation.

(41) Confirmative

{Is the bird sitting on the young boy?}

èè *tzama-mà* *m̃* *n/áng-à* *!hoàn-mà* *õsí*

yes bird.2-DIM ? sit.S-TR man.1-DIM POST.LOC

{Is the bird sitting on the young boy?} Yes, the bird IS sitting on the boy. (Groot Laagte, QUIS)

(42) Confirmative (assertive-assertive)

èè *sì-lá* *m̃* *dcàá* *ká*

yes 3P-P TV steal 5.PRO

{They stole it (didn't they?)} Yes, they DID steal it. (Groot Laagte, FT)

(43) Contradicting

g#hoà *kòm* /á *ú-á* *!hoàn-mà*

dog.2 TV NEG go-TR man.1-DIM

{Is the dog going to the boy?} The dog is NOT going to the boy. (Groot Laagte, QUIS)

(44) Confirmative (negative-negative)

én-èn sì-lá n̄ /á dɔ̀á ká
no 3P-P TV NEG steal 5.PRO

{They didn't steal it (did they?)} No, they didn't steal it. (Groot Laagte, FT)

There is no difference between (42) and (44) above and 'did they steal it? Yes, they did/No, they didn't'.

3.2.2 TAM Focus

Tense/aspect is not obligatorily marked in SE Ju varieties. The context of an utterance normally determines tense (Dickens 2005: 25)

Regarding past tense auxillary *kò* (Dickens' *kòh*) he notes "another, **less usual way**, to indicate past tense is to before a verb" (Dickens 2005: 25, my emphasis).

TAM focus is expressed with canonical sentence structure and makes use of tense particles or adverbs to emphasise tense/aspect when the utterance is made in contradiction to an assertion or when selected against other assertions.

(45) Canonical/Pragmatically 'marked' with TAM particles

sì-lá n̄ kò !hún hǎ
3P-P ? PST kill 2.PRO

{Have the killed the dog or will they kill it?} They HAVE killed it. (Groot Laagte)

(46) Canonical/Pragmatically 'marked' with TAM particles

hǎ n̄ kú n̄à'm hǎ
3s ? IPFV hit 3s

{The woman has hit Peter} [No,] She WILL hit him. (Groot Laagte)

(47) Canonical/Pragmatically 'marked' with temporal adverb

sì-lá zá !hún hǎ
3P-P already kill 2.PRO

{Have the killed the dog or will they kill it?} They have ALREADY killed it. (Donkerbos)

TAM focus can also be asserted by use of focus sensitive particles as in (48) below.

(48) TAM focus with discourse marker /xoà 'even/also' and temporal adverb

hǎ n̄ /á kàqá /xoà n̄à'm hǎ
3s ? NEG already even hit 3s

{The woman has hit Peter} She has not yet already hit him. (Groot Laagte, FT)

There is a further construction in Groot Laagte ɛKx'ao||'ae whereby temporal adverbs are reduplicated within the clause. It cannot be said for sure that this is related to TAM focus.

(49) Temporal adverb reduplication

mí n̄ goàqn̄'á hò mí màmà glòq goàqn̄'á
1s ? yesterday see 1s.POSS grandparent.1 male yesterday

I saw my grandfather yesterday (elicitation, Groot Laagte).

3.3 Section summary

- TAM focus constructions are primarily canonical. Tense and aspect is often inherent in the context or can be induced and therefore TAM markers are not obligatory in the language. One could argue that tense/aspect is made more salient by the pragmatic use of respective markers.
- Alternatively focus sensitive particles can be used in conjunction with temporal adverbs.
- The temporal adverbial reduplication construction is unique to Groot Laagte ɛKx'ao||'ae, but it is unsure to what extent it is relevant to TAM focus.
- Examples follow other predicate-centred constructions in being bipartite around a clause-second pivot.

4. Further outlooks

4.1 Discourse particles

Focus sensitive particles are a productive means of inducing predicate-centred focus. Examples of focus operators such as 'only' in SoA correction/restriction constructions were seen above.

(50) SoA focus – expansion

!Ángn!àò xábé cè tè tcàq !aihn-sì
PN even also CONN water plant.5-P

!Ángn!ao even WATERED the plants {he has washed the dishes, cleaned the car} (Tsumkwe, FT).

(51) SoA focus – expansion

mm tè mí xábé cè tè kú ũ !aqè
yes CONN 1s even also CONN IPFV go hunt

{Did you go for a walk?} Yes, but I also go HUNTING (Tsumkwe, SLP)

(52) SoA focus – expansion

John kòm ||ámá ɛxani xábé-tsí hǎ n̄ bàrà hì
PN ? buy book.4 even-? 3s ? read 4.PRO

John bought the book and even READ it. (Groot Laagte, FT)

4.2 Phonology/Prosody

This presentation sought to focus only on morphosyntactic marking, but the following two examples demonstration the interaction between predicate-centred focus and phonological marking in Southeastern Ju.

