
Predicate-Centered Focus Types in Khoekhoegowab discourse

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Project for M.A. thesis

0. Outline

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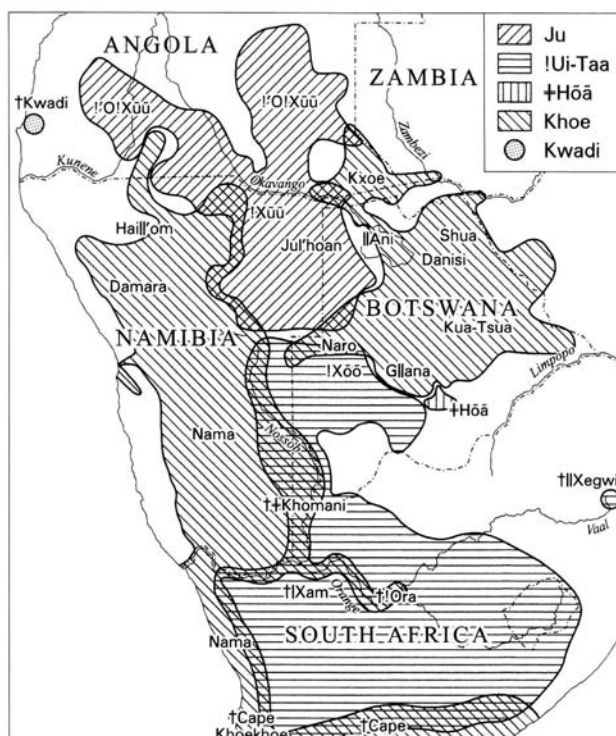
1. Introduction

1.1. Classification:

+ "Khoesaaan" > Khoe-Kwadi > Khoekhoe > North > Khoekhoegowab (Güldemann & Vossen 2000: 102)

1.2. Geographical location:

(Map 1: South African Khoesaaan (pre-colonial situation), Güldemann and Vossen 2000: 100)



1.3. Socio-linguistic Data

- Total of 251 100 speakers throughout southern Africa (Namibia, South Africa and Botswana). (Lewis et al. 2014).
- Broadcast on radio in South Africa and Namibia (Lewis et al. 2014).
- Taught from primary schools until university in Namibia (Lewis et al. 2014).
- Use latin script with additional characters.

1.4. Grammatical and Phonological Information

- + Canonical sentence structure: SOV
- + Isolating/agglutinating language
- + Phonological inventory (32 consonants, 8 vowel distinctions):
- + 6 lexical tones in citation form (i.e. SL; L; SL-L (low-rising); SH; H; H-SH (high-rising))
- 4 lexical tones in sandhi form (cf. Haacke 1999c: 72¹ and Brugman 2009: 120).
- + Nouns and nominal phrases take person, gender and number (PGN) suffixes.

2. Motivation

- + The study seeks to provide a comprehensive analysis of focus marking strategies.
 - information structure (IS) in Khoekhoegowab (KKG) has been mainly concerned with the sentence initial focus position. Thus the potential existence of other, perhaps also equally important, focusing strategies has hitherto not attracted any attention.
- + Although term focus has been treated extensively (Haacke 2006, Witzlack-Makarevich 2006), various predicate-centered focus types (PCF), e.g. state-of-affairs (verb) focus, polarity (truth-value) focus and tense-aspect-mood (TAM) focus have been treated marginally.
- + No discourse analysis devoted to the study of various predicate-centered focus types has thus far been made in Khoekhoegowab.
 - Apel, Jacob and Wondimu (2015) have convincingly shown that natural discourse analysis is inescapable in the study of information structurally relevant strategies in a language.
 - Natural discourse analysis should therefore supplement elicitations to gain a holistic picture of relevant strategies.
- + In this study I analyse various text types and whilst attempting to describe relevant patterns of information structuring in natural discourse, I simultaneously examine the distribution of the focusing strategies that have been attested for PCF marking in KKG through elicitations.

¹ According to Haacke (1999c), Khoekhoegowab tones result from a combination of four surface *tonal features* of which each is assigned a syllable – i.e. double low, low, high, and double high. Therefore, in all bisyllabic roots, they constitute "tonal melodies".

