

"Back to normal?" - ditransitives in the Tuu family

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1 Introduction

1.1 Non-Khoe Khoisan

+ Non-Khoe Khoisan as a "language type" with partially marked morphosyntactic structure (Güldemann and Vossen 2000: 109-10, Güldemann 1998, 2004, 2006), some basic features:

- a) SVO clause order, head-initial noun phrase except head-final genitives
- b) little morphology; importance of constituent order, particles, analytical constructions
- c) verb serialization and verb compounding
- d) special type of relational gram as a default marker of valence-external participants
- e) complex and irregular number marking in both nominal and predicative expressions, including stem suppletion
- f) special type of gender system
- g) noun-like syntactic behavior of pronouns
- h) inclusive/exclusive distinction in pronominal system

+ quite strict syntactic template of basic clause (subscript n = possible multiple occurrence):

**[SUBJECT - PREDICATION.OPERATOR_n - ADVERB - VERB_n - OBJECT -
PREPOSITION+ADJUNCT_n]**

- virtually all verbs with maximal valence of one non-subject participant
- preponderance of "nuclear"/"root serialization" (cf. Olson 1981, Foley and Van Valin 1984)
- flagging by very few semantically dedicated prepositions (only COM/INSTR recurrent), but rather a default marker taking care of most postverbal participants outside the valence of the verb > called here "multipurpose oblique (MPO)"
- > semantically very broad: most semantic roles except those typically expressed by the subject (agent, experiencer, force) > patients, all kinds of obliques and adverbials
- > postverbal nominal encoding (by position and flagging) more sensitive to animacy and information structure than to semantic roles

+ possibly most extreme case in Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan [Southeast Ju] with only one multi-participant construction:

**[VERB_n - OBJECT - *kò*+ADJUNCT_n]
*[[VERB - OBJECT]_n - PREPOSITION+ADJUNCT_n]**

- (1) a. ha kú ||ohm-a !aihn kò g|úí
3S IPFV [chop-VE_x tree_x] MPO forest
- or b. ha kú ||ohm-a glúí kò !aihn
3S IPFV chop-VE_x forest MPO tree_x
He was chopping the tree in the forest. (Dickens 2005: 39)

- above pattern also for ditransitive expressions > secundative alignment by virtue of animacy hierarchy

- (2) dà'ama jàn |'àn ha bá kò màri
child good give 3S father MPO money
The good child gave his father money. (Dickens 2005: 40)

1.2 The Tuu family

+ isolate family, but with basic structure as outlined in §1.1 for Non-Khoe as a whole

+ internal classification

Taa-Lower Nossob

Taa (DC)

West !Xoon, N|u||'en†; N|amani†, 'N|ohan, **East !Xoon (1)**, Kafia†, ...

Lower Nossob (DC)†

l'Auni, l'Haasi

!Ui

N//ng (DC)

N|uu (3), N|huki, †Khomani, ...