It has been attested in several examples that in clauses containing *xabe* ‘even’ (resulting in SoA focus), the lexical tone of the verb is raised (/kâù ‘be bad, ugly’)

(53) *kā ʃàùñ kâ ì-tsá ñ/hùù-à xábé ká à /káú*
5.PRO must 5.PRO 2P-DU marry-TR even SUB 2S be.ugly
You have to marry one another even if you are ugly. (Narrative, Tsumkwe)

The following example is particularly interesting as it appears to be the only recovered example in the corpus of intensification marked only by a tonal mutation. In the example below the verbal lexeme *gùm* ‘drink’ figures twice in the utterance, once with its lexical tone (in dependent clause) and once with a raise tone (main clause).

(54) Intensification?
tè sì -lá gúm kò //à khòè -s-à to'à sì -lá gùm -à
CONN 3P-P drink MPO DEI place.5-P-REL be.those 3P-P drink-TR
They get drunk at the shabeens (lit.: they really drink at the places which are those they drink [at])
(elicited, Groot Laagte)

4.3 Further research

- Incorporate fully an analysis of focus-sensitive particles, syntactic position, etc. In particular *xabe* which seems to follow a common pattern in SE Ju, viz. both clause-second and intraclausal.
- Frequency/distribution of TAM markers.
- Analysis of prosody in predicate-centred focus constructions
- Frequency/distribution of PCF marked constructions (likely to be a fraction of an already very small number cf. Fig 3).

5 Summary and provisional conclusions

The presentation has demonstrated that many parallel forms exist in the various SE Ju varieties. By looking at forms and their frequency and function in different language communities, there is a case of significant divergence.

- Several strategies exist for marking predicate-centred focus:
- Zero marking (perhaps phonological)?
 - Pitch
 - Creating a bipartite construction with a marker in the clause-second position to manipulate saliency hierarchy
 - Use of focus sensitive particles or adverbs (for TAM)
 - Omitting all non-focal information

The most productive way of creating a bipartite construction in Southeastern Ju|’hoan involves combinations of *tè*, *kòm*, and *ń* with *tè kòm* unique to Tsumkwe Ju|’hoan and the widespread use of *kòm* and *ń* common to Southern Ju|’hoan.

- Tsumkwe Ju|’hoan:**
- Primarily associated within the VP focus. More productive for operator focus (polarity focus) than SoA, although not exclusively.
- Southern Ju|’hoan:**
- Primarily associated with theticity (entity-central) and Term focus. The general versatility of *kom~m* is much greater than in Tsumkwe Ju|’hoan. This is most true of speakers 50 < in Groot Laagte, Botswana.

There is, however, a link between the Tsumkwe Ju|’hoan *tè kòm* and the Southern Ju|’hoan *kòm~ń*. The overlap occurs in polarity focus constructions where the marker creates a bipartite construction offsetting the background clause-initial information

(55) *g#hoà kòm /á ú-á !’hoàn-mà*
dog.2 ? NEG go-TR man.1-DIM
{Is the dog going to the boy?} The dog is NOT going to the boy. (Groot Laagte, QUIS)

(56) *èè sì-lá ń dcàà ká*
yes 3P-P ? steal 5.PRO
{They stole it (didn’t they?)} Yes, they DID steal it. (Groot Laagte, FT)

The widespread and common association of *kom~m* in Groot Laagte #Kx’ao||’ae to the S/A demonstrates how the markers have been reanalysed in the dialect.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are offered to my language consultants who have so willingly worked with me during four field trips between 2011 and 2014. In particular the Baeba family of Groot Laagte, Botswana, Komtsa Daqm of Tsumkwe, Namibia, Daniel |Kaece of Donkerbos, Namibia, and Benediktus Motlatla of Gobabis, Namibia. Thanks are also offered to Viktoria Apel for suggestions and comments.

I also thank Dr Megan Biesele, University of Texas at Austin, the Principal Investigator in this project (some of the data used here comes from her ELAR online corpus). This research was part of the documentation project MDG 0241 funded by the Endangered Languages Documentation Project, SOAS, 2011-2014.

Abbreviations

AGT	agentive	LOC	locative
CAUS	causative	MPO	multi-purpose oblique
COM	comitative	NEG	negation
CONJ	conjunction	P	plural
CONN	connector	PN	proper name
COP	copula	PRO	agreement pronoun
DECL	declarative	POSS	possessive
DEF	definite	PST	past
DIM	diminutive	Q	question
DIR	directive	QUOT	quotative
DU	dual	REL	relative suffix –à
ECT	entity-central thetic	S	singular
EMPH	emphatic	SLP	short language profile (QUIS)
FG	foregrounding	SUB	subordinator
FT	focus translation (QUIS)	S.TOP	switch topic
ID	identification	T.FOC	term focus
IPFV	imperfective	TOP	topic
		TR	transitive suffix –à

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