3. Theoretical framework

3.1. Focus

+ Focus is "that information [in an utterance] which is relatively the most important or salient in the given communicative setting, and considered by S [Speaker] to be most essential for A [Addressee] to integrate into his pragmatic information." (Dik 1997: 326).

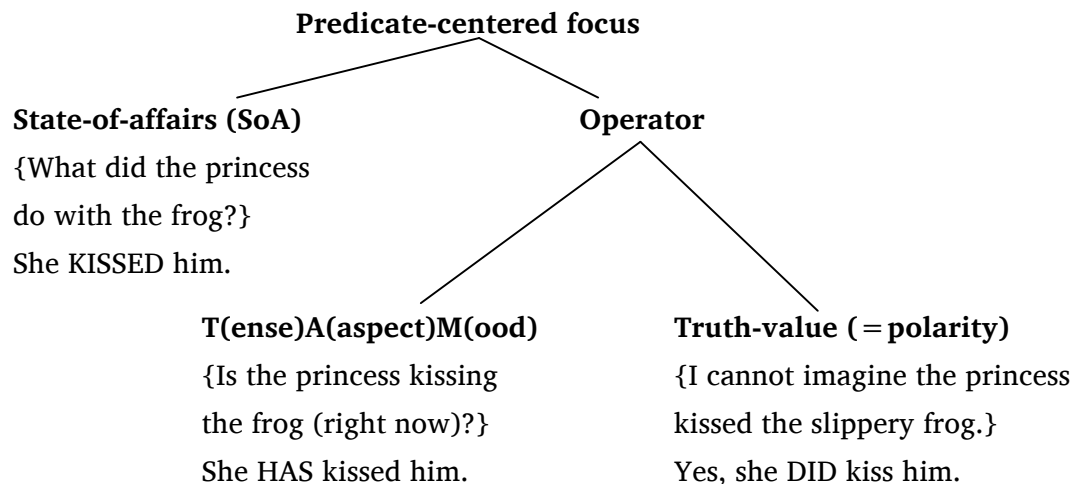
+ Different focus types (communicative point) and other focus parameters:

- Communicative point:
 1. information gap (*information focus*) > assertive focus
 2. contrastive information > contrastive focus
- Scope of focus:
 - a. term > term focus
 - b. verb lexeme and predicate operators > predication focus/
predicate-centered focus

Figure 2: Güldemann 2003: 332

3.2. Predicate-Centered Focus

+ Güldemann (2009) maintains an essential distinction on focus within the predicate.



(Figure 3: Predicate-centered focus (PCF) (Güldemann, 2009))

4. Relevant focus marking strategies from elicitation

4.1. Canonical sentence

- + The canonical sentence plays a central role in the the expression of various focus.
- + Word order in a canonical sentence is SOXV, whereas X represents oblique arguments.
- + Used for state-of-Affairs (SoA) focus and, and polarity focus (but not for TAM focus).

+ Examples (1) and (2) show assertive and contrastive (corrective) state-of affairs foci respectively, whilst example (3) illustrates polarity focus.

(1) [BG] [FOC]
 [S] [O] [X] [V]
ao-b ge hai-s-a !ō-s /kha ra //hā
 man-M.S IND tree-F.S-OBL axe-F.S with IPFV chop
 {What is the man doing to the tree with the axe} The man is CHOPPING the tree with the axe. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

(2) [BG] [FOC]
axa-b ge ra tsā
 boy-M.S IND IPFV swim
 {The boy is going} (No) The boy is SWIMMING. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

(3) [BG] [FOC]
î, ao-b ge ra †gae²
 yes man-M.S IND IPFV smoke
 {The man is smoking.} Yes, the man IS smoking. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

+ In these canonical sentences with the indicative mood, the sentence (mood) marker *ge* plays a central role in partitioning the subject from the rest of the clause (see examples above).

– However the subject may also appear behind this morpheme due to clause linkage. Such subject behind this morpheme is referred to as "*deposed subject*" in the Khoekhoegowab literature (see Haacke 1978)).

– Two things are typical of deposed subjects: i) they are marked with an oblique case, *-a*; ii) they are anaphorically referenced by means of an enclitic on any element that occupies the sentence-initial position, e.g. with a conjunction like in (4).