l'Xam (DC)†

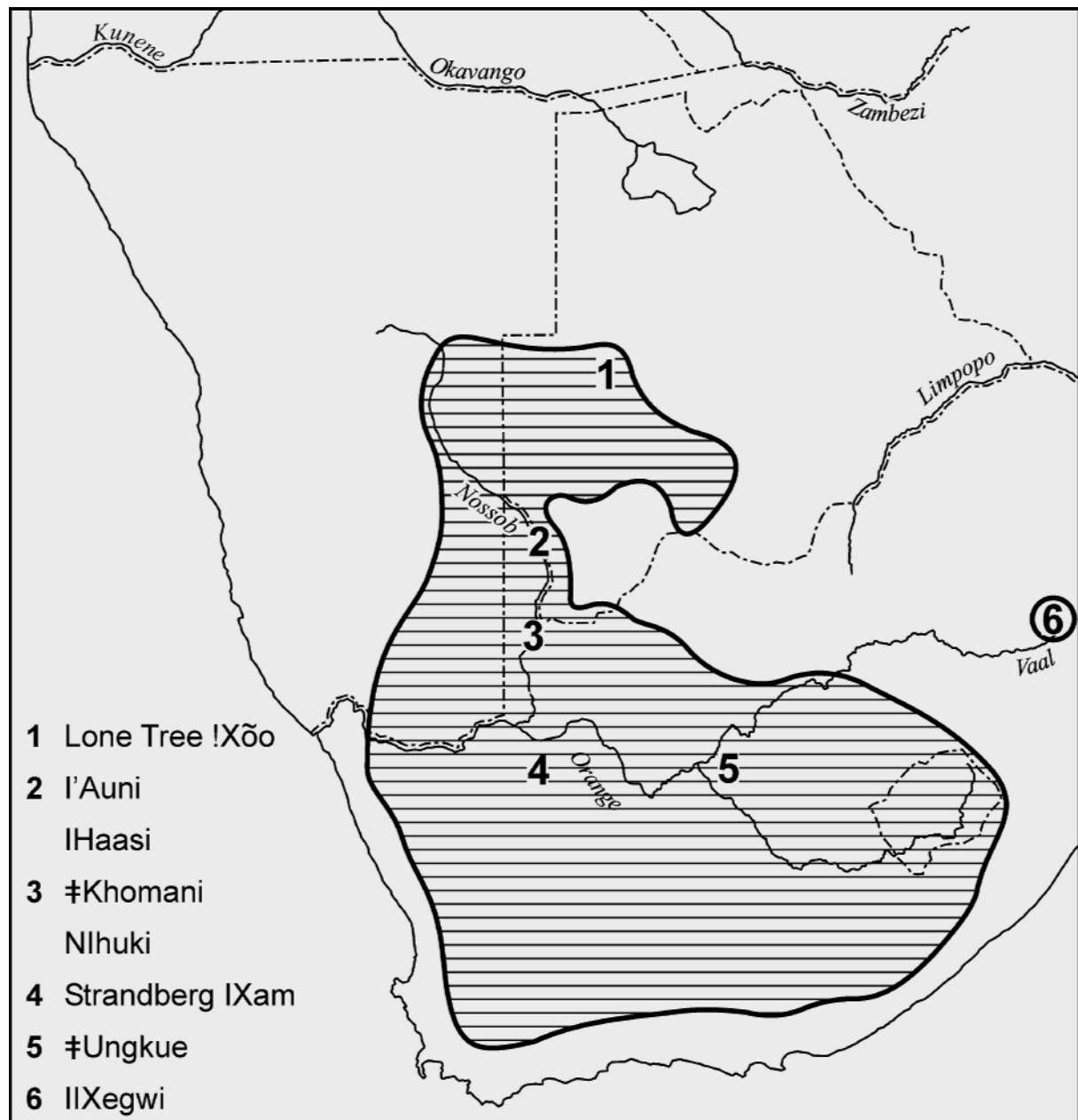
Strandberg (4), Achterveld, ...

†*Ungkue*

†*l'Xegwi*

Notes: DC = dialect cluster; † = extinct; (1), (3), (4) = corresponding number in map; **bold** available data

Figure 1: Preliminary internal classification of Tuu



2 |Xam (Strandberg variety)

2.1 Structure of basic three+-participant construction

+ 1st postverbal valence-internal slot unmarked, all other slots marked by multipurpose oblique preposition *au*:

[**VERB_n - OBJECT - au+ADJUNCT_n**]

- (3) si tang ||'ang doq'a n|iin teen !k'waa aa |uuka
 1P.E ?PF go.and ? see lie hartebeest REL dead:STAT
 we did see a dead hartebeest lying there! (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 10-11)
- (4) !k'waa n|a-ng |am u'i !haun **au** !k'waa **ts'axau**
 hartebeest head-DECL take.up rise thong MPO hartebeest eye
 the hartebeest's head removed the thong from its eye (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 6-7)
- (5) hi-ng |uengki 'ee ||xauken **au** |oq'a **au** **hin** |kx'aa
 3P-DECL be.thus enter blood MPO stomach MPO 3P hand
 they put the blood in the stomach by their hands like this (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 278-9)