+ With deposed subjects due to clause linkage the canonical SOXV word order may remain unaltered. It can therefore also focus elements in-situ, see (4) for in-situ assertive SoA focus.

(4) [BG] [FOC]
kora toa-e=s ga, o=s ge lemun-s-a nî †û-e
 peel finish-PASS=3F.S SUBJ then=3F.S IND orange-F.S-OBL FUT eat-PASS
 {What do you think will he do with the orange after peeling it?} After being peeled, the orange will be EATEN. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

² The verb and the TAM marker cannot be left out.

+ Interestingly, canonical sentences may also mark subject focus (5), alongside verb phrase focus (6) and (7), theticity (8), and object focus (9), respectively.

+ Canonical sentence structure is also observed without an indicative sentence mood marker, *-ge*.

+ Third person pronouns are commonly dropped.

(5) [FOC] [BG]
kai-khoe-s go †gai.
 big-person-F.S REC.PST call
 {Who called Peter?} The WOMAN called him. ~ It is the WOMAN, who called him.
 (Job, 2014 f.n.)

(6) [BG] [FOC]
Maria-s ge Petru-b-a go †nau
 PN-F.S IND PN-M.S-OBL REC.PST hit
 {What did Mary do?} Mary HIT PETER. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

(7) [BG] [FOC]
nē-pa-b ge ao-b-a tsâ!gau-s !nâ ra uri†gâ
 this-PLACE-3M.S IND man-M.S-OBL pool-F.S in IPFV jump.inside
 {What is the man doing here?} Here, the man IS JUMPING INTO THE POOL. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

(8) [FOC]
om-s ge ra †huwi
 house-F.S IND IPFV burn
 {After giving consultants a picture: Look at the picture and tell me what is happening.} THE HOUSE IS BURNING – i.e. The house is on fire. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

(9) [BG] [FOC] [BG]
Maria-s ge Petru-b-a go †gai
 PN-F.S IND PN-3M.S-OBL REC.PST call
 {Whom did Mary call?} Mary called PETER. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

4.2. Focus fronting

+ Focus marked elements are typically fronted.

+ Two types of syntactic structure result from such fronting.

– The first one (also referred to as "inversion" in Haacke (2006)) does not allow subject deposition when a focused constituent is fronted, i.e. the subject remains in the position before the sentence (mood) marker, *ge*. The use of this marker is at times optional.

Type I = [FOC] SBJ (*ge*) (OTHER)

– The second type of fronting (also referred to by the same name in Haacke (2006)) results in subject deposition and the subsequent cliticization of the subject anaphora on the focused constituent.

Type II = [FOC] = S/A.PGN (ge) SBJ-OBL (OTHER)

4.2.1. Type-I Focus Fronting

+ Type I focus fronting of the verb together with the tense-aspect marker expresses SoA and truth-value foci, respectively (depending on context). In both cases, there should be an inversion of the verb and the tense-aspect marker.

- (10) [FOC] [BG]
hî-î, †gai go kai-khoe-s ge Petru-b-a
 no call REC.PST big-person-F.S IND PN-M.S-?
 {The woman saw Peter.} No, the woman CALLED Peter. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

- (11) [FOC] [BG]
sî nî kai-khoe-s ge nau /gôa-n-a³
 send FUT big-person-F.S IND other children-C.P-OBL
 {Will the woman ever send the other kids again, i.e. after they all couldn't find the right road.} The woman WILL send the other kids (again). (Job, 2014 f.n.)

+ TAM focus can also be expressed by means of Type-I fronting of an adverb in (12), which is a frequent phenomenon when TAM focus is to be expressed. There's no verb-TAM inversion in this case.

- (12) [FOC] [BG]
noxopa nî †û khoe-s ge (†û-e)
 still FUT eat person-3F.S IND food-C.S-OBL
 {Did the (sick) woman eat the food or is she still going to eat?} The woman is STILL GOING TO eat. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

4.2.2. Type-II Focus Fronting

+ Type-II focus fronting seems to be restricted to (contrastive) SoA focus.

Type II = [FOC] = S/A.PGN (ge) SBJ (OTHER)

- (13) [FOC] [BG]
hî-î, †gai go =s ge kai-khoe-s-a Petru-b-a
 no call REC.PST =3F.S IND big-person-F.S-? PN-M.S-OBL
 {The woman saw Peter.} No, the woman CALLED Peter. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

³ can also be: *sî nî kaikhoes ge*

nau /gôana nî sî kaikhoes ge

4.3. Verb Reduplication

+ Verb doubling may occur in-situ, or ex-situ.

+ The verb form is reduplicated fully. The duplicate is marked with an adverbial suffix and is used in an adverbial position.

in-situ	=	SBJ	(ge)	(OTHER)	[VERB-se VERB]
ex-situ	=	[VERB-se VERB]	SBJ	(ge)	(OTHER)

+ Verb doubling occurs with both canonical sentence and focus fronting. The function, i.e. corrective polarity focus, remains the same for both these strategies.

(14) [FOC] [BG]
tita ge †an-se †an a
 1S IND know-ADV know STAT
 {You don't know how to swim, do you?} I DO know how to swim. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

(15) [FOC] [BG]
†an-se †an=ta (ge) a
 know-ADV know=1S IND STAT
 {You don't know how to swim, do you?} I DO know how to swim. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

4.4. Particle *ama* 'true'

A morpheme *ama* 'true' is sometimes used for polarity focus. The use of this morpheme is rare. Example () shows confirmative polarity focus.

(16) [FOC] [BG]
î, ama !nari tama=n ge hâ
 yes, true steal NEG=3C.P IND COMPL
 {They didn't steal it.} Yes, they REALLY didn't steal it. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

+ *Ama* can also be used in conjunction with ellipsis, as will be shown below (§2.6.).

4.5 Dummy verb construction with focus-sensitive operators

+ The main verb is nominalized and is always followed by a focus-sensitive particle.

+ This nominalized non-finite verb can be found in-situ (in conjunction with a canonical sentence), as in (17) or ex-situ (in conjunction with fronting Type I), as in (18).

(17) [BG] [FOC]
î, tsî=s ge //îb-a sauru-bee-s tsîn-a go hî
 yes and=3F.S IND 3M.S-OBL chase-away-NOML also-OBL REC.PST do
 {The woman hit Peter.} Yes, and she also chased him AWAY. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

- (18) [FOC] [BG]
hî-î, †nau-s /gui-s-a go hî (kaikhoe-s ge Petru-b-a)
 No hit-NOM alone-NOML-? REC.PST do woman-F.S IND PN-M.S-OBL
 {The woman hit Peter and chased him away.} No, she only HIT him. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

4.6. Ellipsis

- + Ellipsis is used commonly in question-answer pairs.
- + It can express all predicate-centered focus types.
- + Examples (19) and (20) show ellipsis with an assertive and contrastive focus on the lexical content of the verb, respectively. Example (21) illustrates ellipsis with a contrastive (selective) TAM focus.

- (19) *kuru-khâi go audo-s-a*
 create-up REC.PST car-F.S-?
 {What exactly did he do with the car?} He FIXED the car. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

- (20) *//om go*
 sleep REC.PST
 {Did he work or did he sleep?} He SLEPT. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

- (21) *†û ra*
 eat IPFV
 {Is she still eating the beans or has she eaten them already?} She is (still) EATING them. (Job, 2014 f.n.)

- + Example (22) shows corrective polarity focus, whilst in example (23) ellipsis is coupled with a 'morpheme' that itself is used for marking polarity focus quite explicitly. Example (23) shows confirmative polarity focus.

- (22) *hî-î, †nari tama*
 no steal NEG
 {Did they steal the bag?} No, (they) DIDN'T steal (it). (Job 2014 f.n.)

- (23) *î, ama /ii go*
 yes true limp REC.PST
 {He limped, didn't he?} Yes, he REALLY limped/DID limp. (Job 2014 f.n.)

- + Interesting to note in examples (9) and (10) is the focus reading on the post-verbal elements. This is generally not achieved with term focus, since post-verbal arguments always fall out of the scope of focus (see examples under §4.2.)

4.7. Prosody

+ The last syllable of the verb may receive extra stress (i.e. it is either extra loud, or longer in duration), but is not adequate enough for focus marking on its own.