+ involves some "expected" ditransitives

- (6) !u-koo n|e |uii ha **au** **g'aqog!ao**
 person-other IPFV give.in.exchange 3S MPO poison
 the other man gives him in exchange poison (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 282-3)
- (7) hin n|e ta lan **iin**
 2 IPFV QUOT PN MPO:2
 They call it |an [lit.: they (class 2) say |an to it (class 2)] (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 274-5)

2.2 Dedicated ditransitive construction

+ based on *aa* 'give' or, very rarely, *n/a* 'give', with two subtypes

(I) with nouns¹ - 1st R slot and 2nd T slot without flagging > neutral double-object alignment:

[**aa - RECIPIENT - THEME - PREPOSITION+ADJUNCT_n**]

- (8) hi se-g n|e aa hi |aagen hin
 3P IRR-? IPFV give 3P companion 3IA
 they will be giving it to their companion (Bleek 1956: 1)
- (9) ha aa !u-koo ||ho-||ho
 3S give person-other P-bag
 he gave bags to the other (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 280-1)

(II) with pronouns - 1st R slot in oblique form, 2nd T slot without flagging > indirective alignment:

[**aa ~ n/a - OBL.PRONOUN.RECIPIENT - THEME - PREPOSITION+ADJUNCT_n**]

- (10) aa **ki** para koo
 give 1S.OBL [horse other]
 give me another horse (Bleek 1956: 1)
- (11) ha xo'a kx'auki aa **ha** !huing engeng ee |kx'ai-ya
 3S mother NEG give 3S.OBL [PLANT.SP roots REL abundant-STAT]
 her mother had not given her many !huing roots (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 76-7)
- (12) n|a **ki** ○hoo |ee
 give 1S.OBL [branch that]
 give me that piece of wood! (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 338-9)

¹ The verb *n/a* 'give' has not yet been attested with nominal recipients.

Person	Singular		Plural		
	Incl	Unmarked	Oblique	Unmarked	Oblique
1st	Excl	ng	ki	si	-
2nd		a	haa	u	huu
3rd		ha(n)	ha(n)	hi(n)	hi(n)

Table 1: Unmarked and oblique pronouns in |Xam

+ extended to benefactives through assumed grammaticalization of *aa* to verb suffix *-(y)a*

- (13) |'uhi-ya !auken |ueri
 leave-BEN children back.bone
 leave the backbone for the children! (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 50-1)
- (14) !o'ite s'aang |araka hii
 grandmother come.and make.warm:BEN 1P.I.OBL
 grandmother shall make a little warmth for us (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 338-9)
- (15) ng †aka haa ha
 1S talk:BEN 2S.OBL 3S
 (which) I tell (it) to you (Bleek and Lloyd 1911: 46-7)

3 N||ng (N|uu variety)

3.1 Structure of basic three+-participant construction

+ 1st slot unmarked, all other slots marked by either of two prepositions:

[VERB_n - OBJECT - *ng* ~ *n/a*+ADJUNCT_n]

(I) multipurpose oblique preposition *ng* (cf. Collins 2004)

- (16) ng si siinsinn ng !haeka
 1S IRR work MPO tomorrow
 I will work tomorrow
- (17) ng nllae †kx'oan ng tya !kx'aru a
 1S then hunt MPO that cheetah this
 I hunt (after) that cheetah
- (18) ng kx'uu ng laeki ng gla
 1S make 1S woman MPO 2SG.STR
 I will make you my wife
- (19) ng ll'ng llqann !qaa ng n†ona †oo
 1S move.out stab dead MPO knife male
 I go and kill (it) with a spear
- (20) na xa kx'uu aan ku ng ku aanki
 1S.SBJ PST make eat 3S MPO 3S food
 I made him eat his food (Collins 2004: 182)

+ involves some "expected" ditransitives

- (21) llxaallxaa ng ng n|uu-ki
 teach 1S MPO speak.San-NOM
 teach me the N|uu language!