+ Prosody needs to be used with other focus marking strategies, e.g. extra loud stress in Fronting type-I (24) for selective SoA focus.

- (24) //hā ra ao-b ge hai-s-a
 chop IPFV man-M.S IND tree-F.S-OBL
 {Does the man chop the tree or does he hit it?} He CHOPS it. (Job, 2014, f.n.)

+ lengthening on the verb in Fronting type-II for assertive SoA focus.

- (25) /nom ra = s ge kaikhoe-s-a
 smile IPFV = 3F.S IND woman-F.S-OBL
 {The little boy bought the tomatoes and brought it to his mother and the mother is happy.}. The woman is SMILING. (Job, 2014, f.n.)

5. Corpus data

5.1. Material

+ Whilst data used in section 4 has been collected using a questionnaire on Information structure – QUIS (Skopeteas et al. 2006), corpus data in the next section comprises narratives and description data that have been collected from literature, as well as from the recordings I made back in 2010 in Namibia.⁴

Text types	Number of clauses
Narratives	290
Description/procedural	52
Total	342

5.2. Methods: Clause counting

+ Only clauses with a predicate (verb) were counted, thus verbless clauses were excluded.

+ The presence of the tense-aspect (TA) marker in the clause was furthermore decisive for such a clause to be counted as an independent unit.

– Clauses consisting of two finite verbs and a single TA marker e.g. in clauses with sequential state-of-affairs were treated as a unit, if they showed further prosodic unity, i.e. if the first verb showed no sign of tone lowering.⁵

⁴ Details about the composition of the corpus data are laid out in Appendix A (at the back).

⁵ Tone is not marked herein. Macrons on vowels indicate long vowels, whilst circumflex symbolizes

+ Clauses were further counted based on their information structural relevance. Therefore clauses that provided background information were treated as part of clause with focus.

6. Analysis

6.1. Narratives

- + The first sentence is alwaysthetic and exhibits no real subject.
- + Rest of the sentences in the narration are linked with cohesive devices, thus the subject is always deposited.
- + In table (1) we have information structural forms used in the narrations to either express or trigger focus.

Forms	Frequency (#)	Percentage (%)
ellipsis	137	48%
Canonical sentence	3	1%
imperatives	9	3%
wh-questions	19	6%
(post ge) SOXV	97	33%
(post ge) non-SOXV	25	9%
Total	290	100%

(Table 1: The distribution of information structurally relevant forms in narrative text)

6.1.1. Formal Analysis

6.1.1.1 Common gender singular marker and passive

+ Thetic sentences are marked by the use of a common gender singular marker in a clause-second subject position, coupled predominantly with the passive voice on the verb. The agent NP, if present, is marked with an agentive marker.

- + No other focus type is marked this way.
- + The following sentence introduces a story:

(26) /gîna-s-i i ge #khoa-b-a ge !game-he.
 fly-F.S-AGNT 3C.S IND elephant-M.S REM.PST marry-PASS

The fly got married to a fly. Lit. By the fly, it was married an elephant. (Schultze, 1907)

6.1.1.2. Deposed (immediately after *ge*) subject (with SOXV structure)

+ This structure is used to express SoA focus (27) as well as verb phrase focus. (28)

(27) *o-b* *ge* */giri-b-a* *ge* *//goe.*

then-3M.S. IND jackal REM.PST sleep

{And when they (the jackal and the porcupine) got to the river to dig a well for the pastor, the porcupine went down into the well to dig, but....} The jackal SLEPT. (Schultze 1907).

(28) *o-b* *ge* *//khā//khā-ao-b-a⁶* *!hana-b* *!nâ* *‡ae-b-a*
then-3M.S. IND teach-man-M.S garden-M.S inside glue-M.S-OBL

ge *mâi-he.*

REM.PST place-PASS

{At the end of one jackal story the speaker suddenly starts another} And the pastor placed a glue trap in the garden. (Schultze, 1907)

+ In the sentence above the speaker wants to continue with an active agent as subject (without agentive marking), but because the sentence actually introduces another story, the speaker rather opts for a passive voice on the verb. This is incongruent with the marking typical of (thetic) sentences that begin stories.

6.1.1.3. Non-SOXV (Afterthought like)

+ Focus is either on the State-of-affairs in (32).

(29) *Tsî-s* *ge* *go* *//ô,* */ao-b* *tara-s-a.*

And-3F.S IND REC.PST die snake-M.S wife-F.S-OBL

{Snake's wife wants to bite the little girl. She sneaks into the bag on the little girl. The little girl notices that and picks the bag up using a long stick and throws it into the fire ...} And she DIES, the snake's wife. (Schultze 1907).

+ The same story is introduced with the lines below. Whilst the first (thetic) clause is repeated here just to give some context, the second clause shows the introduction of two, i.e. in-situ and ex-situ noun phrases (subject and object respectively). Whereas the subject and the object must be seen to form a core clause, it is not clear from the structure whether the extra-posed object should be better interpreted as an afterthought. However, the context does not support this view.

⁶ It is likely that this is a shortened form (in quick speech) of the phrase *//khā//khā-ao-b xa* 'by the pastor'. If that is true, this sentence would fit well into the expected model (see 6.1.1.1.) of sentences that introduce folktales (narratives).

- (30) /gôa-di xa i ge ge sari-**he**.
 child-F.P by 3C.S IND REM.PST visit-PASS
 THE GIRLS WENT ON A VISIT. Lit. IT WAS VISITED BY THE GIRLS.
- o-s ge kaitisî/hamabe-s-a ge sao !gâsa-s-a.*
 then-3F.S IND PN-F.S-OBL REM follow sister-F.S.-OBL
 And (then) kaitisî/hamabes followed her sister. (Schultze, 1907)

6.1.1.4 Ellipsis

- + Ellipsis is predominantly used for the expression of all focus types, including predicate-centered focus types.
- + (31) and (32) indicate assertive SoA focus, varying only in their degree of elliptical information.

- (31) *o-s ge //arab-a-s go hâû,*
 Then-3F.S IND arrow-M.S-OBL-3F.S REC.PST bring
- o go †gai-he*
 then REC.PST call-PASS

{The boys, who are seeking their sister, are hiding in bushes nearby the place, where their little niece is playing and throwing arrows with other kids. Suddenly her arrow lands in the proximity of the bush in which the boys are hiding. She walks toward the tree to pick her arrow up...} And while she was picking up the arrow, she was CALLED. (Schultze 1907)

- (32) *tsî di ge go sî.*
 and 3F.D IND REC.PST arrive
 (They stopped chasing the girl away.) And they ARRIVED (at the big snakes house).

6.1.2. Distribution of various focus types

- + Verb phrase focus occupies a central role, closely followed by focus on the state of affairs.
- + Thetic sentences marked with an indefinite (common) gender morpheme are also prevalent.
- + TAM focus and polarity focus could not be attested.

Functions	Frequency	percentage
Verb phrase focus	138	47%
State-of-Affairs focus	78	27%
Term focus	9	3%
Adverbial focus	7	2%
Thetic	22	8%
ITR VP focus	21	7%
Wh-questions	15	6
	290	100%

(Table 2: Statistical distribution of various focus types in narratives)

6.2. Description/procedural

Construction types	Frequency (#)	Percentage (%)
ellipsis	100	35%
(post ge) pre-subject focus marking	2	1%
imperatives	9	3%
Wh-questions	9	3%
adverbial clause	1	0%
polarity question	10	3%
(post ge) canonical	121	42%
(post ge) in-situ	38	13%
Total	52	100%

(Table 3: The distribution of information structurally relevant forms in description text types)

Functions	Frequency	percentage
VP	29	56%
SoA	10	19%
TF	3	6%
ADV	7	13%
Thetic	1	2%
ITRVP	2	4%
	52	100%

(Table 4: Distribution of various focus types in description text types)

6.2.1. Verb phrase focus

+ Verb phrase focus is most frequent in this text type as well.

+ Example (33) shows focus on the verb phrase. The person describes what to do when rain does not come (i.e. explaining rain making procedures).

- (33) *o-ts ge ani-b |gā-|hoe-b-a nî !gam*
 then-2M.S IND bird-3M.S owl-3M.S-OBL FUT kill
 {And if it doesn't rain} Then you should kill the bird, owl.
tsî !ā-ro-i !nâ nî |khō.
 and river-DIM-3N.S inside FUT bury
 And bury it in a little river. (Stopa, 1936)

6.2.2. Thetic

+ (Introductory) thetic sentences are marked with an indefinite common gender singular marker, *-i* in the clause second position.