(II) comitative-instrumental *n/a*

- (22) ng llu ki lkx'ae n|a a
 1S NEG have matter COM 2SG
 I don't have anything (to do) with you.
- (23) ng lluu !khaa n|a bekersi
 1S scoop water INSTR cup
 I scoop water with a cup

3.2 Dedicated ditransitive construction

+ 1st R slot marked by suffix *-a*, 2nd T slot without flagging > indirective alignment:

[**VERB_n - RECIPIENT-*a* - THEME - PREPOSITION+ADJUNCT_n**]

- (24) gla laia n!ng aanki nou a hu gloe aa **na** ng gla aanki
 2S.STR take 1S.STR food now 2S ? also give 1S:DAT OBL 2S.STR food
 You have taken my food, now give me also from your food
- (25) aa **luuki-a**
 give grandmother-DAT
 Give to the grandmother!
- (26) aa **ku-a** maar # aa ku xangki ka llhain
 give 3H.S-DAT but give 3H.S mother P breast
 So give him! Give the breasts of his mother!

+ unclear origin of suffix

Pronoun category	Singular			Plural		
	Unmarked	Subject in <i>-a</i>	Dative in <i>-a</i>	Unmarked	Subject in <i>-a</i>	Dative in <i>-a</i>
1st Incl				i	dya	dya
1st Excl	ng	na	na	si	sa	sa
2nd	a	a	a	u	ba	ba
3rd Human						
Weak	ha	ha	ha	hng	?	?
Strong	ku	kua	kua	kinn	(kina)	(kina)
3rd Non-human						
Weak	hi	he	(he)			
Strong	ki	tya	(tya)	kike	kika	kika
Impersonal	ɸi	ɸa	?			

Note: (...) not yet securely attested

Table 2: Unmarked and *a*-marked pronouns in N|uu

+ a few verbs other than 'give' (some possibly with a relevant suffix *-a*)

- (27) hng ka dyama **na** ki-ke ng n!oon
 3P P show 1S:DAT 3NH-P MPO dune
 they show them to me at the dune
- (28) na llkx'ae-a **ku-a** ng laqra
 1S.SBJ tell-? 3H.S-DAT 1S refuse
 I have told him I refuse
- (29) na lae-a **ba**
 1S.SBJ send-? 2P:DAT
 I have sent for/after you

+ extended to benefactives

- (30) n!aa ɸoro he lqaa **ki-ka**
 see moon REL.S shine 3NH-P:DAT
 ... see the moon which shines for them
- (31) n!aen kx'uu-a **ku-a** aanki
 adult make-? 3H.S-DAT food
 the adult prepares food for her
- (32) na au sii **ku-a** ku
 1S take come 3H.S-DAT 3H.S
 I bring him for her

4 Taa (East !Xoon and West !Xoon varieties)

4.1 Structure of basic three+-participant construction

+ 1st term possibly unmarked, all other terms marked by several prepositions (some verb-preposition collocations lexicalized - recurrent with semantically opaque *saM*)²

[VERB_n - OBJECT - PREPOSITION+ADJUNCT_n]

(I) multipurpose oblique *kM/tM*

(33) èh |àa tshxûa tâ 'nǎle lù.m 'é Ǫàa kǐ glqhúu tíi'i
3ANA go.off snatch take.out:3 eland.33ANA child.3 MPO:1 flywhisk.1 DEI:1
He went off to snatch away Eland's child with this flywhisk. (East !Xoon, Traill n.d.)