- (34) *kai-se i ga |nanuxa tsî a !khai,*
 big-ADV 3C.S SUBJ rain-plenty and STAT cold
 When it becomes very rainy and cold. (Stopa, 1936)
o da ge sore|gôa-i di |û-n-a ra #khom.
 Then 1C.P IND ?-C.S-C.S POSS hair-C.P-OBL IPFV cut
 Then we cut the hair of (?). (Stopa, 1936)

6.2.3. Term Focus (Contrastive focus – expanding)

+ Focus sensitive particles observed in the text were only used for object Focus.

- (35) *o-ts ge koma dai-i tsî //gan-i tsî /awa xū-n*
 then-2M.S IND apparently milk-3C.S and meat-3C.S and red thing-3CP
hoa-n-a nî ū-bē,
 all-3C.P-OBL FUT take-get.away
 {And when it thunders...} You should apparently conceal milk, meat and all reddish
 things,
tsî #khai ra xū-n tsî-n-a.
 and shine IPFV thing-3CP and-3CP-OBL"also"
 also THE THINGS THAT SHINE. (Stopa 1936)

6.2.4. Predicate-centered Focus types

+ Predicate-centered focus types account for approx. 20 % of this text type. But it is restricted to the state-of-affairs focus only, see (36) for assertive state-of-affairs focus with ellipsis (only the verb and the TA marker).

- (36) *Tsî /nîsi /gôa-i ga kai-se //nâtsâ-xa*
 And may.be child-C.S SUBJ big-ADV fall-attempt-PLENT
 And if the child is prone at falling
o ra !hū//haru-he
 then IPFV passed.through.the.ground-PSS
 (They will dig a hole through the ground ...) And make the child CREEP through it.
 (Lit. (The child) will be "creep-through-holed", i.e. made to creep through the hole.).

7. Summary

+ Khoekhoegowab discourse generally does not entertain focus marking strategies of Type-I and Type-II, as seen with elicitations. This is due to almost inevitable clause linkage in narratives like folktales.

+ Although the canonical subject is always deposited in narratives (except in direct speech within the narrative), the SOXV sentence structure may be maintained behind (or after) the sentence type marker *ge* – thus, in-situ focus marking is also possible with deposited subjects.

+ The texts available especially for description/procedural text types was however limited, thus the current results should be seen as tentative.

8. Outlook

+ More data is needed particularly for dialogues and description texts, in order to gain a clearer picture of the frequency and the distribution of various predicate-centered focus types in each text genre.

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Abbreviations

ADV	Adverb	OBL	Oblique
BG	Background	P	Plural
C	Common	PASS	Passive
D	Dual	PN	Proper name
DIM	Diminutive	POSS	Possessive
F	Feminine	PRO	Pronoun
FOC	Focus	PRS	Present
FUT	Future	PST	Past
IMP	Imperative	REC	Recent
IND	Indicative	REM	Remote
IPFV	Imperfective	S	Singular
ITR	Intransitive	SUBJ	Subjunctive
M	Masculine	TF	Term focus
NEG	Negative	VP	Verb phrase
NOML	Nominalization		

Appendix A: Corpus data

Texts included from the following sources

Narratives

- 1) The north wind and the sun – Folktale (narrative) (Brugman, 2010)
- 2) A fly that has been married to an elephant – Folktale (narrative) (Schultze, 1907: 514f)
- 3) A Jackal and an Porcupine digs a well for the pastor – Folklore (narrative) (Schultze. 1907: 473f)
- 4) Girls who visited the house of a big snake (Schultze, 1907: 522f)
- 5) A true story (narration) about red wasps told by grandmother during a family visit – (narrative), (Job, 2011)
- 6) The young lion – Folktale (dialogues (5 clauses) and monologues (15 clauses) (narrative), (Hagman, 1977)

Description

- 7) What do to when it is cold; how one makes rain and calms thunder (description), Stopas (1936: 42f)
- 8) How a sickly (weak) child is treated to become strong and healthy (description), Stopas (1936: 42f)