(34) tú'ù ní bà |èhe kǐsǐ kǎ 'ǎǎ-sà
4.DEI ? IPFV owe MPO:1P.E MPO:2 eat-NOM.2
these ones owe us food (East !Xoon, Traill 1994: 54)

+ involves several "expected" ditransitives > horizontal alignment (East !Xoon possibly even with [*!qhǎǎ* 'give' - RECIPIENT - *kM/tM*-THEME] > secundative alignment like Ju|'hoan)

(35) kǐ qhai ku ka kan
CONN give MPO:4 ? MPO:2
and gives it [food.2] to them [people.4] (West !Xoon)

(36) !qhôo kē #ǎbe kē tâa #ǎǎ
teach MPO:3 black.person.3 MPO:3 person.3 language.2
teach the black man person's language i.e. !Xóǎ (East !Xoon, Traill 1994: 88)

(37) !gôa kǎn kǎ !ǎo
lend MPO:1S MPO:2 knife
lend me a knife (East !Xoon, Traill 1994: 88) cf. (34) above

(II) comitative /'aM (West !Xoon), #aM (East !Xoon)

(38) si |oe si n|au |'ang Ǫuru
1P.E take.S:3 problem.3 COM:1S offspring.P
we got problems with my children (West !Xoon)

4.2 Dedicated ditransitive constructions

- based on additional dative preposition *n/aM*, with two subtypes:

(I) 1st T slot without flagging, 2nd R slot with *n/aM* > indirective alignment:

[VERB - THEME - *n/aM*+RECIPIENT - PREPOSITION+ADJUNCT_n]

(39) sí |ūn Ǫàa |nǎn
CONN give.S:1S child.3 DAT:1S
... and give my child (back) to me? (East !Xoon, Traill n.d.)

(40) kǐ !aan n|ǎi # tuu
CONN give.P:2 DAT:1 people.1
and gives it (the berries) to the # people (West !Xoon)

(41) si a ||xaan mari n|ǎe
1P.E PST show:2 goat.2 DAT:3
we showed him the goat (West !Xoon)

² The language has a complex gender system with half a dozen agreement classes. These must be indexed morphologically on a number of agreement targets, among them all the prepositions. The class index refers to the prepositional object or its possessor, and is segmentally overt by a change of the final mora of the relevant element.

(II) 1st T slot with *kM/tM*, 2nd R slot with *n/aM* > tripartite alignment:**[VERB - *kM/tM*+THEME - *n/aM*+RECIPIENT - PREPOSITION+ADJUNCT_n]**

- (42) ||qhāa kān |nān
show MPO:5 DAT:1S
show it to me (East !Xoon, Traill 1994: 117)
- (43) !qhāā kū †nūm ||Gūli-tê |è dtxó'lu |nàe †'á sǎā
give MPO:[4ANA two genital.2-P GEN:3 stench.3] DAT:3ANA COM:2 fat.2
give him their stinking genitals [lit.: stench of their (D) genitals] with the fat (East !Xoon, Traill n.d.)

+ extended to benefactives

- (44) āh sīi sāa ||ābe †hūma |nāi †nāi
2S CONN go chop:3 cut.up:2ANA DAT:1D 1D
and you go to chop [class-3 concord speech error] it [skin.2] up for us two (East !Xoon, Traill n.d.)
- (45) n si n||are ki n!uri n|aa
1S IPFV tell MPO:1 story.1 DAT:2S
I tell you a story (West !Xoon)

+ assumed history of *n/aM* explains deviation in T-R order from other Tuu languages- *n/aM* likely derived from an earlier verb 'give' (cf. §2.2 for |Xam *n/a* 'give')

- implies earlier "core" serialization pattern: [VERB THEME give RECIPIENT]

- different constituent order motivated by semantic attraction between theme-oriented verb and theme on the hand, and recipient-oriented 'give' and recipient on the other hand (> verb or noun movement unnecessary)

> shift from head-marking to dependent-marking pattern as a result

- cf. Ju with syntactic alternation of COM/INSTR marker: either predicate component (grammaticalized "postverb" ?< verb 'be.with') or noun phrase component (preposition)

> historical cline: Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan > Ovambo-West Kavango !Xuun > Ekoka !Xuun

Ju variety	COM/INSTR as "postverb" head-marking	COM/INSTR as preposition dependent-marking	Source
Tsumkwe Ju 'hoan	xòà	NO	Dickens (2005: 39-40)
Ovambo-West Kavango !Xuun	!'áán	!'áán (less frequent)	Heikkinen (1987: 30, 81-2)
Ekoka !Xuun	NO	!'àn	König and Heine (2001: 80, 162)

Table 3: Syntactic behavior of comitative~instrumental markers in Ju

- (46) Tsumkwe Ju|'hoan (Southeast Ju)
- a. ha gú |xòà ||'àisi kò tjà
3S [build_x INSTR_y] grass_y MPO house_x
- b. ha gú |xòà tjà kò ||'àisi
3S [build_x INSTR_y] house_x MPO grass_y
He built the house with grass. (Dickens 2005: 40)
- (47) Ovambo-West Kavango !Xuun³ (Northwest Ju)
- a. n||àqé 'ú-wá |'áán !'ó kè kúní !òhó
men [go_x-VE INSTR_y] forest_x MPO car big_y
Men go to forests with big lorries. (Heikkinen 1987: 30)
- b. hà !hún hà |'áán hà dsu
3S [kill 3S] [INSTR 3S beak]
it kills it with its bill (Heikkinen 1987: 30)

³ Original transcription of nasalization, pharyngalization, and breathiness by means of diacritics has been changed in accordance with modern orthography towards word-final n, word-internal q, and word-internal h, respectively.

- (48) Ekoka !Xuun (Northwest Ju)
 mí má !!àhà ||hā |'àn !!ò!!òhò
 1S TOP [cut meat] [INSTR knife]
 I cut the meat with the knife (König and Heine 2001: 80)

5 Summary

5.1 Family comparison

- + all languages with expected economical alignments - indirective or neutral, Taa with two additional uneconomical alignments (see Malchukov et al. 2007: 5-6) > horizontal in (35)-(37) and tripartite in (42), (43)
- > at least 4, potentially all 5, possible alignment types in the family

+ constructions structurally diverse (< different history), but functionally homogeneous

Property	Xam type (I)	Xam type (II)	N ng	Taa type (I)	Taa type (II)
Animate R before inanimate T	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
Recipient marked	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES
Theme marked	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
Alignment	NEUTRAL	INDIRECT.	INDIRECT.	INDIRECT.	TRIPARTITE
Largely restricted to 'give'	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Extended to benefactives	(YES)	(YES)	YES	YES	NO
Other than ditransitives	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Table 4: Comparison of ditransitive constructions across the Tuu family

- + family as a whole corroborates that, compared to other semantic roles, recipient-benefactives, besides comitative-instrumentals, tend to develop specialized encoding first

5.1 The best ditransitives you can get

- + interplay between typological approach in terms of semasiological comparability (cf. Malchukov et al. 2007) and language-specific approach in terms of construction-oriented morphosyntactic description

> two extremes in typology:

(I) presumably majority case:

- language with several multi-argument constructions
- some of these constructions focus more or less on states of affairs which in typology are defined as "ditransitive" in semantic terms
- but these constructions also encode states of affairs which are less/not "ditransitive" (cf. German DAT-ACC construction)

(II) rare "opposite" case (Ju ?and ...):

- only one multi-argument construction with MPO *kò*
- > used for "ditransitive" states of affairs just as much as for all other multi-participant constructions > no ditransitive construction in narrow sense

+ Tuu languages in between these two extremes: "young" **dedicated** ditransitive constructions

> ideal (complex) signs: "one form - one meaning"

> trivial in the sense that they focus on most central ditransitive verb(s) 'give'

> but provide useful laboratory: which verbs are affected first in dedicated constructions and under what conditions

Glosses

ANA anaphoric pronoun, CONN clause connective, COM comitative, D dual, DAT dative, DECL declarative, DEI deictic, DIM diminutive, E exclusive, GEN genitive, IPFV imperfective, MPO multipurpose oblique, NOM nominalization, P plural, PF predication focus, PN proper name, PST past, R recipient, REL relative, S singular, SBJ subject, STAT stative, T theme, TOP topic, VE valency-external participant

Arabic number followed by S/D/P: person category

Arabic number without S/D/P: agreement class

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